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CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER 1971

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| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 321 |
| Rate of population growth in Sumer in the Third Millenium B.C.—Jatindramohan Datt | | | | 329 |
| The Right to Freedom of Religion in the Indian Constituent Assembly | | | | |
| —Brundaban Patel | ... | | | 337 |
| Recognition of Bangladesh—Rajani Mukherjee | ... | ... | ... | 345 |
| Cabinet System in India—Nirmalendu Bikash Rakshit | ... | ... | ... | 350 |
| The Second Triennale—India—Usab | ... | ... | ... | 355 |
| Zamindari Abolition in Jammu and Kashmir—Balbir Kumar Jain | | | | 361 |
| C. V. Chintamani—L. Dewani | ... | ... | ... | 367 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 370 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 38 |
| Smriti and Bismriti —Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 38 |
| In Sacred Memory —Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 39 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 39 |
| Book Review | ... | ... | ... | 39 |



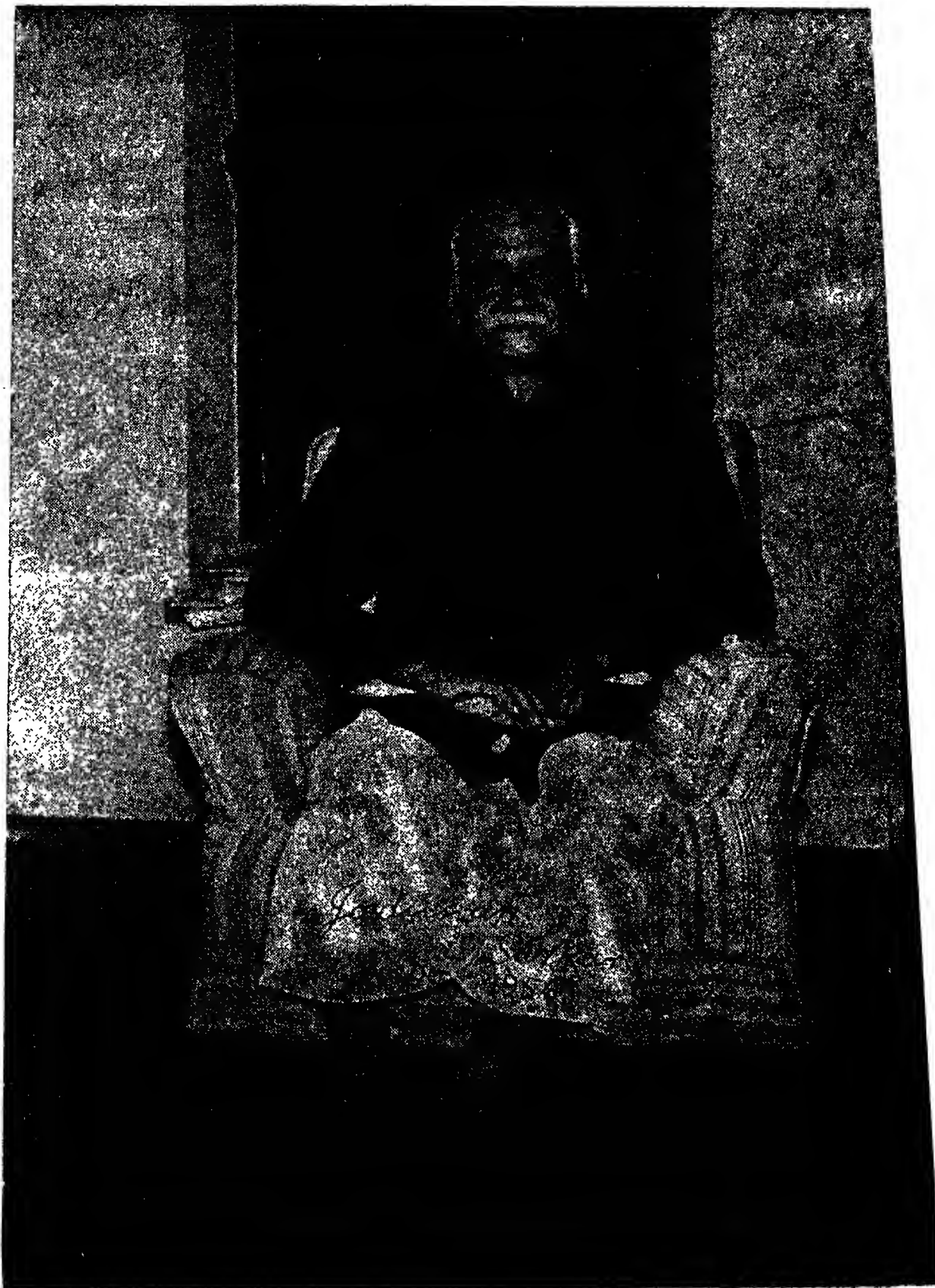
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SIR JADUNATH SARKAR

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NOTES

Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent historian was born on the 10th of December 1870, at Karachmaria village in the Rajshahi district of then undivided Bengal. His father Rajkumar Sarkar was well known among the elite of the period. Jadunath had a brilliant academic career having obtained scholarships at the Entrance, the Intermediate, the B. A. examinations and the Premchand Roychand scholarship too. He was equally qualified in English language and literature and in History. His first college appointment was as a teacher of English at the Surendranath College (then Ripon Collage) in 1893. Later he joined the Vidyasagar College (then the Metropolitan) and in 1898 the Presidency College Calcutta. This was a government job and he was transferred to the Patna College in 1899. He was again brought back to the Presidency College but taken back to Patna soon after. He remained thereafter at Patna for a long period and he began his historical research work during this period when he taught English as well as History. His thesis for the Premchand Roychand

Scholarship was on *India of Aurangzib, Topography, Statistics and Roads*. As Professor of History of the Patna College he wrote *Economics of British India, Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays, Chaitanye his Pilgrimages and Teachings* and the earlier portions of his famous *History of Aurangzib*. He had by this time established himself as an authority on Moghul History and the Government of India now took him into the Indian Educational Service (known as the Imperial Educational Service). As a member of the I. E. S. Professor Jadunath Sarkar was posted at the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, for some time ; but was returned to Patna in 1923. He remained at Patna till he retired in 1926. He was however made the Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University. He did this work for two years, but refused to accept a renewal for a further two years. He was very eager to give up all official work and to devote himself entirely to research. He now took up residence in Darjeeling and remained there till 1941. During the period before going to Darjeeling he completed the *History of Aurangzib* and wrote the following books : *Shivaji and*

his *Times*, *Studies in Moghul India*, *Moghul Administration*, and *India through the Ages*. At Darjeeling he completed short *History of Aurangzib*, *Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire*, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (3 vols) *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, *House of Shivaji* and he contributed several chapters to the *Cambridge History of India*.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar had to leave Darjeeling for medical reasons and he took up residence at Calcutta in 1941. He edited many books, wrote several and contributed numerous original articles to well known journals. His contributions to the *Modern Review* have been many and most valuable. He wrote extensively also in Bengali and his contributions to the *Prabasi*, *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, *Sanibarar Chithi* and other high class Bengali journals have been many. Sir Jadunath Sarkar had mastered many languages, such as, French, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Marathi etc. This helped him greatly in his research work. He was the first Indian Historian to undertake research work by laborious documentation and he trained many research students who carried on this line of work during and after their guru's personal presence on this Earth.

The centenary of the birth of Sir Jadunath Sarkar was celebrated at the Asiatic Society Hall by a joint committee of the Asiatic Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Calcutta Historical Society. Several hundred admirers of the great scholar assembled at the centenary meeting which was presided over by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, prof. Nirmal Bose and many other well known persons addressed the meeting. The centenary celebrations committee deliberately cut out spectacular propaganda and publicity on this occasion as they felt Sir Jadunath would not have approved of any pompous display in connection with his birthday. He was extre-

mely allergic to demonstrative celebrations and always preferred the company of hand picked men of letters and scholars to crowds showering rose petals and shouting "jai, jai!" He even avoided collecting honorary doctorates from foreign and Indian Universities. The very sober and simple manner in which his birthday centenary was celebrated would have therefore received his approval, had he been there to witness it. Sir Jadunath was called "Bengalee Gibbon" quite early in his life and he well deserved to be classed with the greatest historians of the world. He placed many historical characters, like Shivaji Tipoo Sultan, Ranjit Singji, Maharaja Pratapaditya in their rightful place in Indian history. His vast knowledge and great analytical skill put right many mistakes and misjudgements of Western dabblers in Indian history. In this way he rendered a great service to India. The people of India should acknowledge this indebtedness in a fit and proper manner.

What Shape Socialism May Assume

Camouflage and make believe are the two faces of political propaganda which prevails in all countries where there are governments which bluff to rule and populations which are exploited and bluffed to be governed. For no governments can exist without acquiring a large share of the national incomes of the countries which are governed. This acquisition of wealth requires that large chunks of the nation's capital too will be taken over by the governments. The more the governments grab the capital assets of the nations the more socialistic the states are declared to be. But wage earners continue to remain there in large numbers; only they are employed and exploited by the state rather than by private employers. Exploitation of man by man is changed to exploitation of man by collective bodies of men, namely the state. It is no

way changes the nature of the exploitation in so far as the workers produce much more than what comes to them in wages. But in many allegedly totalitarian states, where communism operates as the political principle of government, very definitely capitalistic arrangements are coming into existence now a days, which enable some privileged individuals to earn wealth through the labour of other individuals. One such communist country is the German Democratic Republic, where there are reported to be 3500 privately owned business establishments which employ ten to seventy workers each on wages which are much less than the value produced by the persons who earn the wages. If we assume the average number of employees of these establishments to be forty; then we have about 140000 wage earners in the G.D.R. who are exploited by their fellow men. Besides these 3500 establishments there are another 5000 establishments partly owned by private persons conjointly with the state, which employ workers in fairly large numbers. An establishment may have over 500 workers and an annual product of five to ten million marks (1 to 2 crore rupees). The persons owing a share in such establishments earn fairly large salaries over and above their share of the profits. These profits, even after deduction of income tax at a very high rate make the total earnings of the share holders quite substantial. They are no less rich than most rich people in capitalistic societies.

Our Socialist Pattern of economy has an outlook in which certain economic institutions have to belong to the state. So far these include life insurance, banks, railways, electricity companies, ship building yards, petroleum and by-products refineries, steel factories (new ones) and air craft manufacturing concerns. Alongside of these nationalised institutions, which have only propaganda value, we have a wide net-work of economic

organisations which exploit the people quite ruthlessly. Money lending at exorbitant rates of interest, adulterating consumption goods, profiteering by sellers of various kinds of goods such as fish, meat, eggs, poultry, milk, edible oils, butter, ghee etc.; car makers fixing high prices for their cars without reference to cost of production, high fees for lawyers, doctors, technical experts and others—all that and many more can be mentioned to show how the public are exploited. Life insurance or banking did not exploit the public and these institutions have not become any better from the social point of view by being nationalised. There is now intensive propaganda against private ownership of large houses. Though when it comes to rack-renting of tenants, the large house owner is left far behind by those who build and hire out the cheap huts in the bustees. The state protects the *thika* tenants who pay a rent of a few rupees per month for small plots of land and put up 250 rupees huts on the same for renting out to working class people. They quite often realise Rs.30/- p.m. by putting up a hut on a 100sq. ft. plot for which they pay their land lord only Re1/- per month as rent. The bustee hut owners earn 50 to 100 per cent return on the money they invest. Of all anti-social exploiters of fellow human beings, these hut owners are some of the worst. While our socialist pattern makers are doing propaganda to dispossess house owners, farm land owners and share holders of banks and insurance companies, they are giving highly lucrative contracts, supply orders and very highly paid jobs to thousands of undeserving people all over India. These men, the contractors and order suppliers, are experts in corrupt practices and they make friends with high ranking people with the greatest ease. What they spend to buy influence they realise by exploitation of their workers.

The socialist pattern therefore allows many

major evils of our economic life to continue unhampered ; and takes particular interest in destroying rights and privileges of a far less harmful type. Playing to the gallery is the basic principle of India's propaganda for socialism. So far it has done more harm than good to the people of India. In our socialistic pattern of economic organisation we have the state as a monopolist. Railways, airlines, bus services in big cities, life insurance, telephones, gas and electricity suppliers and many other lines of trade and commerce have been monopolised by the state. The state acts, like a monopolist too and gives, as little as possible for the highest price they can extort from the consumers of these goods and services.

Elections Again

Nobody is or can be an expert in matters political relating to India. The modern political developments in India began when the national front declared their disapproval of the imperial British management of India's affairs. This happened in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the beginning things were rather mild and rested on words and arguments. But, when in 1905 Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal, politics became super heated and we had moderates, extremists and terrorists ; not to speak of mass movements for the boycott of British goods, for building up our own economy by producing "swadeshi" or home-made commodities of all kinds. The Russian revolution of 1917, Gandhiji's non-violent non-cooperation, the attempts to organise armed risings for pushing the British out of India ; added a variety of motifs to the grand structure of Indian politics. After that came various other additions to our political thought and endeavour. Communism, socialism and their different sub-divisions began to confuse our minds. The religions affected political thinking too and we had the Muslim League

the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akalis and so forth. After independence, obtained by dividing India into two independent states, we had linguistic and regional differences which gave rise to further political opinions. And nobody knows clearly how many political parties, sub-parties and secret societies there are in India to-day. A very large number, led by the Ruling Congress, the Organisation Congress, the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party Marxists, the Socialist party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra Party, Jan Saugh, the Muslim Leagues, the American Agents, the Russian Fifth Column and the Chinese Infiltrators. The alphabets are used freely by permutation and combination, to give new names to new political groups and alliances until they vie successfully with the various World Organisations under the United Nations.

Indian political parties have ideologies and platforms but it would be a very difficult task to distinguish one party from another precisely and clearly by any intelligible analysis of their purpose, aims and objects or principles. Broad divisions can be made, such as Nationalistic and Anti-National, socialistic and non-socialistic, Muslim and non-Muslim, upholding individual rights and wishing to establish a totalitarian form of government. Generally speaking most parties excepting the Communists of different categories, are nationalistic. The Communists are anti-national, no matter what they pretend to be. They are Russian aided, Chinese inspired or of an indigenous brew which has a strong foreign flavour in so far as they want to establish a dictatorship in India with the support of foreigners. Among the nationalistic parties the Congress (R) have socialistic pretensions but their socialism has a definite complexion which limits state control and ownership to Life Insurance, Banks, selected

industries or branches of trade or commerce. For purposes of show, the Congress (R) would like to fix ceilings for land holdings, value of urban property, incomes and this or that. But private rights, privileges and evil anti-social practices would continue behind the scene as the old bureaucracy and political miscreants would be allowed to stay on with additional newly created V. I. P.s. The Congress (O) if brought back to power would be no better —perhaps far worse as they could produce a galaxy of hardened exploiters of the gullible masses. The communists of all kinds are anti-national and any victory for them would surely mean the end of Indian culture and civilisation. Whether people would get more food and clothing is a matter of conjecture. For it is an established fact that the people of any country usually get a lesser share of what they produce, when they set up a communist form of government. It would not be any different for Indians; for the reason that Indian communists have all the disabilities connected with productive skill and talent for economic planning that other Indian politicians suffer from. A communist India will begin its career by the death of millions through starvation and, later, settle down to play third fiddle in a world order in which freedom from want will play a relatively unimportant part. The so-called socialist groups are second string communists in so far as their talents for governance go. They are, moreover very badly disorganised and split up into numerous sub-categories and are unlikely to produce a capable and winning front.

If Indians can set up new candidates who have not been too closely associated with the old order of politicians and who are distinguished by reason of their high moral calibre, education, technical skill or organisational ability, they may change the face of Indian politics which has latterly not been

very attractive or promising. We want men who can do things or get things done in a capable manner and not just act flashily or try to impress the crowds by tales of affluence and freedom from illiteracy, ill health, malnutrition and lack of roads, drinking water, housing and all else that India wants but cannot get. The old order of politicians have proved to be useless for India. We do not want the same or the same sort of men and women, no matter what names they adopt. We want better men and women who can solve our numerous problems in a sure and certain manner within a short period of time and at a reasonable cost.

Price Increase in Medicines, Paper and Cotton.

We have got so used to increase in price of most commodities that we shall be doubting our sanity if we were to discover some day that prices were beginning to fall. But such a possibility is utterly unlikely and we should not worry about such an eventuality. The latest phase of rising prices have affected three very important articles of common use. Medicines were subjected to price control by a minister Dr. Triguna Sen, who thought medicines should not cost as much as they did. His price control was apparently carried out without any careful study of costs of manufacture and the result was that about 30 per cent of the very important medicines went underground. Some took the price control without any difficulty and the rest adjusted quality to suit the new prices so that people are having to pay black market prices for some essential medicines which are higher than the original open market prices. The extra profit in black is enabling them to sell certain medicines at the new reduced rate of prices without any loss on the whole.

Paper prices have increased unduly and the result is higher prices of books; school

college texts and others. There is also shortage in supplies and students are having to go round shops to get books or being told to come back after so many days. Journals and newspapers which have not much income from advertisement are beginning to face losses. Modern civilisation needs cheap supply of printed books, journals, newspapers and also diaries, copy books, catalogues, forms, medical and other literature in large quantities. Cheap and sufficient supplies of paper are essential for the running of modern social institutions. Next to bread education. And education becomes impossible without necessary supply of paper.

We donot have to dilate upon the requirement of cotton in so far as we know that in a hot country almost all clothing is made of cotton. In the cold weather we use cotton for quilts which provide the majority of the people with bedding. Cotton goods also are exported from India in large quantities and for the manufacture of those articles of export we need cotton. The rise in the price and the shortage in* the supply of cotton will effect our exports. Cheaper, better and more cotton will help us to stabilise our economy.

Economic planning by experts had many faults in our country. It was pointed out by many knowledgeable persons from time to time that India's planning was proceeding on assumptions rather than on facts. Elaborate calculations based on insufficient and incorrect data have made things unevenly balanced after spending thousands of millions of rupees. Not enough was done to produce all essential ingredients of medicines in India. Foreign patent holders were permitted to do what they liked in a haphazrad and thoughtless manner. Indian producers were not backed in a suitable manner. Paper production also was neglected. In the matter of cotton cultivation, there had been negligence both in regard to quantity and quality. Had timely steps been

taken to assure the growth of medicine manufacture, paper production and cotton cultivation, the present imbalances and shortages in supply would not have happened.

Change of Leadership in Poland

The old order is changing in the communist world. The people are no longer accepting suffering in a dumb and unprotesting manner. In Poland bad management of economic affairs led to great price increases. People got less and less of food due to wage freeze and 300 people died in food riots in Gdansk. Great resentment was expressed by demonstrating crowds and public pressure caused the replacement of Mr. Gomulka by Edward Gierck. Four politburo members were removed. They were Boleslaw Jaszezuk, Zenon Kliszko, Marshal Marian Spychalski and Ryszard Strzelecki. This is perhaps the first time that public pressure has removed top party men from a communist state. The nation has come on top in a struggle with the party. Mr. Gierck, a leader from the mines and industries has been a critic of the Gomulka coterie for their economic policy. He is a practical man who judges theories by their effectiveness. Whether he will be considered a reformer by the Russians is a question which can not be answered until Mr. Gierck does a few things to give Poland a new look.

Year 1970

The year 1970 is now over. It has not been a very happy period in the history of many countries. Internal disorder, clashes with outsiders, natural calamities and other troubles and difficulties had to be faced by many nations. Development of human ideals did not proceed to any greater heights in any sphere of man's existence. Colour bar was intensified in some lands ; Jews and Arabs did not arrive at any settlement of their disputes, rather foreign assistance to both increased and strengthened their determination to be

unreasonable ; Indian politics developed more symptoms of secondary and tertiary complications, linguism, communalism and partisan attitudes becoming stronger and more obnoxious ; even communism showed signs of political diseases customarily affecting non-communist countries. The only good signs noticed anywhere were in the economic field and in lands unaffected by complexities of foreign policy. West Germany, Japan and Canada were relatively happier, if one overlooked cases of hijacking, kidnapping and Hara Kiri by important persons. Calcutta's 1970 was full of lawlessness and inhuman crimes motivated politically and found uncontrollable by the President's Raj. Our Police have always been inefficient in checking crime and they did not build up a new reputation for enforcing law and order in 1970.

Murder of a Vice-Chancellor

The murder of sixty year old Dr. Gopal Chandra Sen, vice-chancellor of Jadabpur University, was a crime which for sheer base cowardliness, inhuman bestiality and senseless ferocity beats all the vile records of crime set up by the "idealistic" lunatics of West Bengal. Dr. Gopal Chandra Sen is possibly the first vice-chancellor in history who has been thus assassinated. The West Bengal police and the "brain trust" of New Delhi have so far failed to do anything noticeable for the control of crime in this state. Governor Dhawan, who is a trusted miracle-maker of the Central Government is probably trying to induce a "change of heart" in West Bengal's wagon breakers, bag snatchers and Chinese fifth column; but his behind-the-scene contact men appear to be in an inspirational vacuum which they share with the Governor. After this ghastly murder Mrs. Gandhi should do something with the West Bengal Police, the CRP and the Governor. We can only express

our strong revulsion for this low and meaningless crime and convey our deepest sympathy to the family members of the late Gopal Chandra Sen.

Supreme Court on Privy Purses

When A promises to give something to B which, let us say for argument's sake, B has no economic, ethical or normal right to get ; A should give that something to B in order to fulfil and honour his undertaking and promise. We said repeatedly that the Indian government should give the Princes the money that was described as their privy purse ; as it was an undertaking given by the government of India, freely and without being forced or duped in any manner whatsoever. But the government of India thought it wise and just to break their pledge by taking shelter in legislation. It was not a very fair and honourable thing to do. We all know and agree that there should be no hereditarily privileged classes and we have known that long before the present political leaders of India came into power and started delivering long speeches on matters about which the people required no instruction or lessons. But we nevertheless felt that an agreement to make certain payments was an agreement which could not be broken without loss of prestige, honour and credit. Law making cannot release a government from its solemn undertakings.

The Supreme Court has given their judgement on the matter of the Law enacted for abolishing the princes' privy purse payments. The law enacted for discontinuing these payments and for depriving the princes of their other privileges has been judged invalid by the highest court of India. When rulers think that they can do what they like by using their parliamentary majority ; they can, if not deterred in time, repudiate their national debt, legalise murder, adultery and

robbery with violence, and render all sales, purchases and contracts only tenable so long as the ruling factions chose to allow them to be upheld. Such possibilities would make a parliamentary majority a menace to human civilisation and a destroyer of all moral values.

Opposition Getting Stronger

The Ruling Congress is hoping to consolidate their position by the mid-term elections. They think that in several States they will get a majority of the Lok Sabha seats. They have doubts about some States like Kerala and West Bengal where the Congress have latterly been the least popular. But the recent formation of S. V. D. governments in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar point to developments which are not favourable to the Congress (R). No doubt these are coalition governments and the majority of the Lok Sabha seats may go to Congress (R) inspite of the S.V.D. governments in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. But, again, they (Congress R.) may not win in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, thus making the Congress (R) position shakier at the Centre. In any case the Congress (R) cannot expect a walk over in these mid-term elections and they have to put in their best even to retain their present position.

Losses in Public Sector Business

We hear that nationalisation of business and industries will be taken up by government on a wider scale in the near future. There are no rational grounds for thinking on such lines, for nationalised industries had not been managed profitably so far by the managers employed by the state. The half year ending September 1970 saw losses of Rs. 9.35 crores in the Heavy Engineering Corporation, Rs 8.76 crores in Hindustan Steel, Rs 5.14

crores in Neyveli Lignite Corporation, Rs 3.54 crores in Heavy Electrical and Rs 4.76 crores in Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals. State Trading Corporation showed profits probably for the reason that it exported and imported other people's products mostly on others peoples' account. The Indian Telephone industries made profits, but then its products had to be purchased by the state at prices fixed by the state on a non-competitive basis.

Nationalisation of economic institutions is justified by assumptions which turn out to be unfounded in facts. One assumption is that nationalisation cuts out private profit and thus enables the public to obtain goods at a fair and just price. It also assures quality as private profit makers cheat the buyers by lowering quality. Facts show that inspite of national ownership the state owned industries give ample scope to private contractors, suppliers of materials and machinery agents and various other associated persons to make profits by increasing expenses of the parent organisation. The idea that nationalisation enables the best workers to be engaged in the jobs most suited to their talents, also appear to be an utterly false assumption in so far as nationalised industries carry non-productive workers in large numbers and cannot carry out any rational personnel policy worth the name. Nationalisation appears to be the total negation of Rationalisation. The profit motive in private enterprise is a great check on waste and a stimulus to a highly productive outlook. Socialistic thoughts at high level do not guarantee any urges for thrift or high production in the managers or the workers of socialised establishments.

THE ROLE OF CHARACTER IN THE MODERN NOVEL SOME REFLECTIONS

R. N. MOOKERJEE

Of the features of the modern novel, one of the most conspicuous is the absence of memorable characters. While the Victorian novel presents us with an array of glittering men and women who stand out and remain permanently impressed on our minds, the modern novel hardly presents any worth remembering. The denuding of character seems to be an integral part of contemporary fiction. As C. E. M. Joad points out, "The great triumph of the Victorian novelists lay in their ability to create characters, and it is the absence of memorable and outstanding characters which constitutes the chief difference between the Victorian novel and the modern."¹ Almost all the important nineteenth-century novelists considered the creation of character as one of the most important elements of their craft, and did, in fact, possess the gift of creating characters. Their books teem with real live people, as round and rich and vital as their flesh-and-blood prototypes. The characters of Dickens and Thackeray, George Eliot and the Brontes, Trollope and Mrs. Gaskell are undoubtedly among the most memorable achievements of fiction. A mere look at the number of Victorian novels having the name of the hero or the heroine as their title gives an idea of the prominence they gave to this aspect of fiction. By their characters they set great store. They rarely introduced them without a lot of fan-fare and descriptive matter preceding them. One can get any number of illustrations in Dickens. Even such an unimportant character as Mrs. Corney, widow

and matron of the workhouse in *Oliver Twist* is given three full pages of preliminary description. Mr. Podsnap, in *Our Mutual Friend*, who plays no part in the main story, is described in three pages before Dickens allows him to open his mouth. This elaborate introduction of the characters was undoubtedly symptomatic of the importance they had in the Victorian novel.

The modern novel, beginning with the Edwardians, presents a striking contrast to the Victorian in this respect. "An array of memorable characters," as Joad remarks, "is precisely what the modern novel does not provide... When we come to the most modern writers, Joyce and Lawrence, Huxley and Virginia Woolf, the memorable character has disappeared altogether. It is difficult to remember so much as the name of any of the personages in these later books."² Miss Mary McCarthy, after a rather extensive examination of this subject, also comes to a similar conclusion: "the great national portrait gallery that constituted the English novel is short of new acquisitions. The sense of character began to fade with D. H. Lawrence. After *Sons and Lovers*, we do not remember figures in Lawrence's books, except for a few short malicious sketches. There are hardly any people in Virginia Woolf or in Forster or Elizabeth Bowen or Henry Green."³ Even a Marxist critic, Ralph Fox, bemoans the death of the hero in the modern novel and writes: "It seems an unnecessary platitude to emphasize that a novel should be chiefly

concerned with the creation of character. Unfortunately, except in a formal sense, this is no longer in fact the chief concern of modern novelists. Novels today are concerned with almost everything but human character."⁴ We are led to the conclusion that "a concern with character in the old sense—ideas of verisimilitude, believability, pleasure in the character for its own sake—these have not been respectable responses to fiction for a long time."⁵

Once, however, this premise is accepted, it raises an important question. Does it mean that the moderns are inferior to the Victorians and are incapable of creating characters to match their predecessors? Such an inference would not only be totally unjustified but also grossly mistaken. Few can deny that the modern novelists have made a tremendous advance in the art of the novel and their achievements are enough indication of their skill in the craft of fiction. The disparity, therefore, arises not from any inferiority of talent, but is a logical outcome of a difference of aim. It is proposed to examine in the following pages the views of the novelists themselves on the role of character in the novel, their interpretation of character, and make an attempt to account for the disappearance of Victorian-type characters from the pages of the modern novel.

II

A study of the novel as an art and detailed examination of the various aspects of fiction was begun by Henry James. It is James, more than any one else, who sums up the modern novelist's attitude towards character, which is applicable to the modern novel in a wide sense. In his essay, "The Art of Fiction," James says, "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character? What is either

a picture or a novel that is *not* of character? What else do we seek in it? It is an incident for a woman to stand up with her hand resting on a table and look out at you in a certain way; or if it be not an incident I think it will be hard to say what it is. At the same time it is an expression of character."⁶ In these words James strikes the keynote of the modern novelist's attitude towards this problem of which first: character or plot? He further clarifies: "Character, in any sense in which we can get it, it is action, and action is plot, and any plot which hangs together, even if it pretend to interest us only in the fashion of a Chinese puzzle, plays upon our emotion, our suspense, by means of personal reference. We care for people only in proportion as we know what people are."⁷

All the major novelists who followed James, the 'Edwardians' as termed by Mrs. Woolf, acknowledge that character is important. It is interesting to note that the starting point of Mrs Woolf's famous lecture, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown," is the following remark of Arnold Bennett: "The foundation of good fiction is character-creation and nothing else. . . Style counts; plot counts; originality of outlook counts. But none of these counts so much as the convincingness of the characters."⁸ John Galsworthy thinks, that "vitality of character creation is the key to such permanence as may attach to the biography, the play, and the novel."⁹ Mrs Virginia Woolf expresses herself on this point exhaustively and a major part of her lecture referred to earlier is devoted to her interpretation of Character. About the role of character in the novel, she says, "I believe that all novels, that is to say, deal with character, and that it is to express character—not to preach doctrines, sing songs, or celebrate the glories of the British Empire, that the form of the novel, so clumsy, verbose, and undramatic, so rich, elastic, and alive, has

been evolved."¹⁰ To make herself more explicit, she adds: "But novelists differ from the rest of the world because they do not cease to be interested in character when they have learnt enough about it for practical purposes. They go a step further; they feel that there is something permanently interesting in character in itself.... The study of character becomes to them an absorbing pursuit; to impart character an obsession."¹¹

A number of other novelists, though not prepared to give such unqualified prominence to character over all other aspects of fiction, nevertheless, acknowledge that it is important. Miss Elizabeth Bowen, who finds the claim of plot greater and holds that "characters are called into existence by the demands of the plot,"¹² is at the same time prepared to concede that our interest in the novel is largely because of the characters. "Would you or I, as readers, be drawn into a novel-implicated with what may be its other issues, at all—if our interest was not pegged to the personalities and the outlooks and the actions of the people whom we encounter inside the story? They are the attractive element in the book."¹³ She, like, Henry James, feels that character and action are intimately linked: "The character is there [in the novel] for the sake of the action he or she is to contribute to the plot. Yes. But also, he or she exists outside the action contributed to the plot. Without that existence of the character outside the action, the action itself would be invalid."¹⁴ W. Somerset Maugham, primarily interested in the story, however, does not approve of the novelist's exclusive concern with characterization. "At present there is a tendency," he remarks, "to dwell on characterization rather than on incident and, of course, characterization is important; for unless you come to know intimately the persons of a novel, and so can sympathize with them,

you are unlikely to care what happens to them. But to concentrate on your characters, rather than on what happens to them, is merely one way of writing a novel like another. The tale of pure incident, in which the characterization is perfunctory or commonplace has as much right to exist as the other."¹⁵ Graham Greene, concerned in his novels with the larger issues of sin and corruption in life which does not afford much opportunity for ambitious character-creation, nevertheless, considers character as vital. He even suggests that a novel can stand on the basis of character alone. Writing of Mauriac's great power of creating characters, he declares: "Described as plots his novels would sometimes seem to flicker like an early film. But who would attempt to describe them as plots? Wipe out the whole progression of events and we would be left still with the characters in a way I can compare with no other novelist. Take away Mrs. Dalloway's capability of self-expression and there is not merely no novel but no Mrs. Dalloway: take away the plot from Dickens and the characters who have lived so vividly from event to event would dissolve. But if the Comtesse de Mirbil had not committed adultery, if Jean's guardian, the evil Papal Zouave, had never lifted a hand against him...the characters, we feel, would have continued to exist in identically the same way."¹⁶

Many other novelists have not specifically expressed themselves on this aspect in their writings on the art of fiction. E. M. Forster devotes two chapters to what he terms 'people' in his book, *Aspects of the Novel*, but his concern is with character-portrayal and its methods and not its significance. It is, however, worth noticing that the majority of the modern novelists agree that character is an important element in the novel, though, in their views on its relative importance, they differ. Yet one looks in vain for great characters in their

books. This seeming incompatibility is explained only when one understands that what the modern novelists mean by character is something very different from what the Victorians had in mind. It is this difference of conception of character which, besides other factors, is the basic reason for the absence of Victorian-type characters.

III

It has been stated that the modern novelists, by and large, do think that the creation of character is an important element of the novelist's work. But when they talk of character, they are more interested in rendering a true-to-life image of the human being, probing into the innermost recesses of his mind. The great nineteenth century characters, memorable no doubt, hardly show any such concern, and are relatively less complex.

The real point of difference, thus, is the new and different meaning the moderns give to character. Mrs. Woolf wants this distinction to be clearly understood: "To express character, I have said; but you will at once reflect that the very widest interpretation can be put upon those words. For example, old Mrs. Brown's character will strike you very differently according to the age and country in which you happen to be born. ...And then besides age and country there is the writer's temperament to be considered. You see one thing in character, and I another. You say it means this, and I that. And when it comes to writing each makes a further selection on principles of his own. Thus Mrs. Brown can be treated in an infinite variety of ways, according to the age, country, and temperament of the writer."¹⁷ It is, therefore, quite incorrect to assume that the modern novel ignores characters at the cost of ideology, or the plot or the story. If we do not find Victorian-type heroic figures in modern novels, it is because

the modern novelist finds that such figures hardly exist in life. Even if some such figures exist, he is not interested in them only. Arnold Bennett had said that, "the race of heroes is essential to art"¹⁸; but if there are hardly any heroes in the society which the artist depicts, how can one expect them? As James says in "The Art of Fiction", "the only reason for the existence of a novel is that it does attempt to represent life." Even Galsworthy, who is more close to the Victorians than the moderns so far as technique is concerned, felt that "the demand for the heroic character in fiction is, indeed, the cry of such as do not understand the implications of their own request. It is a sure sign of inexperience; and, in general, evidence of a deficient aesthetic sense."¹⁹

A number of other reasons have been advanced to account for the absence of character (Conventional) in the modern novel. D. J. Hughes mentions the following: "Freudian, psychology, of loss of personal and social authority, the dazzling example of Kafka, that undefined determinant we have come to call the Human Condition, etc."²⁰ Miss Mary McCarthy thinks that it is due to the loss of interest in the social: "the fictional experiments of the twentieth century went in two directions: sensibility and sensation. The effect of these two tendencies on the subject matter of the novel was identical. Sensation and sensibility are the poles of each other, and both have the effect of abolishing the social. Sensibility, like violent action, annihilates the sense of character."²¹

These explanations are valid to an extent, but the basic reason lies in the change of outlook towards character. This change and its resulting impact on the contemporary novel is, in turn, due to the psychological approach of the modern novelist, his desire to look inside his men and women, and not be content with his external actions. To him "the principal

material of fiction is the inner life of minds under the stress of situations."²² Unlike the nineteenth-century novelist, whose object was to create characters from an external view, to point a moral or to adorn a tale, the modern writers's chief concern is to find out exactly what people are like, and to record his discoveries. Joseph Warren Beach draws attention to the fact that "the novel has generally concerned itself with that which most interests men, action; and the subjective moments are such as bear upon a definite line of conduct. In our day an extra-ordinary amount of interest has been shown in what we may call passive states of mind, states undirected by what Arnold terms 'our sense of conduct.'"²³

Once interest in the actions of men ceases, the disappearance of the Victorian-type characters logically follows. If the novelist sets out to convey the whole variety of contradictory moods and impulses which is a person, entering with other persons similarly constituted into relations which inevitably reflect the shifting characteristics of their constituents, it is hardly possible for him to produce a straightforward tale in which clear-cut personages, reacting according to their natures, play their appointed and predictable parts. On the contrary, the story is bound to be unimportant, the characters scarcely remembered. Hence, the modern novelist, since he moves "into the labyrinthine realms of inner being,"²⁴ is not expected to be concerned at all with the Victorian sense of character. In fact, according to the psychological novelist, the portrayal of character (as he understands it) is hardly possible, for, to him, as David Daiches puts it, "character is a process not a state, and the truth about men's reactions to their environment—and what is a man's character but his reactions to environment, actual and potential?—can be presented

only through some attempt to show this process at work. An understanding of this view can help us to understand one of the main directive forces at work in contemporary fiction."²⁵ In their sense of the term, these novelists are, therefore, deeply concerned with character and all their experimentation with technique has been motivated by their desire to find a suitable means of expressing what they think is character. In *Ulysses*, for instance, Joyce's narrative hangs loosely on its borrowed Homeric framework, but its concern is really with character, not plot. The hero has not really disappeared: he has been so changed that we are unable to recognize him. As Professor Leon Edel observes: "Marcel unravelling his life at Cambrai, Stephen strutting with his ashplant, Bloom eating the Kidney in Eccles Street, Molly submerged in her sexual fantasies—these are hardly the noble exalted, developed figures of the old novels. Granted we have moved from the open air of Waterloo and the Napoleonic battles on the route to Moscow, into the corklined room, the Martello tower, or even the privy in Eccles Street. We touch here on the question whether a figure is diminished in stature because we see it in its more mundane character."²⁶

From the foregoing analysis, it becomes quite obvious that the importance and role of character in fiction has not diminished in the modern novel. However, it is equally evident that while the modern novel has gained in reflecting the complexity of human character, it has lost in the creation of memorable characters, which was one of the outstanding achievements of their predecessors. Writing in 1947 about the future of fiction, V. S. Pritchett said that whatever happens it is reasonable to say that the interest in character for its own sake has gone, and that the real subject of the best writing now being done is that impersonal shadow, "the contemporary situation."²⁷ This

is perhaps true in a way, and an interest in character as such may never again be seen. However, there seems to be a tendency in the fiction of recent years to break away from the tradition of the novelists of the twenties who were ever experimenting with form and psychological enquiry. In his recent book, *Reflections on a Literary Revolution*, Graham Hough records that he finds, "two influential novelists of the present generation who are not at all parochial but very much men of the world. Mr Angus Wilson and Sir Charles Snow, have expressed or implied or suggested a large lack of interest in the experimental fiction of the twenties; their suasions are toward the large-scale socially oriented novel."²⁸ Among others there is an increasing awareness of the possibilities that lay before the novelist in concentrating on character and one wonders if "this theme, the novelist in search of a character to write about, might not become an important strategy for the novelists in the coming years."²⁹

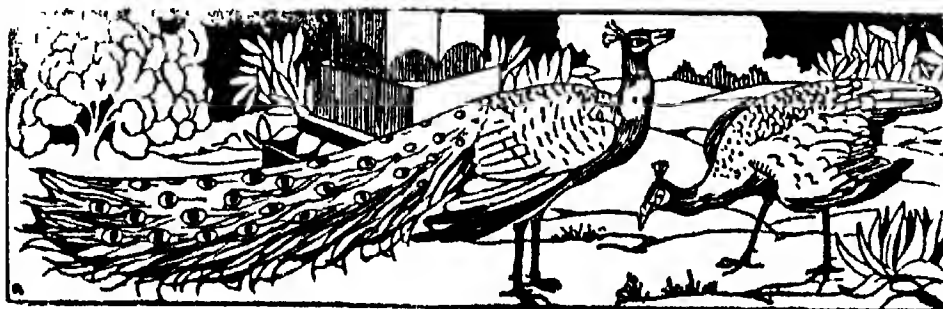
After decades of experimentation and innovation in the form and content of the modern novel, the present novelists seem to be getting free of the excessive preoccupation with form and as William Van O'Connor remarks, "leap back of Mrs Woolf and Joyce—to the pre-modern Bennett."³⁰ The books of John Baine, David Storey, and Alan Sillitoe are not very different from Bennett's, and "deal with their subjects in a manner he might have employed."³¹ Is this a prelude to the reinstatement of character (in the sense of heroic personages) to its former place of prime importance in fiction? Time only will say. One conclusion, can, however, be safely drawn; whatever its relative place in the novel of the future be, character will continue to be an important element in the art of the novel. "There are certain primary reasons why the creation of individual character as the chief

motive and function of the novelist may never be adequately replaced by the pursuit of fine writing, verbose dialectics, vibrational reproductions of life, or even by these subtle expositions of the generalized human soul."³² These words of Galsworthy will continue to be valid irrespective of time, for as Miss Bowen says, "One thing we may be certain of—people are the novel's concern, and with people the novel will remain involved; though who they are and what parts they are to play may change with time and the showing may change accordingly."³³

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LOBBIES AND PRESSURE GROUPS AT WORK IN NEW DELHI

DIPAK B. R. CHAUDHURI

(Though the C. B. I. and Central Intelligence Bureau have already made some progress in identifying the lobbyists and liaison men of the major business interests and foreign powers, the present author feels that the Parliament should adopt legislative measure for registration of all types of lobbyists and the Council for Social Sciences Research should sponsor depth studies of the various existing and emergent pressure or interest groups operating in the country)

Every democratic society worthy of the name must have some lawful means by which individuals and groups can lay their needs before various branches of the government. One of the central purposes of government is that people should be able to reach it ; the principal purpose of what we call 'lobbying' is that they should be able to reach it with maximum impact and possibility of success.

In the American constitution the 'right to petition' the government and the legislature is guaranteed by the First Amendment. In our constitution, the right to petition the legislatures has not been specifically mentioned, but the rules of both Houses of the Parliament anticipate petitions. The term 'lobbying' has been in common usage for approximately 100 years and has been given many definitions. In the language of contemporary political science, 'lobbying' is the activity of representing the cause of an interest group in the political system.

Lobbying is an integral and often constructive part of the legislative process, not as a source of information that Congress must have in the enactment of sound laws and as an outlet for the aims and desires of special

interest groups. But systematic and well planned operations of large pressure groups prevent rather than encourage the balanced compromises that are the goal of the democratic system.

At this stage, it is necessary to define the terms 'interest groups' (also described as pressure groups). An interest is simply a concern shared by a large number of individuals. An interest group is an organisation of individuals who share one or more interests and who try to influence decisions of the political system so as to promote their interests. A lobbyist is an individual hired by an interest group to represent its cause before the political and administrative decision makers.

Both political parties and pressure groups are unofficial instruments of government—that is they are not provided for in the constitution and they are not among those governmental institutions whose actions are binding on the society. Yet their unofficial actions have a most important bearing on how public decisions are made. While parties are broadbased groups able to appeal to a fairly wide range of interests and philosophies, pressure groups memberships are generally limited to those who share a common affiliation and interest or to those who subscribe to a specific position on a particular issue. Lobbies and pressure groups seek to influence the government while the political parties seek to organise and control it.

Private interest groups justify their private interests in terms of public principles. It would appear that private interest groups generally see themselves as rivals in a contest

for advantage, entitled to be given a 'fair' weighting rather than to have their claims to a public interest considered. The inclusive objective of pressure groups is to influence public policy in some desired direction. The techniques which will promote that objective are varied: gaining access to and influence in the centres where governmental decisions are made, developing favourable attitudes among the public at large and in other groups or influencing the nomination and election of favourably disposed candidates.

As a result of their interest representation function interest-groups play an important role in generating support for the political system. Whenever persons are able to influence them they are likely to give support to the political system.

Major pressure groups can be classified in the following categories—Economic Interest Groups e.g. Farmers' Parliamentary Forum, Fertiliser Assn. Concorde FICCI, TUCS 2. Ideological Interest Groups e.g. Prohibition lobby, Anti-Cow-Slaughter lobby etc. 3. Economic-Ideological Interest Groups e.g. Forum of free enterprise (late Mr. Nehru described the Swatantra Party as political projection of this Forum 4. Minority Interest Groups e.g. Depressed Classes League save Aligarh, Arya Samaj etc. 5. Formal Governmental Organisations e.g. state Liaison set-ups in Delhi 6. Foreign Interest Groups e.g. Friends of Taiwan or Israel, Indo-GDR Society etc.

The majority of our citizens pay more taxes than they should because of special privileges and concessions arranged by lobbyists for wealthy individuals, powerful corporations, rich farmers etc.

The well-developed and emerging lobbies here work in iceberg way, only the tips are visible. But in the recent days specially during the last two years several lobbies

worked vigorously even trying to alter the character of the parties and the government.

During the 11th session (August 1970) the fourth Lok Sabha approved certain measures including the Patents Bill and the Constitutional Amendment for Abolition of the Privy Purses. The history of the difficult Patents legislation efforts since the early 'fifties' at different enquiry select committee and house stages shows the intense work by a number of lobbies. The Foreign Drugs lobby credited themselves for achieving dissolution of the 3rd Lok Sabha a month ahead of the due date. It is also well-known how the concord of the Princes tried to influence voting on the constitution Amendment Bill in both houses of the Parliament. The lobbies do not only work in the legislatures at the house stage. They start their work at legislative drafting and select committee levels. There were many other forums through which the decision making by the ministers and civilians can be influenced. A perusal of the agenda papers of various advisory and consultative committees will show the hands of industries and other interests.

In lobbying parlance, those who rely essentially on the sum of the private interests definition are commonly referred to as profit or status quo lobbyists. The shoe usually fits, since their legislative interests, when the verbiage is stripped away usually come down to the protection of profits or private property. Those who invoke the rallying cry of the greatest good for the greatest number generally are referred to as non-profit lobbyists or sometimes pro bono publico lobbyists. In India where the Prohibition Lobby financed by the government instead of bootleggers may be described as pro bono publico lobby. Similar is the case of the congress Forum for Socialist Action.

Some of the earliest organised lobbies in

New Delhi besides the various organisations of the Scheduled communities are the groups of Farmers and that of the Fertiliser interest. Of course I am excluding the lobbies maintained by great powers and other foreign political agencies. An oral History interviews with former M. P. Ministers and retired civilians will be able to provide a historical background to today's better organised lobbying set-ups.

It is quite well known that several Big Business Houses maintain their friends in the legislatures and the secretariat. Quite frequently their interests clash and neutralise each other.

But besides lobbying for the individual businessman or house certain common trade interest groups work together. In recent years the cement and sugar industries exhibited consolidated and well planned lobby work. The cement industry secured decontrol and CACO and many politicians and political groups benefitted from it. They lost their position when Mrs. Gandhi became the Prime Minister.

On the other hand defeat of Tripathy leadership and success of the S.V.D. in Uttar Pradesh shows the strength of the sugar industry of Uttar Pradesh. The largest and costliest lobbying campaign was conducted by the Indian sugar mills association in the interest of their members from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The ISMA commissioned a public relations agency for grassroots and highlevel lobbying against the proposal to nationalise sugar mills of this states. Before presenting the cases against nationalisation of the industry they prepared a booklet presenting the faces of the giant demon known as the public sector. The well produced booklet (through the identity of the printer was not disclosed as required by law) attacked the Prime Minister. This and some more booklets in English, Hindi and other languages were mailed to all legis-

lators, newsmen and civilians all over India. The Sugar Mills Association secured active assistance of a top leader of the INTUC in their highlevel liaison work. Major newspapers were patronized. The ISMA campaign was modelled on the British sugar industry's earlier campaign nicknamed as Mr. Cube's campaign in the public relations circle.

Several advertising agencies have started special public relations departments for liaison and lobby work in the national capital. Several big foreign firms have shifted their public relations branches headquarters from Calcutta and Bombay to New Delhi, some have retained these branches as 'Public Affairs Divisions' instead of simple public relations. Most of these foreign and Indian private sector agencies look for ex communists to head these liaison and lobbying units. The 1969 split in the Congress party will be better understood in terms of lobbying activities on behalf of several interests like 'liquid amonia'.

The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) it is understood, has already prepared a list of notorious liaison representatives of business houses working in the economic ministries and elsewhere. The Intelligence Bureau study on foreign money has also revealed the operations of lobbies and pressure groups working within the country on behalf of great and smaller powers.

The lobbies and pressure groups work both in the lobbies of the legislature and at other levels including the grassroots level (through such means of direct mailing). The political scientists and specially the council for Social Sciences Research should initiate scientific and systematic study of pressure groups. The responsibility for study of secret and open parliamentary groups will be primarily with the press correspondents and official investigating agencies.

Meanwhile the parliament should enact for compulsory registration of all lobbyists and recording of lobbying expenses, improving on the present American Federal Legislation,

THE MESSAGE OF TAGORE'S POST OFFICE

D. V. S. R. MURTY

Rabindranath Tagore's *The Post Office*, the most successful play on the stage, is a remarkable artistic whole which launches the poet's experience which is quite abstruse and elusive to the common imagination. The experience is quite concrete to him and so he avows : 'To me, they { incidents in *The Post Office* } are very concrete.' The theme of the play seems to be quite simple though the problems loom large when one comes to the end of the play, where Amal falls into sleep. Is this sleep or trance or death or something else ? Dr. Iyengar highlights the problems thus : 'Would the king send a letter to Amal ? Could Amal become a postman and carry the King's message to one and all ? ... Is the *Post Office* an allegory ?' He points out that a child could read and understand, though it might intrigue the grown-ups. It is most intriguing to one who confronts those problems.

The Theme :

To most common readers it is the life of an orphan boy, Amal. His uncle Madhav, who is childless, adopts him, and then finds a meaning in his life. Till then 'earning was a sort of passion' to him, and it becomes a 'joy', when he finds one to bequeath it to. Unfortunately the boy becomes an invalid to whom the autumn sun and wind are most harmful. So he is locked up in a room when he longs to go out to play and associate with the objects of Nature. He converses with the passers-by, and the curd-seller, the flower-girl and the maids let loose his imagination.

The Watchman comes to him, and Amal enquires whether the time is ripe for him to

strike the gong. The Watchman tells him that the time is not ripe for him to strike, and he strikes it to tell that Time waits for none, and goes on forever to an unknown place where all people will go finally. All people will be liberated one day by one greater than all. Amal enquires about the big house, and knows that it is the King's post office. The King will have Postmen, Watchmen and Headmen.

Amal hears the striking of the gong finally. Gaffar in the costume of a fakir, asks him to prepare to wed his niece. Amal becomes angry and leaves him. The King's Herald enters and announces that the King calls on him that night. Amal is free from all pain, and is fresh. The King's Physician comes and declares that Amal is asleep, and the play ends.

The Allegory :

The play undoubtedly reflects the days of Tagore's childhood. Like Amal he was a prisoner in the Jaransanko mansion, which offered him little escape, and imposed more or less a regimented life. At the same time he lived in the centre of an important religious renaissance as his father was a great religious force, and especially the power behind the Brahmo Samaj. Rabindranath, therefore, was fed on the deeply disturbing currents of religion which proliferated in the young mind deep devotion and profound worship of Nature. He lived in perfect isolation as a boy, for there was no intimate contact between him and the elders, and so his life was devoid of that ineffable love and affection that would spring out of human

intimacy. Deprived of the contacts he was flung to the servants' quarters, where he spent most of his time.

Like Amal Rabindranath had a dull, drab and insipid home life, and it spread from morning to night reducing him to a mere gadget. At the age of eight he left Calcutta for a villa on the bank of the Hugly at Peneti, which was about eight miles from the city. He was almost a prisoner in the Jarasanko mansion, and he yearned for Nature that 'beckoned him from beyond the prison bars., His real communion which Nature began at that time, and he had his first mystic experience when he was eight years old. It is a deliverance from the earthly bonds, for as Wordsworth says :

Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living a soul :

Amal's Sleep :

Amal is kept in a dark room and all the windows are closed to stop the autumn air from entering the room. But the State Physician comes, and opens all the doors and windows. The human soul is also imprisoned in the human body, and the senses are the windows that let the soul escape out of the 'rose mesh', that becomes a living soul in communion with Beauty and Truth. When the body dabbles in earthly pleasures, the soul gets no succour and languishes like that of Amal. The soul's malady will be mistaken to be that of the body. Amal is treated with medicines, which keep the lingering life of the boy on. The Watchman says that the boy's face is pale, and dark rings are round his eyes. They are the signs of the impending emancipation and release. Just before he falls into that final sleep Amal says :

'No, Fakir, did you think I was asleep ? I wasn't, I can hear everything ; yes, and voices far away. I feel that mother and father are sitting by my pillow and speaking to me.'

His soul is now beyond Time and Space, and commune with all. Therefore we cannot but conclude that Amal had his final emancipation and entered eternal sleep.

A Messenger :

Why should Amal enter eternal sleep then ? And why should Amal wish to be a messenger and not a watchman or a Headman ? If he wants to be a messenger, what is his message ? Amal is a messenger of death, and dies to convey the message—the futility of earthly life—to people like Madhav. Consummation is to be sought not on this earth, but in Heaven, and death is the only way. Birth binds us to the earth with a flowery band. There are the Watchmen and Headmen, who warn the people, and try to place them on a right path. They carry the messages of God to one and all. Amal says 'It would be splendid to have a letter from the King everyday.. To have a letter from him is to remember him. Madhav does not think of the King and so the Headman says : 'Madhav's impudence staggers me. If the King hears of this, that'll take some of his nonsense out of him'.

Madhav is driven to distraction by the pursuit of the fragmentary, and sees only the aspects of unity. To Tagore life is a continuous process of synthesis, and not of additions like that of Madhav. The activities of production and enjoyment of wealth attain the spirit of wholeness when they are blended with a creative ideal. Evidently Madhav lacks that creative instinct, which imparts the sense of wholeness to his life. To Tagore our society exists to remind us through its various

voices, that the ultimate truth is not in his intellect or in his possessions but in his illumination of mind. Amal rightly shows this to Madhav, who lives a life of additions. In everyday life his personality moves in a narrow circle of immediate self-interest. Indeed it is a break of harmony with the good, and dissociation with the true. The world goes gloriously ahead only when there is in the atmosphere the calm of control, of purity and renunciation. That atmosphere enters the life of Madhav with the death of Amal, who acts as a messenger of emancipation.

The Post Office is the second play in the trilogy. In his first drama *Chitra* Tagore gives expression to 'the eternal in the wedded love, a union between the spirits of Reality and Goodness*'. The play ends with a suggestion of birth when Chitra tells Arjuna that she is nursing his baby in her womb, for 'love springs up struggling toward immortal life'. There is Amal in *The Post Office*, and he is born out of the union between Reality

and Goodness, i.e. *Prakrit* and *Purush*, enunciated *Chitra*. He has no place in the world of Madhav and it is the world of ours ; and he is a sick child who finds no nourishment, and therefore enters eternal sleep. In our world of materialism there is no place for beauty and goodness, and Mammon, who rules the roost and is worshipped. Tagore turns the minds of such people like Madhav with the message of Amal to *The King of the Dark Chamber*, which is the third play of Tagore. Life loses its charm and value, if people pursue worldly possessions ignoring the message of Nature. *The Post Office* is, therefore, intriguing when considered separately. Amal is a pure child of Nature, and he craves for her, exalts in her presence and finally escapes from the sick world into eternal sleep to have a perennial communion with her.

Foot note :

*. *Nature in 'Chitra'*. *Modern Review* July, 1966.



INDIA ON THE THRESHHOLD OF AN AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Agricultural development is an essential condition of economic growth in India. Agriculture contributes 50 percent of the National Income ; provides livelihood to 70 percent of the people ; supplies the bulk of wage goods to the non-agricultural sector, produces raw materials for a large sector of industry and accounts for ever 50 percent of the export trade. Transport, marketing, processing, financing and other aspects of Agricultural production have also a strong influence on the national economy. Development of agriculture is fundamental to the building up of the much needed economic and social overheads in the rural sector. The key to our economic progress lies in the development of agriculture. Prof. A. M. Khasro, one of the leading economists on the agricultural problems of India, while discussing the relevance of agriculture in the Indian economic development said "almost everthing which happens to the Indian economy, whether it is inflation or under utilisation of industrial capacity or a balance of payments crisis, seems to have its roots in agricultural shortfalls. Agriculture forms the very foundation of industries.

Indian agriculture is on the thresh-hold of a major revolution. A new strategy adopted some two years ago has now started paying rich dividends. Agriculture no more continues to remain a way of life, it is fast becoming an industry under the New Strategy for Agriculture, first outlined in the union Ministry of Agriculture Report "Re-orientation of Programmes". In November 1965, it was estimated that one eleventh of the cultivated area or 33 million acres in selected districts with

assured irrigation, could, if sowed with the new varieties, be expected to yield 25.5 million tonnes by 1970-71 and this would increase the total production of foodgrains to 120 million tonnes. It is proposed to extend the area of operation of the strategy from 15 million to an area of 60 million acres or about 15 percent of the total cropped area by 1975 to give an additional foodgrains production of 35 million tonnes. By 1970-71 the country is to be made self sufficient in food by increasing foodgrain production to 125 million tonnes.

The streamlined and strengthened agricultural administration has been making herculean efforts to bring about a major breakthrough in the age old stagnant agricultural sector. Its all round intensive efforts have been recognised not only in the country, but also by the international agencies like the World Bank. The long term trend in agricultural production in India has been observed, to be on the upward direction. The rate of growth achieved over the period of the three five year plans is not unimpressive. The progress of agricultural production in India compares favourably with that of other countries. There was a jump of 25 percent in the foodgrains production from 76 million tonnes in 1966-67 to 96 million tonnes in 1967-68. In the Economic Survey for the year 1968-69, presented in the Lok Sabha by the then Finance Minister on 21st Feb., 1969, it was reported that there has been a marked improvement in the case of wheat as a result of the New Agricultural strategy. Coarse grains like maize also responded significantly. The New Agricultural strategy is stated to

have taken the country on the right road to rapid agricultural growth. Mr. Morarji Desai, the then Finance Minister during the course of his budget speech for the year 1969-70 also acknowledged the impact of the agricultural strategy on increasing production by stating that "the expectation in my last budget speech that given the right policies, 1968-69 could become a year of revival has been largely fulfilled". Mr. Desai himself admitted that the imports are now being replaced by domestic production over a wide front as a result of the efforts made over successive plan periods. Almost everyday we are reading in the newspapers stories about the impact of agricultural prosperity on the living conditions of our agriculturists. Apart from spending more on better varieties of seeds, or improving irrigation facilities on his fields, oil engines and pumps, the Indian agriculturist is spending sizeable amounts on building houses, and buying of gold and silver also, particularly in the prosperous areas of the country. Though the green revolution is only in the first stage there have been record crops in the last few years. Revolutionary improvement has yet to come in rice and indeed it has yet to come in maize and in non cereals like sugarcane, groundnuts, and oilseeds, the latter having a great export potential. Mr. Khurro therefore wants to place a curb on our enthusiasm by saying "you are far away from any kind of revolution. So do not live with pipe dreams. The agricultural revolution is not all milk and honey. There are many big things that have yet to be done if the new revolutionary trends are not to peter out or spell colossal wastages".

Markets, business practices, rural roads, means of communication, grading, storage, and credit, all will have to be improved. A long process of acreage shifts from one food crop to another and from one non foodcrop

to another has to be initiated soon on a massive scale, through forecasting, calculating, planning, pricing, taxing, and subsidizing appropriately. The pains of these frictions of the price mechanism and the adjustments following therefore, would have to be smoothened out. To make the green revolution successful over a period of time, it is essential that the inputs are made available in requisite quantities and at proper time. For ushering in an agricultural revolution, appropriate institutional and organisational structure has to be created, improved implements, electric power and diesel oil, fertilizers, pesticides, and improved seeds and adequate credit have also to be made available, an impact has to be produced on every farmer, to evolve for each village a programme and a calendar of action with a view to utilize the additional resources to the maximum advantage. The administrative and organisational apparatus outright from the central government level, extending down to the State, district, block and village levels and even to each of the individual farmers needs to be geared up and our own attitude to the problem of agriculture has to be realistic and practical. Investment on agriculture including those in research, inputs such as fertilizers and water and provision of credit and storage facilities must have a prior claim, the requisite social and the ability and willingness of the dominant political institutions to carry out the necessary structural reforms have to be developed. Major emphasis should be laid on the relatively inexpensive ground water resources and their uses, flow cum ground water irrigation system covering large areas for intensive cultivation, wells, filter points and tube well construction programmes transformation of the traditional agriculture to agriculture based on modern scientific and technological methods, injected on a massive scale into almost every sphere of agricultural

section viz. research, experimentation, education, training, extension, optimum utilisation and proper management of land and water resources etc. This is only an illustrative list, not an exhaustive list of the various steps that are to be taken immediately for the ushering in of a green revolution in India.

The agricultural revolution that is now being extensively talked about in this country is not a matter of soothsaying or guessing, it is a matter of projecting in the near future the new trends that are already visible as stated by Mr. A. M. Khusro. Accomplishment of an agricultural revolution is a task of national importance and not an item for a Ministry or Ministers and Departments. It must develop over the whole sphere of national life, Starting from Government, extending to governmental and non-official organisations, educational institutions, representative bodies of people at various levels, traders, industrialists and individual farmers—all have to contribute their mite in the accomplishment of the goal of agricultural prosperity and abundance. The commercial banks also have a vital role to play in the transformation of the traditional agriculture and injecting a new spirit of dynamism into agriculture by the application of massive doses of modern, scientific and technological methods, processes, devices, and techniques. At a time when Indian agriculture is undergoing rapid transformation it would not be advisable for the banks to keep away from it. In his inaugural speech at the seminar organised jointly by the U. P. Agricultural University, Pantnagar and the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, in the month of October 1968, at New Delhi, Mr. D. Shivaraman, Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture Government of India also emphasized the need on the part of the bankers to understand the economic implications of the current agricultural revolution.

There is an urgent necessity to coordinate the efforts of commercial banks and cooperatives to ensure that any over-borrowing and duplication are avoided; over-borrowing is not resorted to by the farmers, high potential projects are not left out for want of funds and that no area is denied the financial facilities for agricultural production. The structure of interest rates in the field of rural credit, costs of providing farm credit, economic viability of rural branches, legal aspects of security, linking of credit with marketing, causes and consequences of overdues of co-operatives and mobilization of rural deposits; are some of the several important problems discussed at the seminar organised by the U. P. Agricultural University and the Indian Institute of Management.

Financing the Production of agricultural inputs, both agro-based and industry based, the distribution of agricultural inputs, agricultural marketing, processing and warehousing, farming operations of the cultivators and the specific projects such as seed farms, minor irrigation schemes, including tubewells, pump sets, laying out field channels etc, improvement on land reclamation, soil conservation and consolidation of holdings, distribution of fertilizers, pesticides, improved seeds and more efficient farm implements, including tractors electrification schemes, construction of godowns, and cold storages, marketing and processing, plantations and orchards, dairying, animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries, etc which promote agricultural development which are very big, very costly, and technically more sophisticated; should be done in collaboration with official agencies such as electricity boards, agro-industries corporations and development schemes such as the I.A.D.P. and the I.A.A.P., Agricultural Universities, state farms, land development banks etc. A seminar was held in the month

of January 1968, under the auspices of Sardar Patel University at Vallabh Vidyanagar on the role of commercial and cooperative banks in financing agriculture. Several participants at the seminar recognised the importance of a multi-agency-approach in the interests of flexibility as well as greater flow of finance to agriculture. It was also agreed that, to function effectively in the field of agricultural finance, it is necessary to build up the contacts at the grass roots level so that it can acquire first hand experience in the field of financing experiment with a number of lending techniques and assess the impact of its lending operations on farm productivity as against that of credit agencies.

A good deal of study is necessary for evolving a proper system of credit to be made available to the farmer. The Reserve Bank of India has already undertaken a study of the problem. We should get out of mere slogan shouting and make a pragmatic approach to the problems. Wherever necessary we will have to strengthen the cooperative agencies and make them effective instruments in the distribution of credit. Timely and adequate supply of credit is important. The Reserve Bank of India organised a seminar on "Financing of agriculture by commercial banks" in the first week of December 1968. A view was expressed by many participants including Mr. L. K. Jha, the then Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Mr. R. G. Saraiya, a veteran cooperator and Mr. B. Shiva Raman, Secretary, Agricultural Department, Government of India, that as the commercial banking system was entering the field of agriculture for the first time, the privileges and the concessions such as exemption from stamp duty, registration fees, free access to landrecords for ascertaining the title to land extended by the State Governments, to cooperative financing agencies

should also be extended to the commercial banks. It was also suggested at the seminar that a high level committee should be set up to review various tenancy, debt relief and other legislations which come in the way of the farmers borrowing on equal terms with other sections of society. Many difficulties arose from the various legislative provisions which placed restrictions on the mortgage of land in favour of lending agencies. Every Bank should re-examine its strategy and refashion its tools and techniques. In the ultimate analysis, the success of a bank in this new venture will depend upon its spirit of innovation, and enterprise. "The banks have to evolve a definite approach, formulate concrete action programmes, build up the necessary organisational set up, devise suitable procedures and practices and above all spearhead farm revolution."

The rapidly mounting pressure of demand on agricultural commodities on account of the increase in population, increased levels of consumption made possible by raising per-capita incomes and the urgent need to provide balanced and nutritive diet to the people, to enable them to lead healthy and productive lives and the persistent food crisis in the country, focussed the attention of the people and the government on the problems of development of agriculture in recent years. A variety of agricultural development schemes were undertaken in recent years as a consequence. Investment on agricultural schemes had increased progressively from Rs.504 crores in the first five-year plan to Rs.670 crores in the second plan and to Rs.1281/- crores in the third five year plan. During the first five year plan investment on agriculture worked out to 25 percent of the total outlay and 14.5 percent during the second plan and 17.8 percent during the third five year plan.

Under the first two plans an area of 18.5 million acres benefitted from minor irrigation schemes and 12.8 million acres during the third five year plan. In so far as major and medium irrigation schemes are concerned the outlays have shown continuous increase from the first plan (Rs.310 crores) to the second plan (Rs.372 crores) and from second to the third plan (Rs.600 crores). The absolute figures of outlay on minor irrigation schemes show a continuous increase from Rs.50 crores in the first plan to Rs.95 crores in the second and further to Rs.177 crores in the third five year plan.

Developmental efforts in soil conservation show the most striking increase during the last eighteen years. From a meagre Rs.1.6 crores (during the first plan period) the outlay on this head has gone up to nearly Rs.18 crores in the second plan and Rs.72 crores in the third plan. The soil conservation programmes which are intended to stabilize soils and avert a decline in production levels benefitted about 3.2 million acres in the first two plans and 11 million acres in the third plan.

For popularisation of the use of improved seeds about 4000 seed multiplication farms in terms of 25 acre units have been set up in the country for production of foundation seeds. The coverage under improved seeds of food-grains has steadily risen to the level of about 101.5 million acres. The plant protection measures have also been gradually expanded and covered an area of about 30 million acres by the end of the third plan. The outlay incurred on cooperative credit directly helpful in the promotion of agricultural production, and the allied activities such as cooperative marketing, warehousing, processing etc has also increased by sixteen times from the first to the third five year plan.

Considerable progress has also been made towards improving administrative coordination in matters relating to agricultural production. Coordinating committees at cabinet and secretarial levels have been set up in the states, where decisions having a bearing on the working of the departments of Agriculture, Irrigation, Revenue, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Community Development and Panchayats etc. are taken. I have given only illustrative list of the multifarious activities undertaken by the Central and State governments in the direction of stepping up agricultural production or rather ushering in the green revolution in India. This is not an exhaustive list. India has not yet completed the oldest of man's revolutions, the agricultural revolution. Her agriculture does not sufficiently feed even her cultivators, much less can it now support the industrial and urban population. There are many big things that have yet to be done to accomplish the agricultural revolution. Our ministers of Food and Agriculture, both at the Central and State level almost daily stress on the adoption of better agricultural administration and more applied research in agriculture. It is no use merely preaching that we should gear up our administrative machinery. Merely talking about it would bring no tangible results. We should not only draw up the programme of action, but it should be correctly implemented as well. We should move towards scientific agriculture in which more advanced techniques will be used for the purpose of increasing production. Scientific agriculture cannot come about unless the base required for this purpose is prepared, particularly the basic knowledge which is necessary for scientific agriculture, the age old conservative, out dated, traditional, primitive and crude methods, and techniques of agricultural operations are modernized.

and based on scientific and technological processes and the cultivator is supplied with improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticide, pesticides, adequate water at the required time, for better irrigation, better farms tool, plant protection, and knowledge of double cropping, crop planning and more effective rotation of crops. The old time "bureaucrats" are as confused about Pandit Nehru's Socialist Pattern of Society as middle aged mothers watching their sons in a foot ball game. Indian administration must be simplified and modernized and made more expert at all levels. This sounds easy enough, but as stated by Mr. Leyland Hazard in a recent publication entitled "Strong medicine for India", involves the rolling of some high heads. The old time bureaucrats must go. They should be replaced by technicians, right from the top to the bottom. When the job calls for technical training, understanding and experience at the highest level, there is no meaning in appointing old time bureaucrats to boost up agricultural production and reorganise our agriculture.

The Indian agriculturist was looked down upon as being illiterate and backward. This is wrong notion and this out look must change.

As Sri Jagjivan Ram believes India's green revolution is the result of the joint-efforts of the farmer, techniques, and administration. Mr. P. K. Sowant, Agriculture Minister, Government of Maharashtra, in his presidential speech at the inaugural function of the National Agricultural Fair held in Bombay on 23rd September 1969, also almost echoed the same view by describing the farmer as the hero of the green revolution which had made its impact on the agrarian economy of our country. Mr. Sowant, rightly said the revolution was not a matter of accident, but it had been brought about by substantial effort and that the farmer had shown, that given incentives, he was ready to accept and adopt modern techniques. Agricultural progress can make great strides only if the farmer supplements his practical knowledge with modern techniques of farming. Arrangement for the education and training of agriculturists must go ahead on a war footing to accomplish the green revolution in India. A comprehensive mass training programme for the farmers has to be undertaken immediately for bringing about a major change in our agricultural pattern and the accomplishment of an agricultural revolution.



AFTER VIETNAM WHAT ?

SANTOSH KUMAR DE

America was the only super power that came forward to halt the onward march of Communism in Asia and she became hopelessly entangled in the endless Vietnam War which has very aptly been called "an unmanageable mess". It is like a quicksand—a voracious quagmire that sucks and swallows everything into it. Compared to all other United States wars it has been 1st in length of war (about 10 years), 2nd in cost of war, (In fiscal 1969, the United States spent \$28,800,000,000 on the war in Vietnam. That is \$2.4 billion a month or 550 million per week, \$78 million per day, \$3.3 million every single hour, or \$55,000 every single minute. If you divide this enormous cost by the kill statistics, you would find that each enemy soldier killed cost the United States approximately \$150,000. Another blood-curdling information is that 2,955,000 tons of bombs were dropped on North Vietnam. This is more than double the total bomb tonnage dropped on Europe during World War II. A country of 62,000 Sq. miles received on the average almost 50 tons of bombs per sq. mile,). And 3rd in total casualties. (By January, 1970 American dead in Vietnam exceeded 40,000, and wounded surpassed 261,000. Total U. States casualties were above 300,000, South Vietnamese dead surpassed 100,000 and the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese death exceeded 584,000.)

Still there is no end to the war. An all-out victory for the United States is out of question. Even a layman can understand that. The war is now a war of attrition—turning on that side which can last longest. How long will it be possible for America to continue this endless war? America is humiliated and her pride in military power is broken. On seeing the cost and casualties American people have become restless. There is dissent, protest, strife and division in the United States. The Communist leaders in Hanoi are determined to continue the war until they achieve victory. So sooner or later America will have to pull out and she has already embarked on a policy of gradual withdrawal of forces from Vietnam and "Vietnamizing the war".

Now the question is if the United States finally withdraws, what will happen? That would signal the beginning of the end of American influence in Southeast Asia. But that is not a major disaster to us. The major disaster would be in the words of Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templet, Commander of the British troops in Malaya: "If the Americans pull out of Vietnam, the Communists will take over the whole of Southeast Asia and Burma. India right up to the Caspian Sea would go."

The Communist triumph in Vietnam would inspire Communist movements in the whole

of Asia. It would lead to the fall of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. Other nations would eventually fall, including Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Afghanistan, and Iran. How? That is going to be delineated in the following paragraphs.

Chinese Communists' challenge to South-East Asia has not grown overnight. If we make a close study we shall see that a decade and a half following World War II Chinese activities in S. E. Asia became very intensive. In 1954, Vietnam was partitioned with the Communist Ho Chi-minh who gained control of the north half of the country. Then there were serious Communist-led revolts in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, and an abortive Communist uprising in Indonesia and communist-encouraged political instability in Laos. The Laotian problem which assumed major proportions in 1960-61 has again been causing a wide spread concern to peace-loving people as a possible starting point for a larger conflagration. Although at present, the relations between Communist China and Soviet Russia are not so cordial as it was when Red regime was firmly established all over the Chinese mainland for the first time, and Peiping--Moscow alliance was cemented by the Treaty of February, 1950; still Communist China poses a perpetual menace not only to India but also to the whole of Asia, specially South-east Asia which has always been known as the "Soft under-belly" of the non-communist world.

When Mao's Communist armies conquered China in 1949 it was not only hailed by Malenkov with the words, "The national struggle of liberation of the peoples of Asia, the Pacific Ocean basin, and of the whole colonial world has risen to a new and considerably higher stage." But also by a sizeable

section of the intelligentsia of Asian countries who regarded the Chinese Communists as nothing but patriotic, sincere and disinterested opponents of western imperialism. But soon the mask was off, and the skeleton in the cupboard was exposed. The Chinese Communists at the first opportunity began military inroads into other lands for the achievement of Communist objectives in Asia in the garb of liberating the countries from colonial slavery.

Red China's overt military action was seen in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, and finally Tibet was conquered and made an integral part of China. Her military activities did not end here. She silently and imperceptibly occupied several thousand square miles of India's borders first, and then openly invaded India in 1962. This much of Red China's activities between 1949 and 1962 are too familiar, and they need no elaboration here.

But what we fear is that the expanding and overpopulated Communist China will not stop here. She is having a covetous look at various parts of South-east Asia which are still neutral, and she is still dreaming of recovering her alleged lost territories, and bringing back the vanished imperial glory of Cathay. The unlimited raw materials such as rice, rubber, tin, timber, tungsten, tea, kerosene etc. and the strategic position of these places are a great temptation to Red China for which she will undertake any risk however big.

Communist penetration in Southeast Asia (total land area exceeding 1.6 million Sq. miles) has become comparatively easy, as these countries having colonial or semi colonial position for a long time are underdeveloped or undeveloped and economically backward. The people of this area still cannot forget the insult and injury that they

suffered so long at the hands of foreign masters. The masses are poor and mostly uneducated. Naturally whenever Communists hold a rosy picture of a totally new socio-economic system as the only means of overcoming this age-long poverty and backwardness they easily fall a prey to the temptation.

Red China will possibly adopt the following tactics for the extension of her territories in South-east Asia :—

1. The frontiers between Red China, Burma and Indo China being contiguous, Communist activities will increase very much in these areas, and Communist ideas will be successfully imprinted on the plastic mind of the youth.

2. Red China has secured a safe foothold in various parts of S. E. Asia. From here she will extend her greedy claws to Burma, Nepal (disregarding the border adjustments with them), Bhutan, Sikkim and the NEFA. To strengthen her grip over these parts, she will try to seize power through subversion and armed insurrection by native Communist parties who long for the aunt instead of the mother.

3. She will try to disrupt the economic and social life of the people and discredit the existing governments. In order to make her power seizure broad-based she will try to win the good will and support of the majority of the population, and wean away vacillating people by holding tempting offers to them.

4. The native Communists financed and helped by all means by Red China will infiltrate into every type of public organisation—Gram Rakshi Dal, Village Panchayat, Border Defence party, governing bodies of schools, colleges and universities, municipalities, local boards, union boards, chambers of commerce, labour unions, and will try to sabotage all useful programmes by creating disunion and strife among the members.

5. She will exert economic pressure on the people and open new subsidized stores and shops to compete with the stores and shops of the people who are anticommunists or non-communists. The opening of a large number of laundries and dyeing-cleaning shops overnight by the Chinese, all over Calcutta some years back may be noted in this connection.

6. Student Unions of schools and colleges will be captured by the native Communists to use the young people as tools for propaganda and political activities. This tactics has been adopted by Red China everywhere in S. E. Asia (Nan Yang as they call it); for she hopes to further her ends through the students who are not easily taken to task by any government for their dereliction. Recent Naxal movement may again be noted.

7. These countries will be flooded with nicely printed and well-illustrated Communist literature in native languages. These books will invariably hold a rosy and attractive picture of the Communist way of life, and condemn in bitter language financial help from the Democratic countries as "Dollar diplomacy". Those books will deal with various social political, financial, and economic problems of the countries for which they are meant, and will be sold at below cost price or distributed as complimentary copies to the uninitiated.

8. The whole S. E. Asia air will be thick with Communist radio programme. News, propaganda, music will be the special features, and they will be relayed in all the languages of the region for longer periods every day.

9. Strikes and lockouts will be engineered in every country in South-east Asia on the slightest pretext as they were done in Malaya some years back.

Armed with this well-planned programme Red China has been contributing heavily to

the achievement of Communist objectives in Asia, since 1949. Her first intervention was seen in Korea ; next she sent military help to Ho Chi Minh's forces in Indo China. She did not stop here. Her extension of military power to the borders of Burma in 1950 (Burma has consistently followed a policy of conciliation towards China. The same policy is being followed by Indonesia.), and to those of India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal in 1951 through the subjugation of Tibet, have also contributed to the advancement of Communist objectives. All this has been possible not simply because China is a big military power and a country with a population of about 75 crores but because she enjoys certain privileges and advantages which even Soviet Russia does not.

a) Communist China is distinctly an Asian power, and that gives Mao T'se-tung a special kind of prestige and privilege in Asia, and as such he is less suspected and more relied on than Kossygin.

b) The geographical position of Communist China has been advantageous to her in preaching and propagating communist ideas in S. E. Asia, for maintaining contact with subversive forces over the border, and for bringing into her camp the intelligentsia of the East.

c) The existence of a large number of overseas Chinese throughout Southeast Asia has been another great advantage to Red China. 350,000 Chinese minorities in Burma pose a great difficulty relating to her national integrity. In Malaya, the Chinese minority accounts for 37 per cent of its population. The Chinese minorities in Thailand, Indonesia, South Vietnam, the Philippines and Cambodia are a positive menace to the governments of those countries. Intervention of one sort or another by Red China will

always hang over the head of these governments. According to experts 15 million persons of distinct Chinese background reside in Southeast Asia who owe their loyalty not to the land of their adoption but to their homeland. They pay regular visits to their homeland, get training and instruction in subversive activities, guerrilla fighting and terrorist tactics, spying etc. Not only that, wherever they get citizenship, they exert collective pressure on the local governments as members of Assemblies, Councillors of Corporations and members of various public bodies. They also control finance to some extent by occupying advantageous position in trade, commerce, whole-sale and retail business, as they have done in Indonesia, and this was fore-told by Manuilsky in 1926, "Liberated China will become the magnet for all peoples of the yellow race, who inhabit the Philippines, Indonesia and the numerous island of the Pacific."

d) The Chinese living in Thailand, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines will play the part of the Trojan horse in time of extreme crisis. Red China's strategy of expansion relies more on internal fifth columnists (Chinese nationals and native Communists and their friends) than on external military aggression. She will take advantage of all tensions in the free world for weakening the non-communist camps through the promotion of open conflicts, and will thus harvest the rich crop of conflicts for her own advantage.

Malayan Communists had been driven into hiding in 1960 along the Thailand border; so they do not pose any threat to that State, but communist difficulties might develop in Thailand (It has actually done so) where Communist Chinese may identify their interest with that of the Chinese mainland, although

she is a member of the American backed SEATO alliance designed to thwart Chinese aggression. The Communist Party in the Philippines is outlawed, so it can hardly be regarded as a significant force. But Communist challenge to Cambodia is very likely to come from its borders, and it has actually come and Prince Sihanouk has fled to China and is trying to invade Cambodia with the help of the Chinese army. North Vietnam and communist Laos are also the allies of the Prince.

Now, if the major portion of S. E. Asia falls within the orbit of Red China's influence, the result will be a great disaster not only to the Whole of Asia but to the Western block also. Asian markets which take a considerable volume of Europe and America's overseas' trade and commerce will be lost, and that will deal a heavy blow to Europe and America's economic position. Not only that, Japan and India will not escape the consequences. Both Japan and India with their exploding population have been enjoying a mutually profitable trade with South-east Asia; but if Southeast Asia comes within the sphere of influence of Red China, both India and Japan will lose business with the neighbouring countries, and they will feel economic pressure from China-dominated S. E. Asia. The situation as it is today shows that S. E. Asia is highly favourable to Communist penetration.

What is the way out then? Southeast Asia along with Japan and India should realise the gravity of the situation and offer a united front to the naked aggression of China, and fight shoulder to shoulder for common interest with the common enemy number one in Asia. Collective defence is the only means of safety for resisting Red China.

In spite of this imminent danger we do not

find any ray of hope from any quarter. The whole of S. E. Asia is hopelessly divided on racial, religious and economic grounds. The non-communist Asian governments recognize a common danger and see its source in Peking. Still they are inactive, and the irony of fate is that even if united, they are not strong enough to offer any substantial resistance. We cannot expect any intervention from Soviet Russia. One Communist State would never go against another Communist State for the help of a non-communist State. We had bitter experience when China invaded India and grabbed 33 thousand square miles. Even in a small matter like Soviet Russia's willfully showing a considerable portion of Indian territory as belonging to China in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia map in different editions inspite of India Government's protests, we see which way the wind blows.

Nor can we expect any intervention from the side of the United States, the greatest Pacific power as she has already burnt her fingers in the Vietnam war. President Nixon in 1968, in a presidential election speech said, "One of the legacies of Vietnam almost certainly will be a deep reluctance on the part of the United States to become involved in a similar intervention on a similar basis. If another friendly country should be faced with an externally supported Communist insurrection.....there is a serious question whether the American public or the American Congress would now support a universal American intervention, even at the request of the host government."

So India cannot expect any intervention either from Russia or from America if and when India will be invaded by Red China. What is the way out? India, the world's most populous non-communist country must try to become strong economically, politically and militarily and form a military alliance

with Japan, Asia's principal industrial and economic power.

We should not forget that World War-I led to communism in Russia and World War-II to communism in China. The area of communism is spreading fast in Asia and specially in Southeast Asia as poverty-stricken and helpless people tend to accept it most readily. The preying wolf of Chinese imperialism has seized Asia by the throat. She must be checked, if not by force of arms, at least her ideological conquest must be halted by all means. Chinese threat is the principal problem facing the nations of S. E. Asia. Southeast Asia, therefore, requires good leadership to hold the different nations

of Asia together, to patch up their differences by all means and contribute to the development of a stable and mature governmental system. The desire of Red China to be the only dominant power in Asia must be curbed.

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- 3) Jacoby, Erich. H. —Agrarian Unrest in S. E. Asia.
- 4) Dobby, E. H. G.—Southeast Asia.
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INDIA DEBATES AS CHINA GOES NUCLEAR

NARAYAN C. MAZUMDER

Politics and policies of the modern world are influenced by nuclear weapons ever since their appearance. Nuclear weapons have become so striking a force that the pendulum of policies and politics of a country swings, according to it. Powered with these nuclear weapons the super-powers USA, USSR and lately China play a dominant role, and to some extent an arrogant role over the policies and politics of non-nuclear countries. But India is not concerned with the super-powers USA or USSR; it is China, India's enemy No. 1 that India is anxious about. China's try out of her first nuclear bomb in 1964 posed a serious threat to

India's defence, security and her freedom which are at stake. China has not been silent, being a war-maniac fired by the beligerent ideas of Mao-Tse-Tung, she has become more and more zealous to produce nuclear weapons which is a threat to the Asian countries and particularly to her democratic neighbour India. Recently, a slogan has been raised that India should go nuclear, voiced by a large majority of the country. The questions which naturally crop up are, should India go nuclear? should India change her anti-nuclear policy of not making nuclear weapons? Or does she like to go under any nuclear-umbrella?

Before going to give a verdict we should first cast a careful eye over India's geo-political position. China stands facing India in the East and in the North ; while Pakistan catches India by her two wings, in the East and in the West. Relationship with these two countries is not conciliatory but the Pak-China axis is a dagger drawn against India. But Pakistan can be kept down with conventional weapons, if she attacks India. What matters most is the Chinese nuclear arsenal. At any moment China can attack India. This fact has gained more strength after Chinese attack in 1962 in the N. E. F. A. region. It is obvious to all, that at any moment nuclear China may attack India to establish her dominance over Asia. Nuclear China, a cat in the peaceful pigeon's cage, may endanger the peace of Asian countries, especially of India by nuclear blackmailing.

Now, we shall examine the arguments put forward against India going nuclear. Those are the same nonsensical arguments as they were in the 50's. These are (i) China cannot attack a socialist India (II) If India goes nuclear, her economy will get crippled (III) a nuclear shield is enough to save India from any nuclear attack. These were the products of the barren brains of our politicians and leaders in 1950. But these dreams were exploded by the Chinese invasion of 1962. Yet our leaders were not made fully conscious of realities. They are even now toying with the same ideas and wishes that China will not attack India. This is playing ducks and drakes with India's defence, freedom and security.

Politicians and leaders may be mad, but our freedom must be properly preserved. We cannot lead the country into danger, nor can we take the risk to be a puppet nation in the

hands of a foreign country. The argument that "going nuclear" will cost too much is neither true nor logical, but is just cheap propaganda to silence the demand that India should manufacture nuclear weapons. Our late H. J. Bhava stated in an International Conference that a nuclear bomb equal to the magnitude of the Hiroshima bomb will cost nearly, 25 (twenty five) lacs. A stockpile of a few scores of nuclear bomb would cost only 10 crores. And estimate shows that 140 crore is enough to start on the nuclear path. But the cost is not additional to our present defence budget. If we make nuclear bombs it will save other expenses and our economy will not be hit by a crisis as it was with the Chinese attack when the defence budget multiplied fourfold jumping from 250 crores to over 1000 crores. Had we been careful and wise enough we could have saved more and like a proud nation preserved our freedom without making any SOS to other foreign countries.

India should also not take shelter under the "Umbrella" of a Nuclear-shield which will be a sword of Democles. It will neither save India nor can it give any assurance against Nuclear attack. To my opinion, India has rightly refused to sign on the dotted line of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, a fraudulent device to prevent India from the use of Nuclear weapons, and thus making her defence weak and feeble. India cannot sit like a helpless lamb before a hungry lion. It can not be made a pawn of the Big Powers.

Another wild argument in the air is that if India goes Nuclear Pakistan will not eat grass ; she will also get a stock pile of 1 or 2 atomic bombs from some quarter. Suppose that it so happens, yet Pakistan will not dare attack India when she is also Nuclearly armed. China will get not a bit urged to attack Nuclear India. Actions and re-actions are

equal and opposite, Pakistan and China know it very well.

To get freedom unhampered, undisturbed India must build Nuclear weapons, which is a must for India without which her life may be endangered. Gandhian principles of peace and pious wishes could not save India nor could it save it now. World Politics is made of a different and harder stuff. To achieve peace, they must be prepared for any attack upon that peace. Otherwise her freedom can be jeopardised. To achieve peace and freedom undisturbed, we must get rid of the ridiculous arguments of the dwarfs-in-intelligence Politicians, some of whom even dreamt of boycotting and starting a Satyagraha movement during the Chinese invasion of 1962. Our Politicians cry for peace, but it is the whine of a toothless Tiger. When they cry for peace China stock-piles her nuclear bombs.

India should go with a determined mind to build Nuclear weapons which will foil any

Nuclear menace to her freedom. However high the cost may be, the mathematics of cost cannot come in question, where the question of freedom is involved. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, then that liberty can not be saved by the useless principles of our politicians but by practical ideas. Indian Scientists should go on making research on tactical Nuclear Weapons which will save India and will get her freedom fully protected. But what a wonderful land is this! Our Politicians are committing the same Himalayan blunders as they did before 1962. Do they know that they are guilty of a criminal folly by not building Nuclear defences and thus leading the country to suicide? Do they know that they are acting like Nero who played on the violin while Rome burnt? It is amazing that the Chinese stab in the back was not enough to make them realistic? Or, do they need another blow?



B E E T H O V E N : HE MADE MUSIC THE MOST DEMOCRATIC THING IN THE WORLD OF AESTHETICS

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

"Beethoven advanced music from salon to concert hall, castle to cottage, and made it the most democratic thing in the aesthetic world", wrote Robert Haven Schauflier.

Ludwig van Beethoven, whose bicentenary is being celebrated the world over on and from 16th December, liberated music from the long standing indignity of being carried on by lackeys by his sheer personal magnetism will-power and intensity of genius. He liberated the music of his day from the ignominious role of hanger-on of the fashionable world and made it a universal thing—a materialisation of the utmost range of the human mind and spirit, omitting none of the peaks and abysses. Thus, Beethoven will ever be remembered in the world of music for freeing it from the cloistered seclusion of classicism.

Engaged always himself in pressing out delicious nectar for mankind Beethoven was thickset, well-built, untidy in appearance with a look of a Robinson Crusoe with his broad-brimmed hat, ugly but noble in bearing, face broad with a fresh ruddy complexion, hair brick-red, eyes bright and small dilating in a peculiar way, nose short and broad, shaven upto the eye-brows with no beard or moustache, mouth firm, determined and finely shaped, lips protruding with a look almost of fierceness, teeth snow white regular and good upto his death, broad jaws, broad across the shoulders, hands covered with thick hair, fingers strong and short with broad tips and having a deep cleft on the right cheek that made the face strangely assymetri-

cal, but at the same time a man of fine feelings.

Born in Bonn (now capital of the Federal Republic of Germany) at 515 Bonngasse as the first living child of Johann van Beethoven and Maria Magdalena Keverich, Ludwig was baptised on December 17, 1770. On the back of his certificate of baptism dated December 17, 1770 Beethoven wrote himself: The certificate does not seem to be correct, as there was another Ludwig before me. He added the year 1772! He was correct. Ludwig Maria, baptised on April 2, 1769, his eldest sister, had lived only for six days.

The house where Beethoven was born is designated by a tablet erected in 1870 after it has been purchased by an association of amateurs and dedicated for ever as *Geburts-haus Beethovens*. Beethoven's family came from the Flemish Brabant and were farmers. The title *van* therefore does not indicate nobility. Ludwig inherited the musical tradition from his grandfather Louis van Beethoven (1712-1773) who was the principal singer at St. Peter's at Louvain, bass singer at St. Lambert's at Siegen, and from 1733 singer and later kapellmeister of the electoral chapel at Bonn.

Johann wanted his son Ludwig to be a child prodigy. Ludwig was given lessons in violin and piano when the boy was hardly four. Johann and his colleague Tobias Friedrich Pfeiffer would often come home intoxicated and pull Ludwig out of bed and set to play through his lessons.

Ludwig had little formal education, but he

made up this deficiency by studying Latin, French and Italian in private. His correspondence reveals his wide knowledge of technical philosophical and literary writings. He was able to think loftily and express himself with style and ease. He had a marked love for English authors.

The music training Ludwig had earlier from the court organist Gilles van der Eeden, the musician Pfeiffer and Franz Georg Rovantini was erratic. His first regular teacher was Christian Gottlieb Neefe. Ludwig was appointed Neefe's deputy as court organist in 1782 but his first salaried appointment was in 1784 as second organist with the Elector Max Franz at a salary of 150 florins. He also played harpsichord and viola in the court orchestra. It was at the suggestion of Neefe that Beethoven went to Vienna in 1787 to meet Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-91) who together with Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) dominated the world of music during the second half of the 18th century. "If I should ever be great, it will no doubt be partly through your assistance", Beethoven wrote to Neefe.

"Second Mozart"

Neefe was the first musician to recognise the genius of Beethoven. He had high hopes on his student. Beethoven wrote his first compositions under Neefe's guidance and they were published in February 1783! "The young genius deserves assistance to enable him to travel. If he continues as he has begun, he will without doubt become a second Mozart" Neefe predicted.

When Beethoven improvised a given theme, ending the improvisation with a perfect fugue, Mozart was enthusiastic. "TAKE NOTE OF HIM", Mozart told his audience, "ONE DAY HE WILL BE FAMOUS !. PAY ATTENTION TO THIS YOUNGMAN. HE

WILL YET MAKE A NOISE IN THE WORLD".

Count Ferdinand Waldstein, Beethoven Patron in Bonn, sent again the young music-genius to Vienna in 1792, this time to take lessons from Haydn, the Father of Symphony and the founder of the string quartet. "Dear Beethoven", wrote the Count on October 29, 1792, "you are travelling to Vienna in fulfilment of your long cherished wish. The genius of Mozart is still weeping and bewailing the death of her favourite. With the inexhaustible Haydn she found a refuge, but no occupation, and is now waiting to leave him and join herself to some one else. Labour assiduously, and receive Mozart's spirit from the hands of Haydn - Your true friend, Waldstein".

Beethoven reached Vienna in the middle of November, 1792, never to return to Bonn. Haydn was paid 8 groschen on December 12, 1792 as his fee by Beethoven for the first lesson. He took lessons at Haydn's house. Haydn was busy; so Beethoven took lessons from Schenk, a well known Vienna composer in secret. Beethoven was Haydn's disciple till he left for England on January 19, 1794. Haydn nicknamed Beethoven as the GREAT MOGHUL.

The eminent theorist Albrechtsberger was Beethoven's next music teacher in counterpoint. He also took lessons from Schuppanzigh on the violin. His music teachers have testified that Beethoven was not a good pupil. "I want to learn the rules in order to find out the best way of breaking them", confesses Beethoven.

Now a fine pianist, proficient also on the violin and viola, Beethoven made his debut as pianist on March 1795. This first night's concert was criticised in the following words: "His playing is absolutely brilliant but hardly delicate and at times unclear. He is at his best when improvising freely".

Some others characterised this debut as wild as Beethoven himself, but always inspired. Schenk's estimate was different. He wrote : "It had the clarity of daylight at high noon ! Casual figures developed into such motifs' full of truth and beauty. Suddenly he changed to an entirely different key and expressed the most violent passion. More gentle modulation led in turn to a divine melody, and now the bewitching tones of the piano became melancholy, playful and with a touch of roguery. His playing was as superb as his inventiveness".

Spirited Style

Beethoven was a master of extemporisation. "His improvisation was most brilliant and striking ; in whatever company he might chance to be, he knew how to produce such an effect upon every hearer, that frequently not an eye remained dry, while many would break out into sobs ; for there was something wonderful in his expression, in addition to the beauty and originality of his ideas, and his spirited style of rendering them", says Czerny.

With his perfect command over German, French and Italian music as he was a member of the court orchestra together with his perfect mastery over improvisation, Beethoven attracted the attention of the elite of Vienna. He played his works in Vienna's salons and academies. Prince Lichnowsky maintained a small but excellent orchestra, and retained Beethoven to play regularly at his Friday Chamber performances. Pupils from all walks of life, including Archduke Rudolph, flocked to his lodgings.

Beethoven's love of nature was profound. He used to have long walks in and around the city of Vienna. He hated the city in summer and would go to the suburbs. He undertook long journeys, especially in 1796 to Nurnberg,

Prague, Dresden and Berlin. He paid several visits to Budapest. He spent sometime at the Bohemian spas with visits to Prague and Linz in 1811-12. He was never out without his sketchbook in which he stored themes. He also kept one sketchbook at beside to use at night.

What was his routine ? "At half-past five he was up and at his table, beating time with hands and feet, singing, humming and writing. At half past 7 was the family breakfast, and directly after it he hurried out of doors, and would saunter about the fields, calling out, waving his hands, going now very slowly, then very fast, and then suddenly standing still and writing in a kind of pocket-book. At half-past 12 he came into the house to dinner, and after dinner he went to his own room till 3 or so ; then again in the fields till about sunset, for later than that he might not go. At half-past 7 was supper, and then he went to his room, write till 10, and so to bed", describes Michael Krenn. He did not tolerate interruption during his work.

No other person in Vienna changed his lodgings so often as did Beethoven. He will quarrel with Landlords. On one occasion he left the lodgings as he did not want to take off his hat whenever he met his landlord. On another occasion the landlord was angry with his excessive fondness for washing. He used to go on washing his hands for hours together, forgetting everything and enjoying the gurgling sound of the water, as a result of which rooms were sometimes flooded. The Lichnowskys took Beethoven to their house. He never dressed up himself for dinner, never attended to definite hours and definite rules. These were too much for him. He left the Lichnowskys.

How did his room look like ? Untidy. Behind his work room in the old Schwarzschan-

erhaus stood his Graf piano, wrecked by his frantic efforts to hear his own playing. Old coins lay scattered among the litter on the table. There were his ear-trumpets, his conversation books, his carpenter's pencil, quill-pencil, a broken coffee cup, remnants of food and his candlestick.

Absent-minded

Like Newton, Beethoven was absent-minded. He forgot that he was the owner of a horse until recalled to the fact by a long bill for its keeping. He was not made for practical life. He never could play at cards or dance. At the same time he took lively interest in topical questions-especially in political developments. He cut himself horribly in shaving; shaved up to the eye-brows; and delighted in shaving every day, keeping the doors and windows wide open, watching the passers-by in his little dressed costume. He was fond of joking and was a master of pun. He was a "disorderly creature", his intimate friends testified. His handwriting was very poor indeed. "Yesterday I took a letter myself to the post office and was asked where it was meant to go. From which I see that my writing is as often misunderstood as I am myself". says the titan of symphony, sonata, string quartet, concerto and the *Missa Solemnis*.

Infinitely strict in the smallest detail, Beethoven had an insatiable standard of perfection in music and daily life. No convenience of singers or players weighed for a moment against the interests of his finished composition. "Every week he altered and grew more complete and every time I saw him he appeared to me to have advanced since the last in knowledge, learning and judgment", said Goethe. Careless in dressing and baffling in character though he was, Beethoven was an epicurian and punished his cook for the staleness of the eggs by throwing the whole lot at her one by one!

He distrusted the expenditure of every half penny.

The mystery behind Beethoven's remaining a bachelor has not yet been solved. Perhaps it will never be as he was wedded to his art. He had a number of ladies as admirers. He was welcome at any time to the boudoirs of the aristocratic ladies of Vienna of his days. Princess Lichnowsky, Countess Giulietta Guicciardi, Princess Odessalchi, Baroness Ertmann, sisters of Count Brunswick and others welcomed this romantic composer to their private apartments as he had neither a taste for immorality nor libidinousness.

Master of love-letters, Beethoven corresponded with ladies of the aristocracy and considered marriage in 1810 with Therese Malfatti, daughter of a land-owner, but her parents objected to the union. Similarly he proposed marriage to Magdalene Willman, a singer. He had a love affair with Countess Josephine Deym, younger sister of Therese von Brunswick and a number of love letters written to her were published. Therese was taken to be Beethoven's IMMORTAL BELOVED. Beethoven was engaged to her three years secretly. Countess Giulietta Guicciardi to whom he dedicated the "Moonlight Sonata" did not marry Beethoven as her family objected to her marrying a man "without rank, fortune and profession".

Love-Letters

A number of love-letters written by Beethoven to his Immortal Beloved are available and a specimen of it is reproduced here for its beauty.

"To the Immortal Beloved

On the morning of July 6th. My angel, my all, my very self! Only a few words today, and those in penoils (Yours).....Why this deep sorrow, where necessity speaks? Can our love subsist

otherwise by sacrifices, by our not desiring everything? Can you do anything to alter the fact that you are not wholly mine that I am not wholly yours?..... Love demands everything and quite rightly so; that is how I feel towards you and you towards me. Only you so readily forget that I must live for me and for you. If we were wholly united you would feel the pain of it as little as I do.

...But to-day I cannot tell you of the observations I have made during the past days with regard to my life. If our hearts were always closed together I should scarcely have occasion to make any such observations. My heart is full of many things to say to you. Oh, there are moments when I feel that words are nothing all. Take courage? Remain true, my only treasure, as I remain yours! The Gods must send us the rest, whatever has been-obtained for us and must be.

Your faithful Ludwig”.

He wrote on Monday night, July 6th and addressed her with a Good morning on July 7th, still from the bed!

“O God! let me at last find her who is destined to be mine, and who shall strengthen me in virtue”, Beethoven cried aloud once. It is on record that Beethoven in 1809 asked Baron Gleichenstein to find out a wife for him. “Now you can help me to look for a wife. If you should find a good-looking one there in Freiburg—one who might occasionally spare a sigh for my harmonies...then prepare the connection in advance. But she must be good-looking. I cannot love anything that is not beautiful, or I should love myself”. He remained a bachelor as he could not find a woman of his choice. His conception of the ideal woman is expressed in the sublime and sensitive music of *Leonore* called *Fidelio*, his

only completed opera. Asked why he did not marry, he answered: “Among woman, the soul has no body, and the body has no soul”.

Deafness, which increased every year, stood in the way of Beethoven's social intercourse. His hearing was lost by physical affections. The arteries of the ears were atheromatous and the auditory nerves, especially that of the right ear, were degenerated and to all appearance paralysed towards the end of his life. The treatment of ears was not developed during those days and his doctors meddled with his hearing, it seems. The loss of hearing was first noticed in 1800. “In my profession this is a terrible affliction, How humbled have I felt when someone near me has heard the distant sounds of a flute, and I have heard nothing; when someone has heard a shepherd singing, and again I have heard nothing”, he laments in his Heiligenstadt Testament dated 6th October 1802. In fact deafness drove Beethoven to commit suicide in 1802, but “art alone restrained me”. The deafness advanced to such an extent that six years later, he could no longer perform as a pianist and could not even hear what people said to him when they shouted. His deafness was a blessing in disguise, for posterity has received his thoughts in music in writing. His ‘Conversation Books’ are treasure troves of his thought. His hope of recovery faded like fallen leaves of autumn as years advanced.

Stoic Suffering

Beethoven suffered this worst malady stoically and fought against it with indomitable courage and strove to reach the pinnacle of his profession. He fought with Fate. “I will as far as possible defy my fate, though there must be moments when I shall be the most miserable of God's creatures. I will grapple with fate; it shall never drag me down”, he wrote to Wegeler on June 29th and November 16, 1801.

Goethe (Johann Wolfgang von—1749-1832) who was Beethoven's life-long friend, wrote to C. F. Zelter : "I am astonished by his talent, but he is unfortunately an altogether untamed personality. One must forgive him and pity him for his loss of hearing which, however, is perhaps less harmful to him from a musical than from a social view point". In 1812 Beethoven was in the company of Goethe at Teplica, Carlsbad and Bibina. Goethe wrote to his wife during this time : "Never have I met such a concentrated, forceful and fervent artist. I can well understand that he must have a strange relationship with the world".

Beethoven was introvert, tactless, egocentric, and conscientious. As deafness became worse, he grew more unbalanced and shunned society. He would often fly into temper at the least provocation. He was once arrested by police and kept under custody until he was able to prove his identity. He lived in the world of his music and was insensible to what others thought of him. He was not a narcissist, but a conscientious artist who remained a confined bachelor betrothed to his art. "You must not be human, not for yourself only for others ; for you there can be no more happiness except within yourself, in your art. Oh God ? Give me strength to conquer myself ! For nothing must bind me to this life", he once wrote in his Diary.

"She (virtue) alone, not money, give happiness. I speak from experience. It was she alone who raised me in the time of trouble and I think her as well as my art, that I did not seek to end my life by suicide", Beethoven held. He was in indigent circumstances in the initial stages of his career in Vienna, and was often financially harassed. In 1808 three of his patrons—Archduke Rudolph, Prince Josef Max Lobkowitz and Prince Ferdinand Kinsky—joined hands together to guarantee him an annual salary of 4000 florins on condition that

he would devote his time for compositions and be resident at Vienna. This was occasioned by the invitation of King Jerome of Westphalia, youngest brother of Napoleon Bonaparte, to join him as his Court Bandmaster. His compositions found ready acceptance and this was a steady source of income. He sometimes sold his compositions to more than one publisher absent-mindedly. His concerts fetched him good returns. His dedications also brought to him pecuniary benefits. Like his canon, Beethoven's dedications have a personal significance.

Beethoven was a child of the French Revolution (1789-1815) and detonated the world of music with such a profound charge of thought and passion that the world still vibrates with the shock. He stood for democracy, equality, liberty and fraternity and translated the triumphs of the Revolution into music. He was an admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte who consolidated the gains of the Revolution. The Third Symphony is dedicated to Bonaparte. He frequented French Ambassador Bernadotte's levees and was in his confidence. He celebrated the victory of the Duke of Wellington. When the leading statesmen of Europe such as Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich and Czar Alexander assembled at Vienna for putting the clock back in 1814, Beethoven was commissioned to write the festival sonata and wrote the cantata *Der glorreiche Augenblick* for the Congress in hurry. He was the cynosure of all statesmen during the Congress. The Congress in fact gave a boost to Beethoven's talents and placed him in an international pedestal. Beethoven was presented to all the leading statesmen assembled at the Congress. The Empress of Russia gave him 200 ducats (£100) towards the expenses of two concerts at the "Concert of Europe". The Russian Ambassador Count Rasoumowsky

was the brother-in-law of Prince Lichnowsky and hence Beethoven's connection with the imperial court of Petersburg was very strong.

Honorary Citizenship

The city of Vienna conferred on her musical genius Beethoven the Honorary Citizenship which exempted him from payment of taxes. He seldom left Vienna, but by 1815 he lost interest in the then intellectual and political capital of Europe. He wrote: "I am now alone in this ugly city, Vienna. Everything that happens here is dirty and mean. It could not be worse. Everyone is mean, from the lowest to the most exalted".

Humanism was Beethoven's religion, just as music was his way of life. He used to give performances for charitable institutions and deserving causes. He never failed to give concerts for artist societies in 1795, Beethoven gave a performance for the benefit of Mozart's widow, playing a concert of Mozart's between the acts of 'CLEMENZO DI TITO'. His religion may be expressed in his own words thus :

I am all that is.

I am all that is, was and ever shall be.

No mortal has lifted my veil.

He alone is of Himself, and to Him alone

All things owe their origin.

Beethoven's life was made miserable on account of litigation for the custody of his nephew, Carl. Though he lived for his brothers and his nephew, they did not have the same feeling. Carl, whom he adopted, a 'good-for-nothing lout' who thought his uncle "an old fool whom I can twist round my little finger." He attempted suicide with which "all that had been purposeful in Beethoven's movement was completely gone. We saw before us an old man, weak-willed and pliable", wrote Schindler.

How did deaf Beethoven conduct his con-

certs? Seyfried described his conducting in these words: "The orchestra had to take great care that they were not disturbed by their leader. He had feeling only for his own work and was incessantly absorbed in expressing his requirements with an endless variety of gesticulations. He would 'diminuendo' by making himself smaller and smaller and 'pianissimo' by virtually crawling under the stand. As the volume increased, he reappeared from his hiding place and grew in stature, assuming almost the proportions of a giant when the orchestra reached full volume, he would raise himself up on his toes—in fact, a veritable *perpetuum mobile*". Imperious and exacting, Beethoven would impress his will on the orchestra by an endless variety of gesticulations.

Robert Haven Schauffler hailed Beethoven as "the man who freed music". How did he free music? He was the last of the Viennese classicists and first of the romanticists. His works marked the close of the classical period. Before his time it was not usual to endeavour to express emotion or atmosphere in instrumental music. He broke with the past by abandoning the minuet and by introducing his own free scherzo in its place. No doubt he was brought up in the classical tradition, but we must remember that he learnt the rules to find the best way of breaking them. The distinctive features of Beethoven's musical language were their cross-rhythms with syncopations and sudden sforzando and the crescendos that led not to a fortissimo but unexpectedly and in the form of an illusion to a piano or pianissimo. He gave to the symphony a new richness of expression by striking a balance between expression and form. Beethoven's musical descriptions of rising passion are unparalleled. "He directed music away from harmony and atmosphere and concentrated interest on energy and

dynamic action. He leavened and widened the sphere of man's emotion as great philosophers and poets have extended the sphere of man's intellectual activity."

Universal Language

The range of keys within which the composers of sonatas and symphonies before Beethoven confined themselves was very narrow. Another of Beethoven's innovations had respect to the connection of the different subjects or clauses. His predecessors were in the habit of separating their clauses than of connecting them. An innovation of great importance in the finale, for which no precedent can be found, was the introduction of the chorus. Moreover, each piece and each movement of Beethoven had its own individuality and he rarely repeated. He used variations to a great extent.

Beethoven spoke a language no one had spoken before and treated of things no one had dreamt of before : yet it seemed as though he were speaking of matters long familiar, in one's mother tongue, as though he touched upon emotions one had lived through in some former existence, according to Damreuther.

In respect of stylistic origins, Beethoven was not a revolutionary in the ordinary sense. His style has been called polyphonic. He developed music as he found it. His music has been described "Heroic Style" on account of his admiration for the French school of opera composers of his time. From the French he borrowed the idea of fanfare motives that reverberated throughout his work. From an ethical viewpoint Beethoven was naturally drawn to subjects of epic or heroic grandeur and attempted to illustrate them in music by numerous means.

The Shakespeare of music, Beethoven had a perfect command of pregnant melodic phraseology and of a varied, original, and sometimes daring harmonic idiom with such a sense

of the innate principles of form as went far beyond a mere successful adherence to the convention of balance and variety of material and key. His ability to imagine his melodies and harmonies in garbs of glowing instrumental colour was unparalleled.

Music did not come to Beethoven as a magician's mango. He was never out without his sketchbook to store up themes and ideas. Musical ideas developed in the form of a canon also occur in some of the notes with amusing rhymes and puns he sent to his friends. He was fond of improving canons in this way "Beethoven's music was under constant development because it expressed an attitude towards life which opened the way to unlimited advancement", says J. W. N. Sullivan.

"I live only in my music, and no sooner is one thing done than the next is begun. As I am now writing I often work at three and four things at once", wrote Beethoven in 1801. He took three years to write the three Rasoumovsky string quartets. Similarly it took 3 years for completing the great MISA SOLEMNIS written for Prince Nicolas Galitzin intended for the enthronement of his pupil the Archduke Rudolph as archbishop of Olomouc in 1820.

The world's finest symphonies and orchestras are amongst the nine of each that he wrote, its finest pianoforte sonatas amongst his 32, and its finest string quartets among his 17. The first symphony was first performed at the Halburg theatre in Vienna on April 2, 1800 and the Second symphony was first performed at Theatre an der Wien on April 5, 1803. The Third symphony, was first performed at the residence of Prince Lobkowitz in March 1807. The Fourth Symphony was composed in 1807. The Fifth and Sixth symphonies were composed in 1812 and the Seventh performed in December 1813. The Eight Symphony, an orgy of

rhythm in which Beethoven most clearly showed us his true nature, was first performed at Archduke Rudolph's house on February 27, 1814. The Ninth Symphony was written in 1824.

"With the 'Eroica' (his third symphony), he established his position as a great composer. The unity of purpose he here achieved within a long and diverse structure is truly staggering, even today. In the first movement alone the structural invention and cogency went far beyond what even Mozart had achieved in his 'Jupiter' symphony, and the second movement—a vast funeral March—has an overwhelmingly tragic emotional content. But the 'Eroica' was followed by six equally great symphonies, each one as varied, as inventive, as unified as the others. The ninth symphony is significant in both its length and finale. Here Beethoven crowns three superb instrumental movements with a choral movement that, as well as summing up all that has gone before, expresses in music the joy in existence more ecstatically than any other work.

The burning intensity of Beethoven's genius is just as evident in the chamber music. His quartets are the product of a revolutionary age in which the social graces and formal restraint of the 18th cent. were thrown off in a search for more personal mode of expression. The early op. 18 set. and the Razoumovsky quartets, op. 59, go even beyond the range of Haydn's and Mozart's works in the medium but it was in his late quartets, his final musical testament, that Beethoven refined and distilled his art for posterity. No words can possibly describe their unique quality, but any and every chance should be taken to make their acquaintance: the effort required will be more than amply rewarded.

"The early piano concertos do not reach quite this level of attainment, but the last three, together with the violin concerto, are

on a par with the finest of the symphonies and quartets, as well as being considerable test of the performers' technique. The Triple Concerto for piano, violin, and cello is an unusual and rewarding work. Beethoven's grandest choral work—and one of the most noble in existence—is the Mass in D (*Missa Solemnis*). Its vast scale and sublime utterance often defeat performers, but when it is successfully done there is more spiritually uplifting experience for the listener", says *Pears cyclopaedia* in its 78th edition.

In his symphonies and chamber work Beethoven adhered to the four-movement plan of Haydn and Mozart, and used the piano sonata for a great variety of experiments in musical forms, possibly because he was himself a pianist and therefore was able to give immediate expression to his ideas at the keyboard. In most of his piano variations Beethoven followed his predecessors, particularly Mozart, in the practice of maintaining the main outlines of the theme that become progressively transformed by figures.

FIDELIO, the only opera Beethoven wrote and which earned him the 'Martyr's Crown' as he confessed himself, is a simple escape story that was transformed by Beethoven's creative fire into a universal symbol of liberty, the composer identifying himself with the struggle for freedom from tyranny and release from darkness. The *Fidello der die eheliche Liebe* (in 3 Acts) was first performed at the Theatre an der Wien in Vienna on November 20, 1805 with Anna Mildner. The form of the work remained unbalanced. "Beginning as a simple setting of a popular escape story this conventional *singspiel* is convulsed by the electric current of Beethoven's human passion from comedy thriller into an uneven but magnificent expression of faith in liberty and loathing of tyranny. Not only do the individual charac-

ters transcend themselves and become universal symbols; the opera itself has become symbol of liberty and has frequently been chosen by opera houses after destruction or closure by war", says a critic. Beethoven made sketches for *Vestas Meer* to a libretto by Schikanedrar, and wrote some of the witches' chorus for *Macbeth*. He contemplated many other subjects including *Faust*. Beethoven's thought was usually too deep for words: that is why he did not write more operas.

Last Testament

Beethoven crowned the achievements of Mozart and Haydn and each of his major works still defined a world of its own more sharply than did the cantatas of Bach, the operas of Handel or the symphonies of his masters.

The maestro received the Blessed sacraments of the church on 24th March 1827 and sank into an apparent coma at his Schwarzsapfnerplatz lodgings. Within a few hours locks of his hair were cut off by visitors for keeping as mementos. He died on Monday, March 26, 1827 at 5.45 P.M. at the age of 56. Dr. Wagner conducted the post-mortem examination on the evening of the 27th. His funeral took place on 29th March at 3 P.M. The coffin was borne by 8 members of the opera, a choir of 16 men singers and 4 trombones alternately sang and played two *Equalls* of Beethoven. His mortal remains were cremated at the Wahrfinger cemetery.

Gradually the composer's grave fell into neglect and in 1883 the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* undertook to exhume and rebury the remains. This was done on October 13 and Beethoven's monument now consists of a large flat iron sailing and herded by an stone covering the grave, surrounded by an obelisk in stone bearing a lyre, the usual emblem of eternity, and the simple name **Beethoven**.

"*Plaudite, amici, comedia finita est*" (Applaud, my friends, the comedy is over). These were his last words. "I feel as if I had written scarcely more than a few notes. I hope still to bring a few grand works into the world, and then like an old child, to end my earthly course somewhere amongst good people." This was his last testament.

Beethoven's personal effects such as furniture, clothes, the pianos etc. were sold by public auction on April 3, 1827. His musical effects were sold on November 5 and the day following by auction for 1193 florins. These included 50 lots of sketches and notebooks, 73 autographs, 40 copies of unpublished works. His Conversation Books and diaries were sold for one guilder and 20 kreutzer! This was the treatment meted out to Beethoven who was always engaged in pressing out delicious nectar for mankind like a Bacchus. Fortunately, more than 5,000 pages of his all-important sketches have been preserved today. Two of the many pianos the composer used for creating his masterpieces are today preserved at his original home at Bonngasse, Bonn. A complete edition of Beethoven's works was published in 24 volumes in 1862-65 with a supplement in 1888 from Leipzig.

Celebrations In Germany

The 27th Beethoven Festival, comprising three musical cycles of 8-to-10 days each beginning from May and ending on December 16-17th will feature celebrated conductors and orchestras who will perform Beethoven's symphonic and chamber music. Philharmonic orchestras from Berlin, Vienna, Leningrad and Amsterdam, playing to the batons of star conductors like Herbert von Karajan, Karl Boehm, Eugen Jochum and others, will be the main features of the three cycles in Bonn. These concert programmes will be topped off with a Beethoven Prize awarded to the winner

of a competition in which 108 conductors from all over the world have entered.

During the Festival, the main centre of attraction for the foreign visitors to the Federal Republic of Germany will be the Beethoven Memorial in Bonn—the composer's 18th century house in the Bonngasse where among other things two of the many pianos Beethoven used in composing his works have been preserved. For the more serious student of musicology, the Beethoven archives display a complete collection of photographs, original works, documents, notebooks and letters throwing light on the little-known aspects of the composer's life.

On the international level, commemorative postage stamps will highlight the Beethoven year. A mobile exhibition of documentary films, tape recordings, books and long-playing discs about the German Composer will go round the British and the Swedish capitals.

According to a Reuter message from Berlin dated August 3, Beethoven has beaten jazz, pop, soul and beat music to head German Democratic Republic's best selling records list. The state-owned record company, Veb Deutsche Schallplatten plans to issue records of his entire works, an effort described by Deputy Culture Minister Dr. Werner Rckwitz as "unique". The first 40 records have sold 600,000 copies so far, more than any other classical or modern composer available at Berlin. By September 80 out of a grand total of 120 Beethoven records will have been released and the remaining 40 in 1971. Prof. H. G. Uszkoreit, recently disclosed that his company was working solely from original Beethoven scores or, if these were not available,

from first editions authorised by the composer himself. The Company plans to record Beethoven's violin concerto with either Russia's David Oistrakh or Karel Suk of Czechoslovakia as soloist. Rumania's Radu Aldulescu will play all the cello sonatas, and GDR's Dieter Zechlin the piano sonatas. The cost of the complete edition of Beethoven's work will amount to 1,560 (about Rs 2,808) and the company has already sold licences for the complete edition to some of the world's leading record companies. Publishing houses are planning the reissue of an 1840 Beethoven biography. Romain Rolland's critical works on the composer and the complete edition of Beethoven's conversation books. At the eight-day festival and a two-day international conference in the GDR, nine symphonies will be played by six different orchestras, including the Leningrad philharmonic, and the Berlin symphony orchestra. The *Missa Solemnis* and opera *Fidelio* are also to be performed, and Emil Gilels, the Russian pianist, will be among the soloists during the festival.

Four talented Indian pianists from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras recently qualified themselves for top honours in the All-India Beethoven Piano Contest that was jointly sponsored by the eight regional centres of the Max Mueller Bhavan in India. The finals of the competition, held to commemorate the Beethoven Bi-Centenary Celebrations, drew 35 participants who have an excellent account of their musical talent in Calcutta. The first four prizes were shared by Mr. N. Chinoy, Miss M. L. Fernandes of Bombay, Mr. R. Bharucha of Calcutta and Miss E. Abrahams of Madras.

RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER

Dr. J. N. LAL

The unfortunate division in the Congress Party created on account of the nomination of Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy by the Congress Parliamentary Board as its Presidential candidate in the recent presidential election had sparked off many controversies which touch some of the vital aspects of the functioning of parliamentary Govt. in India. One of them is the relation between the President and the Prime Minister.

The relations between the Indian President and the Prime Minister have been quite cordial in the past, The President functioning as a constitutional head of the state and the Prime Minister enjoying the real powers. This had led many to believe that this pattern of relation was not only the one that was desired by the makers of the Constitution but had been also supported by the conventions of the last nineteen years. No sane man is going to place reliance on this belief after many healthy conventions were thrown to the winds in the states after the fourth general election and after so many happenings both at the Centre and in the states which go against the wishes of the Constitution makers.

In order to know the correct relationship between the two high offices we are left with no choice but to look to the various constitutional provisions having a bearing on their relationship and to analyse various extra-

constitutional factors which guide the relationship in practice.

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and holds office during his pleasure¹. There is nothing in the constitution to suggest in so many words, that the discretion of the President is limited. Yet certain articles of the Constitution indicate that the discretion of the president will not be so unfettered as it might appear on the face of it because the Constitution requires the Prime Minister to satisfy at least two qualifications. First, he must command the confidence of the House of the People. It is so because the Council of Ministers of which he is the head has been made collectively responsible to that House². Second, he should be a member of either House of Parliament or become one within six months of his appointment as a Minister, because there is a provision that a Minister shall cease to be a Minister if he does not become a member of Parliament within six months of his appointment as a Minister³. The term 'Minister' applies to Prime Minister also. This ipsofacto implies that the Prime Minister must possess those qualifications which are required for a Member of Parliament.

Subject to these qualifications, the President is free to appoint anybody as Prime Minister. For instance, he may appoint any person as Prime Minister, who is for the time being not a member of either House of Parlia-

ment, or who is a member of the Council of State after his appointment. Nothing in the Constitution forbids the President to adopt any of the above courses if the circumstances so require. Not only that, the President can, if he finds it necessary or expedient, appoint even that person, as Prime Minister, who does not enjoy the confidence of the House of the People. Such a person, if appointed, can easily carry on, as Prime Minister, so long as he has not to face the House of the People. And he can easily do without facing that House for six months.

In actual practice, the President's choice, in this matter, will normally be limited, not so much because of the constitutional requirements as on account of practical political considerations. If a political party has a clear majority in the House of the People and has a recognised leader, the President is expected to appoint that leader of the majority party as Prime Minister, even if he, for the moment is not a member of either House of Parliament or is member of the Council of State. This situation actually arose when after the death of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Congress Party which was in majority in the House of the People elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as its leader. If, however, no party gains a majority or, the majority party does not have a recognised leader, the President has the discretion to appoint anybody as Prime Minister who, in his opinion, shall command the confidence of the House of the People. When the political situation does not make the choice of the Prime Minister clear, the Constitution expects the President to exercise his own discretion in the matter.

There is a section of opinion which, following the practice of some of the Western democracies, holds that the Prime Minister should, in accordance with the democratic principles, belong to the Lower

House i. e. the House of the People. But the Constitution as we have seen above, places no such bar against a member of the Council of State to be appointed as Prime Minister. Besides, there are two other factors which suggest that the Prime Minister need not necessarily belong to the House of the People. First in India, unlike in England, the Prime Minister, even if he belongs to the Rajya Sabha, will be equally available to the House of the People⁴ for answering questions, explaining policies and taking part in the debates and discussions. Second, the practices in the States have clearly established that the leader of the party need not necessarily belong to the Lower House.⁵ At Union level too, this was confirmed when Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a member of the Council of State, was appointed as Prime Minister in January, 1966.

The President has had to face no serious problem in this regard so far. So long as Jawahar Lal Nehru was alive, he was in view of his unchallenged position in the party and the position of his party in the Parliament, an obvious choice. Though after every General Election to the House of the People he used to be formally elected as the leader of the Congress party in Parliament, everybody knew that it was a mere formality. When, however, Jawahar Lal Nehru died on May 27, 1964, it was, quite a problem before the President as to who was to be appointed as Prime Minister. Within hours after the death of Jawahar Lal Nehru the President appointed Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, the Senior-most Minister in the defunct Council of Ministers, as Prime Minister.⁶ It is to be noted that he was not, as later events proved the recognised leader of the Party. He was appointed as Prime Minister either because he was the senior-most member of the outgoing cabinet or because he was, as the

reports suggested, recommended to be appointed, as P. M. by the members of the defunct cabinet. Undoubtedly, the course adopted by the President saved the country from a lot of unnecessary trouble. But it is open to question whether the President was bound to appoint the seniormost member or the one recommended by the outgoing cabinet. There was no constitutional compulsion on the President to adopt the course that he did. The old cabinet, in the eyes of the Constitution, ceased to exist the moment Jawahar Lal Nehru died. The President was, as a matter of fact, free to assess the political situation and decide for himself who among the Congress leaders would command the confidence of the House of the People. To infer from the incident that the President is bound to appoint as Prime Minister either the seniormost Minister of the outgoing cabinet or its nominee is untenable constitutionally and politically too. Yet some one had to be appointed as Prime Minister because it would have been unconstitutional for the President if he had carried on the country's administration without a Council of Ministers, because the Constitution provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers, which means the Constitution does not visualise a condition in which the President could act without a Council of Ministers. Under the circumstances, when the majority party was not in a position to be clear about its leader, the President could constitutionally appoint anybody as Prime Minister to carry on the country's administration till the Congress party made its choice. He was free to consult anybody, or not to consult anybody at all. That he appointed Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the senior-most Minister of the outgoing council of Ministers, is not conclusive to prove that he was bound to appoint the nominee of

the outgoing council of Ministers. On the other hand, it proves the contrary. The later events showed it only too clearly that Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda was not the leader of the Congress party in parliament, nor was he an aspirant or claimant. He admitted that he had 'stepped into the breach' for only so long as the Congress party in Parliament did not elect its leader⁷. From May 27, 1964, when he was sworn in as Prime Minister, to June 9, when a new Council of Ministers with Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister, took office Mr. Nanda was Prime Minister of the country without being the leader of the majority party in Parliament. The same situation arose after Mr. Shastri's death on January 11, 1966. Mr. Nanda had to be sworn in a second time as the Prime Minister of India. Does it not show that in a situation in which the choice of the leader is not clear, the President is free to appoint anybody as Prime Minister?

It is interesting to note that in 1964, all Congressmen including the Congress Members of Parliament were not of one opinion as to how the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party should be elected. While one group held that the choice of the leader should be left to the Congress members of Parliament, another group wanted the All India Congress Committee to nominate the leader. Ultimately, it was decided that the Congress President should find out which leader had the support of the majority of the Congress Members of Parliament and indicate his name, and then he should be unanimously elected as leader of the Congress party in Parliament. The Congress President, K. Kamraj consulted the important leaders of the party including the Congress Members of Parliament and the State Chief Ministers, and came to the conclusion that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri had the support of the majority. He indicated the choice to the Congress Members of

Parliament who elected Mr. Shastri as their leader unanimously at a meeting of the Congress party in Parliament. However, in 1966, after Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's death, no such unanimity could be achieved and the Congress Party in Parliament elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi as leader, in a regular way.

According to the Constitution, a formal vote of confidence is not required before a person's appointment as Prime Minister. Sometimes it is suggested that a provision for a formal vote of confidence should be made in the Constitution. That would not be proper because it would fetter the discretion of the President which may prove fatal to the vital interests of the country in certain circumstances.

Although the choice of Prime Minister is formally made by the President and the Constitution does not impose any fetters on his discretion in this respect, except that the person chosen should command the confidence of the House of the people, in practice, there would be a number of other considerations which would determine the choice of the Prime Minister in India. For instance, he should be the leader of his own party if there is a majority party in the House of the People; he should carry the confidence of the State Governments also, considering the intricate federal system of the country. This has been, as we say, amply demonstrated at the time of the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri, as leader of the congress party in Parliament. Chief Ministers also played a very vital role in the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Chief Ministers declared their support and pitched their tents in Delhi to canvass for her. Mr. K. Santhanam has raised objections against this role of the State Chief Ministers⁸, but in a federal structure this cannot be avoided.

Dismissal of the Prime Minister

As regards the dismissal of the Prime Minister, the Constitution is quite clear that he holds office during the pleasure of the President, which means that the President can dismiss a Prime Minister at any time. However, since the Constitution has provided for a Parliamentary Government making the Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers collectively responsible to the Lower House of Parliament, it is held that the President cannot dismiss a Prime Minister; only the Lok Sabha can remove him after passing a formal vote of no confidence. This is the practice in most of the countries with a parliamentary form of government. It was expected by the constitution makers and it is even now hoped by the champions of parliamentary democracy in India that this practice would grow in India also. Many as a matter of fact hold that this is implied in the scheme of things provided in the constitution. No occasion for such a dismissal has arisen so far but it is difficult to agree with this contention keeping in view the political conditions in India and the many unfortunate developments that have taken place in the states, particularly after the fourth general elections, involving dismissal of Chief Ministers by Governors.

Situations may be visualised in which the President may dismiss a Prime Minister in spite of the constitution and the so called conventions. The circumstances in which the President may take that step, would be determined by the practical forces operating at the time and not by the Constitution.

To say that the dismissal of a Prime Minister would be unconstitutional and the President would be impeached for it will not be of much avail, because what is unconstitutional has not been precisely defined in the constitution. A 2/3rd majority in each House of Parliament is necessary to impeach a

President. It is this majority which would ultimately decide about the constitutionality of the President's actions. Thus, if a President is sure of avoiding impeachment, he may dismiss a Prime Minister even though he might be enjoying the majority support in the Lower House.

The convention that a constitutional head of a state cannot dismiss a Prime Minister enjoying the support of the majority in the Lower House is a matter of policy and not of Constitution, because in no constitution is it written that a head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister. The real check on the President in this matter comes from a consensus among the political parties and the people. If all political parties and most of the people, irrespective of their ideological differences are of the firm view that the head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister, the head of the state would never take that step. This is the case in England. Is there a consensus among our political parties and the people on this point? No, there is not, as is evident from the recent demand of the Jan Sang and Swatantra parties for the dismissal of the prime minister. They would not find anything constitutionally wrong in this; they would rather feel that the President has done his duty if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is dismissed.

In other circumstances the impeachment provisions might be taken as an encouraging provision for taking this extreme step. For instance, if a President feels that a Prime Minister is bent upon following an unconstitutional course or is pursuing a policy which is detrimental to the basic interests of the nation or is working to further his party's interests as against those of the nation he may dismiss the prime minister for avoiding the very impeachment, because if he allows such a prime minister to function, other parties

might take it that the President has failed in his duty of protecting the constitution for which he must be impeached.

Many other situations of this nature can be imagined in which the President might be inclined to take this step in spite of the constitution and sometimes because of the constitution. For example, if a prime minister refused to resign after a formal vote of no-confidence has been passed against him, the President may dismiss him.

Such fears are not empty fears and unfortunately the country's politics is heading towards a time when the President may eventually take this step. The possibility of such a step being taken will be greatest when the President and the Prime Minister belong to two parties which are known for their extreme views.

Duties of the Prime Minister

In his day to day functioning as Prime Minister, he has to perform certain duties in relation to the President which are as follows:

(i) It is a duty of the Prime Minister to communicate to the President all decisions relating to the administration of the country and proposals for legislation. The Prime Minister is thus the chief spokesman of the council of ministers and the sole channel of communication between the President and the council of ministers.

(ii) Another duty of the Prime Minister is to furnish any other information relating to the administration of the Union or proposals for legislation, which the President may demand.¹⁰

(iii) A third duty of the Prime Minister is to submit for reconsideration of the Council of Ministers, if asked by the President, any matter on which a decision has been taken by an individual minister but which has not been considered by the Council.¹¹ This clause is primarily meant to ensure collective respon-

sibility but it does not give the President any power to get a question reopened if the same has been considered and decided by the council. Since, normally it is the business of the Prime Minister to ensure collective responsibility, it would have been better if the President were not brought in the picture on this point, because the President may make use of this power in a way that might prove very embarrassing to the Prime Minister.

In spite of the fact that the President possesses vast powers under the constitution and the Prime Minister may be appointed and dismissed by the President at his discretion ; in actual practice it has been the Prime Minister who has dominated the whole political field. It was not President Rajendra Prasad who 'selected' the Prime Minister but rather Prime Minister Nehru along with his colleagues who 'selected' the President. The personality of Pt. Nehru was so dominating that President was reduced to a rubber-stamp. The impact has been so great that it was believed that the personality of the Prime Minister, and not the constitutional provision, would determine the actual powers of the President.

In spite of the vast powers that the President possessed under the constitution he had been almost reduced to a nominal figure head. The responsibility for this rested on Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru who held that the President had a place of great respect but not of power and authority. The Prime Minister became the real head of the executive ; the President always acted upon the advice of the Prime Minister¹². The President had been reduced to a shadow ; the substance being the Prime Minister¹³.

But Prime Minister Nehru showed utmost respect and regard to the President and tried to make his office one of dignity. He used to see him frequently and discuss current state

matters and developments. He often wrote to the President.¹⁴ He consulted the President on almost all important affairs of the state. Their relations were very friendly and cordial. This, however, does not give a clear picture of the pattern of relationship between the Prime Minister and the President, because, apart from occupying these high offices, they were old friends, bound by ties of mutual regard and affection. It is difficult to assess the impact of constitutional provisions on their relationship because Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said that he consulted the President more as an old colleague than as the President.¹⁵

In spite of the very cordial relations that existed between Nehru and Prasad, the latter did not hesitate to express his views to Nehru on matters on which he differed from him.¹⁶ It is a thing of common knowledge that he held different views from those of Prime Minister Nehru on the Hindu Code Bill and he made it known to him. Similarly he wrote a letter to Nehru, reviewing with a critical eye the Government's policy in regard to Land Reforms, Co-operative Farming, State Trading in Food Grains, Industrial Development, Educated Unemployment and the country's educational programme.¹⁷ Similarly Dr. Prasad did not like Pandit Nehru's hurry and speed in social matters. He did not like the Chief Justices of States to officiate for Governors during the latter's absence ; he also did not like the Defence Minister doing too much touring in foreign countries.¹⁸

These views of the President which were different from those of the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru are known to have little or no effect on Nehru. Dr. Prasad did not go beyond expressing opinion because he did not want to create any constitutional crisis. Whether this was constitutionally proper or not, this at least saved the country from a

high level clash relating to constitutional rights. Yet there was a common feeling that Dr. Prasad's views deserved greater and more careful consideration at the hands of the Prime Minister than they were given. For instance, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as President had given timely warnings to the Prime Minister Nehru against the designs of China ; but they went unheeded. Since the views of Dr. Prasad about Chinese designs proved to be correct, as later events showed, the people have naturally been led to think that had the views of the President been given sufficient weight at the proper time, the country would have been saved from the aggression of 1962. This has naturally raised doubts about the pattern of relationship between the President and the Prime Minister, established during the regime of Nehru as Prime Minister. There is a feeling in the country that this particular pattern was established because Dr. Prasad was not strong enough to exercise his powers and that had he been strong, an entirely different pattern of relationship would have emerged.

It is, therefore, difficult to say whether other Presidents placed differently would stop just where Dr. Prasad stopped. Many sincerely feel that a strong President would not stop there and would assert himself on the strength of his powers. It is felt that "there is still a danger of reversion of roles if a strong minded President and a weak Prime Minister happened to occupy the two top offices.¹⁹⁷" We have had the experience of the Prime Minister's dominating the whole political scene including the President, therefore, it is a little difficult for us to imagine a situation in which the President may dominate the whole scene including the Prime Minister.

It is just possible that a President may rely on the letters of the Constitution and try to act as the sole repository of all powers.

Similarly a Prime Minister, basing his case solely on the support of the parliamentary majority and the constitutional conventions may regard himself to be the master of the situation and start making basic changes in the Constitution or the country's social and political life. The one is as the other. This may not, however, create any real difficulty so long as the combination of a weak President and a strong Prime Minister, or vice-versa, is available. Our executive containing the traits of both the Presidential and Parliamentary executives, would lean towards the former when there is a strong President, and towards the latter when there is a strong Prime Minister. It is contended in this context, rather seriously, that had Jawahar Lal Nehru been President of India, the character of our executive would not have remained Parliamentary as it had been with him as Prime Minister.

In case Parliament became a multiparty legislature, absolute majority would be a rare thing. Such a state of affairs would lead to coalition Governments. The Presidency and Prime Ministership would then in all probability be distributed between the main parties of the coalition. Its stronger constituent, bargaining from a position of strength, may prefer Presidency, as it is a securer office. "Moreover, it will try to make it really strong in order to be in a commanding position.²⁰" This division of power between different political parties will put the working of the Constitution in jeopardy because when both top men do not belong to the same political party, the Prime Minister may hesitate to give many a secret information to the President.

The real difficulty may crop up when the President and the Prime Minister are both strong, having balanced support in Parliament and about equal prestige and popularity in

the country. In a situation in which the majority of the Council of State is with the President, and that of the House of the People naturally with the Prime Minister, it would start a test of strength between the President and the Prime Minister. It is to be seen how things get shaped in such circumstances, whether it is the President or the Prime Minister who emerges as dominant. It is therefore, argued that the chance of a conflict between the President and the Prime Minister is not completely ruled out.

"Sometimes a President, by his democratic appeal, may command greater respect and support from the people than a Prime Minister and his colleagues. Conversely a Prime Minister and his colleagues may very often reflect public opinion more accurately than a President..... In such circumstances conflicts may arise, and reliance on the British Constitution in this setting may not prove helpful in resolving these conflicts.²¹" This confused relationship may be a potential source of trouble.²²

The fact is that both the President and the Prime Minister have their own different sources of strength. The source of the President's powers is the Constitution, whereas the strength of the Prime Minister depends upon political factors. If a Prime Minister has the confidence of his party (which is in majority in the Lok Sabha) the President normally should not interfere in the work of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, the Prime Minister must also realise that the President is under oath to protect the Constitution and serve the country and the Constitution gives him sufficient powers to perform his duty and therefore he should not do anything which may be against the spirit of the Constitution or the interest of the country. A President, who tries to interfere with such a Prime Minister, would be misusing his

powers thereby compelling the Prime Minister to resign or proceed to impeach the President. If the Prime Minister has sufficient backing in the country, either of the above two courses adopted by the Prime Minister will be embarrassing to the President. Similarly, a Prime Minister who acts against the interests of the nation or the principles of the Constitution, would be, in a way, inviting the President to do his duty of protecting the Constitution and serving the interests of the people by dismissing the Prime Minister and even dissolving the House of the People. The President if he chooses to be strong can use other methods also, e. g. warning, sending messages, calling a joint sitting of the two Houses or addressing any House to influence its decision. Viewed thus, both offices have been linked in a system of checks and balance within the framework of the Constitution. Each has sufficient power to check the other from abusing his power and authority.

On the other hand, both have been made inter-dependent. Neither can do without having the support of the other. The President, of course, behaving within the Constitutional framework, cannot do without a House of the People for a long time, and without a Council of Ministers at all, both of which will normally be behind the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister cannot function unless he has the co-operation of the President because of his legal powers. But the source of trouble is elsewhere. Hard realities of politics may not always allow this balanced view to prevail. The President and the Prime Minister both will try to assert their respective powers and each will try to dominate the other according to the political situations prevailing at any particular time. It may be said that this problem escaped the notice of the Constituent Assembly. Even after the

commencement of the Constitution the dangers involved in the un-clear relations of the two offices have not been realised. We have seen how in our neighbouring countries of Burma, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and Sudan, the Presidents eliminated the Prime Ministers with the help of the army. This situation is, therefore, fraught with grave dangers and the sooner we take steps to clarify their relations in unambiguous terms, the better.²³ Not to see the dangers inherent in the provisions of our Constitution is to shut our eyes to the realities of politics.

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Current Affairs

Political Situation Elsewhere

The Polish food riots have been front line news for many days. No one could believe that a highly developed and industrially advanced country like Poland would suddenly have to face a food shortage of such dimensions as would start off riots in more than one city of that country. Moreover, Russia, Poland's neighbour and friend in need was there too. But apparently Russia had more guns than bread or butter and she was also not quite so mobile with her food carrying vehicles as she was with tanks and rocket carriers. It also proved that people of authoritarian countries are no longer as docile as they had been in Russia towards the beginning of the communist era when millions died of starvation in that land of nationalised farms. In 1943 when more than a million people died of starvation in Bengal, the communists of India advised people to avoid mass movements as that would affect the British War Effort against Hitler who was an enemy of communism.

In Egypt the Russians are assisting the U. A. R. people to resist the Israelis by mounting guided missiles along a certain line of defence. The Israelis are not trying to invade any new territories of the U. A. R. The reason for this is quite obvious. The Israelis do not wish to be drawn into any conflict with Russia, as the guided missiles are operated by the soldiers of USSR. The USSR too do not desire a show down, as that might involve them in a war with the U. S. A. So things are at a standstill for the time being and a state of armed peace prevails in the area. How

long that will remain so is a matter of conjecture.

In Britain Mr. Heath is finding it difficult to fulfil his promises of tax reduction and so forth. Rather, economic conditions are becoming worse and Mr. Heath may have to face the necessity for devaluation of the Pound. His decision to sell arms to South Africa also does not meet with the approval of the British public. Mr. Heath shows signs of floundering and if he tries to "muddle through" in the traditional British manner he may run into a defeat in Parliament sooner than he normally should.

Property Rights Under the Constitution

K. Subba Rao, former Chief Justice of India discusses property rights under our constitution in *Triveni*. After analysing the constitutional provisions relating to the fundamental right to property he comes to certain conclusions which we quote below :—

The Constitution conferred individual right to property and to do business on citizens subject to justiciable laws of social control. The said constitutional ideology was sought to be substituted by totalitarian philosophy in that the said amendments enabled the State in the exercise of its arbitrary power to confiscate property directly or indirectly or nationalise any business carried on by a citizen. What was more, they supported the release of arbitrary power from judicial checks in that regard.

No doubt the Supreme Court, by construction imposed certain limitations on that power, but they may not prove effective

against determined exercise of arbitrary power. What the Constituent Assembly apprehended and provided against has actually happened. The makers of the Constitution and some of them were of the highest calibre and character the Nation could produce visualized the situation that arbitrary power even benevolent might destroy property rights among others honestly believing it was for the good of the country though in fact it was not.

They also knew that in modern democracies the executive controlled the majority of the Parliament, and it could push through any law it liked. They knew further that in India for a long time to come there would not be enlightened public opinion. They therefore provided for judicial check on both executive and legislative action. But it has proved unavailing against the strong majority of a single party continuously in power for two decades.

Man Creates Life

Dr. G. F. Danielli claims to have made a living cell out of chemical ingredients mixed by him in his own laboratory. He calls this creation of life. In fact what he has done is the making of a cell which displayed the presence of life in it. He has therefore been able to make something which attracts life to it. A receptacle, a habitation, a favourable setting for life forces to take shelter in. Creating a material body, by putting together chemical constituents, which will help life to come into it and display its existence, is a great achievement, even if it may not be the same thing as creation of life. If we study the origin and development of life on this Earth we find that millions of years have passed between the appearance of living cells and the evolution of reptiles, birds and mammals. Making a living cell artificially and making an animal may require millions of attempts, experiments,

rejections and modifications. Man may some day be able to make a human body artificially which will acquire nourishment and grow. Which will again propagate its own progeny. But that may take thousands or millions of years or by lucky developments the artificially made man may appear much sooner. This is the age of quick developments. From the discovery of the steam engine to the rocket that took man to the moon has been a matter of only about 200 years ! So man may make an artificial man sooner than one may think it possible.

General Charles de Gaulle

On the 9th of November 1970 General de Gaulle, the greatest Frenchman after Napoleon died in Colombey Les Deux Eglises, France at the age of 79. He had a sudden heart attack while arranging to see a television broadcast at about 7-30 p.m. He was standing near a table and suddenly fell forward on the table. The General's wife immediately called a doctor and a priest ; but the General died within 15 minutes of the heart attack. Charles de Gaulle was born on the 22nd of November 1890 at Lille. He passed out of the Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr in 1911. He joined the 33rd Infantry Regiment under Colonel Philippe Pétain. The war with Germany broke out in 1914. He was wounded and was promoted to a captain in 1915. He was wounded again and was made a prisoner of war by the Germans. He tried to escape but did not succeed. When he came back to France at the end of the war he rejoined his military teaching work at St. Cyr. In 1921 he married Yuonne Vendrou . After this he went to the Ecole superieure de Guerre, Paris. The head instructor here believed in fortifications for defence and de Gaulle believed in free movement. He proved his theories in practical demonstration and thus attracted the attention of the French General Staff. He

was opposed to the Maginot Line idea of border defence. Although the highest political personages agreed with him the French did not change their methods and arrangements for defence. When the second World War broke out de Gaulle was a Brigadier General. He fought brilliantly but the French were defeated. Many top ranking army and government personnel collaborated with the Germans. De Gaulle left France secretly and took up his fight against the army of occupation from London. The radio was his weapon. The Free Frenchmen accepted General de Gaulle as their leader. The Americans tried to oust him from this position but it did not work out as planned by the Americans. General de Gaulle always remained the real leader of the French Resistance.

His subsequent leadership of the French people had proved to be of great value to France. He revived the morale of the French, gave them back their self-respect and roused in their hearts a new faith which made them believe in a greater future for France and the French. He knew that no country could even achieve greatness in which there were too many political parties and in which the Trade Unions were politically motivated and went on strike or stopped work whenever the

political parties ordered them to do so. He also did not like students to make studies a secondary consideration in their program of work and to act as agents of political parties or secret societies which organised revolts or revolutions. General de Gaulle was rather unpopular with the Anglo-Americans. He did not like British or American interference in French affairs. They, the British and the Americans naturally wanted de Gaulle to give up his command over French politics. Various groups grew and developed in France towards the later period of the de Gaulle regime which tried to bring off great strikes and revolts. Attempts were also made to assassinate him which did not succeed. In 1968 the younger elements in France tried to oust de Gaulle from power. His authority was shaken for the first time since the early years of the forties. But de Gaulle took up the challenge and in the elections that were held in June 1968 de Gaulle achieved a spectacular victory. In 1969 he wanted to centralise the government still further and there was a referendum which rejected his proposal. Thereafter de Gaulle retired from politics and devoted himself to literary work. The first volume of his memoirs was published before his death.





IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(20)

His meal was over soon and Kshitimohan Babu came in right then to see him. Rabindranath left the table while discussing school affairs with him. He went outside carrying a kind of metal broom-stick, made in Java, used for sweeping dry leaves.

We could see him all the time from our house. A continuous stream of visitors pouring in, either for consultations or for a brief 'darshan', to touch his feet. Already guests from Calcutta were trickling in for the new year celebrations. Mulu had gone to him in the afternoon, to collect his usual supply of old newspapers for his night-school. He used to sell these and buy books and papers for his students. When he returned with the load, we found some old letters thrown in with the pile. A few of them were quite interesting. A Parsee young man had written an effusive letter, ending it thus—"I am a Parsee, and ashamed of it too." What was shameful in being a Parsee, remained a puzzle to me.

Just as we were going out for our evening walk, two boys from Sishu Bibhag came to us, with an invitation to their annual literary meeting. They needed a few candles and we gave them some from our stock. We went out again; there would be special evening prayers for the last day of the year—we did not wish to be late for that. But Rabindranath was still sitting on the terrace. Kshitimohan babu lived next door, so we dropped in there. Thandi got ready and we all went together to the Mandir. We soon saw Rabindranath coming behind us with a cluster of boys

following him in an orderly line. The poet came in right after we reached the temple and the Japanese gong started ringing. It seemed to come alive in his hands—calling all to prayer. No one else could ring it in that way.

Dinu babu had not yet returned from Calcutta—so there were no songs before the prayer. Nevertheless, Nature was festive outside and within the Mandir our hearts were filled with the Festival spirit of a coming new year.

The boys gathered around the poet to touch his feet after the service. We could not even go near him. Afterwards we saw him walk away towards the guest-house. We stood near the Sal grove and chatted with each other. Rabindranath returned soon after with the organisers of the literary meeting. They had planned the meeting to be held in the top floor of the guesthouse, but the poet refused to go there. They soon realised that a decorated venue was not as necessary for a meeting as the person to preside over it, and so, sadly, they went back to make the required changes. Now we went near him to bow down and touch his feet. He spoke a few words and then went up the stairs to his first-floor room.

The boys held their meeting on Dinubabu's terrace. Rabindranath came down to preside over the session. There were recitations and story readings, while one schoolboy, (most probably Dhirendra Krishna Dev Varma), exhibited a painting and the cast of a head he had sculpted. The poet commented on the two stories—the writers were good when they

were describing familiar objects and experiences he said. But the forced comic effects in the first and the deliberate pathos of the second spoiled much of the impression. Later they had an election meeting when the president left and we returned home.

On new year's day we woke up when it was still dark, not wanting to be late. The morning service, however, did not start till sunrise. When we saw Rabindranath walking towards the Mandir we also hurried out. The poet called Panditji aside to speak to him, most probably about some songs. Panditji and a few other boys sang the opening song. The second song was sung by the poet himself. After prayers we touched his feet and then returned home.

Dinubabu was still in Calcutta, but the song-sessions continued to be held on his terrace. We did not take too long to join the others there. Most of the songs were from 'Falguni'. Some new songs were also heard, with the poet singing a few of them and also reciting three of his newest poems. These were later placed in his 'Palataka'. Later a discussion began about formal Bengali and spoken Bengali and their suitability as poetic mediums. We were then shown a beautiful Japanese umbrella, which he called 'my royal canopy'. The Japanese people had presented it to him. We returned home after this. There were only a few guests from Calcutta

this year—may be most of the others did not know that the poet would be in the Ashram then.

Mulu's night-school boys were to have an evening feast—the whole afternoon we were busy with preparations. A little later we noticed a group of people gathered in the poet's bedroom. As there were no women present, we hesitated to go but were quite curious. Later we heard from Nepalbabu that the poet's correspondence with Mr. Montagu was being read out.

The night-school boys came marching into our backyard in the evening. They sat on the grass, in two separate lines—one Hindu, the other Muslim. The Muslim boys did not seem to mind eating a meal cooked by Hindu women. Then religious fanaticism had not taken the extreme turn. We arranged the dishes while Mulu and some of his boys served it to the others. Kalimohan babu joined us and soon we had a line of observers. Kalidas babu from Calcutta, Santosh babu and his wife, Nepal babu, Boroma and others started coming in. Mother asked us to invite the poet as he would enjoy the scene. Vijay Vasu of Madras, a class mate of mulu, ran out to call him in. Rabindranath watched the feasting from his terrace and then came down. We brought out our chairs but he was the only one to sit down.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

8

Ameer of Bukhara

This was the rumour. They say "do not lend your ears to rumours"—('Gujabe Kan Diona') but they also say that there is often some truth in what is rumoured ('Ja rate ta kotokta bote). The Ameer of Bukhara had fled from Bukhara and come to Kabul and was given asylum there only a few months before we left Kabul. The stories of luxurious living of the Ameer of Bukhara naturally lent colour and credence to the rumours. I did not know that very soon I would be going to Bokhara on our way to Moscow, otherwise, I would have surely contacted the people of the Ameer of Bokhara and got some news of Bokhara from the colleagues of the Ameer of Bokhara. The thought pressed on my mind that if communist expansion continued, the fate of the Ameer of Afghanistan might sooner or later be as that of the Ameer of Bokhara. But fortunately Afghanistan was a buffer state between the British Lion and the Russian Bear and was thus safe at least for the time being.

It was autumn—October 1922 and the roads were thick with yellow autumn leaves and with every breeze, the yellow leaves were falling like the proverbial autumn leaves and again the thought crossed my mind that the fate of the Ameer of Bokhara was like those of autumn leaves. The fall of the Czar, the big feudal lord was followed by the little Czars like the Ameer of Bokhara—would such things follow in India? It did follow but only 25 years later and not in the same way as in Russia but in

the Sardar Patel way, when over 650 of such little Czars or Ameers or Rajas and Maharajas or Nawaba were deprived of their powers in a peaceful and democratic manner.

Charikar 10 Miles

Our first stop was at Charikar, about ten miles from Kabul. It is a small village, where we stayed in an Inspection Bungalow. Maulana's servants went ahead of us and prepared food for us and we ate our meals and slept in our beds as in a camp. Three of the party viz, Md. Ali, alias Ahmed Hossain, Jaffar Hossain and Dr. Noor Md. spent the last evening in Kabul and came late at night after dinner in Kabul with their friends and slept with us in the Inspection Bungalow. We gathered that Charikar was the place where the Army of Alexander (*the Great*) had made their camp outside this small township (village) by the Kabul river. The similarity in sound between the Posthu Charikar and 'Chharkhar' in Bengali, meaning devastation was remarkable. It raised waves of thought in my mind, right from Alexander in 300 B. C. to 1922, A. D. There was no State of Afghanistan then. There were Pathan tribes only. It was almost an easy walk through, for the well trained and heavily armed Greek army of Alexander to march from Charikar to Kabul and beyond to Peshawar through the historic Khyber Pass, where the Greeks faced real resistance by the forces of the Hindu (?) King Pururaj. The resistance was overcome by Alexander by the weight of Arms of the Greeks, who in their long March from Greece had never met with any defeat anywhere.

One feels pride, how the defeated, and captured Purnraj behaved spiritedly before Alexander. When asked what treatment he expected, he had asserted, that it was—"A King to another King". It is both legend and history.

Jabal Siraj 20 Miles

Next morning we had our bath in the Kabul river near the township, where the Greek Soldiers of Alexander must have taken bath. We had early breakfast and proceeded through to Jabal Siraja a small hill town, where there was the hydro-electric power station and where Colonel Azimulla, a Bengali Muslim was in charge now. He had become quite famous and a hot favourite of the Ameer Amanulla for organising a telephone system in the war field at the time of the Third Afghan War of 1919, when Afghanistan became Independent. When we had proceeded a few miles, an Afghan military man on horse back galloped up to me and stopped me and peremptorily called me back, for a talk with the Moulana. I suggested, I would rather wait there and talk to Moulana when he would reach that place. But the Officer did not agree and I had to go back reluctantly to the Moulana who was sitting about a mile behind on the wayside grass with a very stern look. Moulana said to me, we were forbidden from proceeding by the usual Bamian Road where there were statues of Buddha about 150 feet high carved out of high and huge rock. Moulana also informed that the Ameer had ordered us to proceed by a different route through the Jungles. The plea was that the Ameer had gone for hunting in the Bamian direction. To me it appeared that it was quite arbitrary and autocratic, but not unusual for Feudal Lords. But Moulana said some thing most serious. He apprehended that it was a conspiracy to trap him and his party either to intern them in a very

out of the way place, so that they could have no contact with the outside world or to liquidate them altogether.

Ameer Amanulla, under pressure of the British, had told the Moulana that he would not allow Moulana to take help from the Russians and work against the British sitting in Kabul. Moulana was assured by Amanulla that Moulana was, however, welcome to stay in Kabul as guest of the Afghan Government but not to take financial help from Russia. Moulana did not agree. As staying in Kabul without doing anything effective to drive away the British from India, had no charm or meaning for him and he wanted permission to leave Afghanistan and go to Moscow. Such permission was readily granted. Now the Moulana thought that it was a trick to trap him and to liquidate him as the Ameer would not like the world to know of this weakness of the so called Independent Ameer of Afghanistan to submit to the pressure of British Imperialism. Moulana tried to persuade me to leave the party and go back to Kabul and then to India as I did not really belong to their party, and the Ameer had nothing personally against me. Moreover he argued that one was safe in India. I could agitate in India for their release, if they were interned in the interior of Afghanistan or for retribution if they were liquidated. I took my decision in a split second and finally and firmly told him that I would never leave them voluntarily, but if they abandoned me I would try to do what I thought best. I implored the Moulana not to ask me to leave them in the face of danger, real or imaginary. I stressed that in case it was necessary to send some one of the party to India, he should choose another and not me. The talks continued for one whole hour, but I did not yield and ultimately the Moulana agreed and embraced me warmly.

ment, or who is a member of the Council of State after his appointment. Nothing in the Constitution forbids the President to adopt any of the above courses if the circumstances so require. Not only that, the President can, if he finds it necessary or expedient, appoint even that person, as Prime Minister, who does not enjoy the confidence of the House of the People. Such a person, if appointed, can easily carry on, as Prime Minister, so long as he has not to face the House of the People. And he can easily do without facing that House for six months.

In actual practice, the President's choice, in this matter, will normally be limited, not so much because of the constitutional requirements as on account of practical political considerations. If a political party has a clear majority in the House of the People and has a recognised leader, the President is expected to appoint that leader of the majority party as Prime Minister, even if he, for the moment is not a member of either House of Parliament or is member of the Council of State. This situation actually arose when after the death of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Congress Party which was in majority in the House of the People elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as its leader. If, however, no party gains a majority or, the majority party does not have a recognised leader, the President has the discretion to appoint anybody as Prime Minister who, in his opinion, shall command the confidence of the House of the People. When the political situation does not make the choice of the Prime Minister clear, the Constitution expects the President to exercise his own discretion in the matter.

There is a section of opinion which, following the practice of some of the Western democracies, holds that the Prime Minister should, in accordance with the democratic principles, belong to the Lower

House i. e. the House of the People. But the Constitution as we have seen above, places no such bar against a member of the Council of State to be appointed as Prime Minister. Besides, there are two other factors which suggest that the Prime Minister need not necessarily belong to the House of the People. First in India, unlike in England, the Prime Minister, even if he belongs to the Rajya Sabha, will be equally available to the House of the People⁴ for answering questions, explaining policies and taking part in the debates and discussions. Second, the practices in the States have clearly established that the leader of the party need not necessarily belong to the Lower House.⁵ At Union level too, this was confirmed when Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a member of the Council of State, was appointed as Prime Minister in January, 1966.

The President has had to face no serious problem in this regard so far. So long as Jawahar Lal Nehru was alive, he was in view of his unchallenged position in the party and the position of his party in the Parliament, an obvious choice. Though after every General Election to the House of the People he used to be formally elected as the leader of the Congress party in Parliament, everybody knew that it was a mere formality. When, however, Jawahar Lal Nehru died on May 27, 1964, it was, quite a problem before the President as to who was to be appointed as Prime Minister. Within hours after the death of Jawahar Lal Nehru the President appointed Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, the Senior-most Minister in the defunct Council of Ministers, as Prime Minister.⁶ It is to be noted that he was not, as later events proved the recognised leader of the Party. He was appointed as Prime Minister either because he was the senior-most member of the outgoing cabinet or because he was, as the

reports suggested, recommended to be appointed, as P. M. by the members of the defunct cabinet. Undoubtedly, the course adopted by the President saved the country from a lot of unnecessary trouble. But it is open to question whether the President was bound to appoint the seniormost member or the one recommended by the outgoing cabinet. There was no constitutional compulsion on the President to adopt the course that he did. The old cabinet, in the eyes of the Constitution, ceased to exist the moment Jawahar Lal Nehru died. The President was, as a matter of fact, free to assess the political situation and decide for himself who among the Congress leaders would command the confidence of the House of the People. To infer from the incident that the President is bound to appoint as Prime Minister either the seniormost Minister of the outgoing cabinet or its nominee is untenable constitutionally and politically too. Yet some one had to be appointed as Prime Minister because it would have been unconstitutional for the President if he had carried on the country's administration without a Council of Ministers, because the Constitution provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers, which means the Constitution does not visualise a condition in which the President could act without a Council of Ministers. Under the circumstances, when the majority party was not in a position to be clear about its leader, the President could constitutionally appoint anybody as Prime Minister to carry on the country's administration till the Congress party made its choice. He was free to consult anybody, or not to consult anybody at all. That he appointed Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, the senior-most Minister of the outgoing council of Ministers, is not conclusive to prove that he was bound to appoint the nominee of

the outgoing council of Ministers. On the other hand, it proves the contrary. The later events showed it only too clearly that Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda was not the leader of the Congress party in parliament, nor was he an aspirant or claimant. He admitted that he had 'stepped into the breach' for only so long as the Congress party in Parliament did not elect its leader⁷. From May 27, 1964, when he was sworn in as Prime Minister, to June 9, when a new Council of Ministers with Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister, took office Mr. Nanda was Prime Minister of the country without being the leader of the majority party in Parliament. The same situation arose after Mr. Shastri's death on January 11, 1966. Mr. Nanda had to be sworn in a second time as the Prime Minister of India. Does it not show that in a situation in which the choice of the leader is not clear, the President is free to appoint anybody as Prime Minister?

It is interesting to note that in 1964, all Congressmen including the Congress Members of Parliament were not of one opinion as to how the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party should be elected. While one group held that the choice of the leader should be left to the Congress members of Parliament, another group wanted the All India Congress Committee to nominate the leader. Ultimately, it was decided that the Congress President should find out which leader had the support of the majority of the Congress Members of Parliament and indicate his name, and then he should be unanimously elected as leader of the Congress party in Parliament. The Congress President, K. Kamraj consulted the important leaders of the party including the Congress Members of Parliament and the State Chief Ministers, and came to the conclusion that Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri had the support of the majority. He indicated the choice to the Congress Members of

Parliament who elected Mr. Shastri as their leader unanimously at a meeting of the Congress party in Parliament. However, in 1966, after Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri's death, no such unanimity could be achieved and the Congress Party in Parliament elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi as leader, in a regular way.

According to the Constitution, a formal vote of confidence is not required before a person's appointment as Prime Minister. Sometimes it is suggested that a provision for a formal vote of confidence should be made in the Constitution. That would not be proper because it would fetter the discretion of the President which may prove fatal to the vital interests of the country in certain circumstances.

Although the choice of Prime Minister is formally made by the President and the Constitution does not impose any fetters on his discretion in this respect, except that the person chosen should command the confidence of the House of the people, in practice, there would be a number of other considerations which would determine the choice of the Prime Minister in India. For instance, he should be the leader of his own party if there is a majority party in the House of the People; he should carry the confidence of the State Governments also, considering the intricate federal system of the country. This has been, as we say, amply demonstrated at the time of the election of Lal Bahadur Shastri, as leader of the congress party in Parliament. Chief Ministers also played a very vital role in the election of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Chief Ministers declared their support and pitched their tents in Delhi to canvass for her. Mr. K. Santhanam has raised objections against this role of the State Chief Ministers⁸, but in a federal structure this cannot be avoided.

Dismissal of the Prime Minister

As regards the dismissal of the Prime Minister, the Constitution is quite clear that he holds office during the pleasure of the President, which means that the President can dismiss a Prime Minister at any time. However, since the Constitution has provided for a Parliamentary Government making the Prime Minister and his Council of Ministers collectively responsible to the Lower House of Parliament, it is held that the President cannot dismiss a Prime Minister; only the Lok Sabha can remove him after passing a formal vote of no confidence. This is the practice in most of the countries with a parliamentary form of government. It was expected by the constitution makers and it is even now hoped by the champions of parliamentary democracy in India that this practice would grow in India also. Many as a matter of fact hold that this is implied in the scheme of things provided in the constitution. No occasion for such a dismissal has arisen so far but it is difficult to agree with this contention keeping in view the political conditions in India and the many unfortunate developments that have taken place in the states, particularly after the fourth general elections, involving dismissal of Chief Ministers by Governors.

Situations may be visualised in which the President may dismiss a Prime Minister in spite of the constitution and the so called conventions. The circumstances in which the President may take that step, would be determined by the practical forces operating at the time and not by the Constitution.

To say that the dismissal of a Prime Minister would be unconstitutional and the President would be impeached for it will not be of much avail, because what is unconstitutional has not been precisely defined in the constitution. A 2/3rd majority in each House of Parliament is necessary to impeach a

President. It is this majority which would ultimately decide about the constitutionality of the President's actions. Thus, if a President is sure of avoiding impeachment, he may dismiss a Prime Minister even though he might be enjoying the majority support in the Lower House.

The convention that a constitutional head of a state cannot dismiss a Prime Minister enjoying the support of the majority in the Lower House is a matter of policy and not of Constitution, because in no constitution is it written that a head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister. The real check on the President in this matter comes from a consensus among the political parties and the people. If all political parties and most of the people, irrespective of their ideological differences are of the firm view that the head of the state cannot dismiss a prime minister, the head of the state would never take that step. This is the case in England. Is there a consensus among our political parties and the people on this point? No, there is not, as is evident from the recent demand of the Jan Sang and Swatantra parties for the dismissal of the prime minister. They would not find anything constitutionally wrong in this; they would rather feel that the President has done his duty if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is dismissed.

In other circumstances the impeachment provisions might be taken as an encouraging provision for taking this extreme step. For instance, if a President feels that a Prime Minister is bent upon following an unconstitutional course or is pursuing a policy which is detrimental to the basic interests of the nation or is working to further his party's interests as against those of the nation he may dismiss the prime minister for avoiding the very impeachment, because if he allows such a prime minister to function, other parties

might take it that the President has failed in his duty of protecting the constitution for which he must be impeached.

Many other situations of this nature can be imagined in which the President might be inclined to take this step in spite of the constitution and sometimes because of the constitution. For example, if a prime minister refused to resign after a formal vote of no-confidence has been passed against him, the President may dismiss him.

Such fears are not empty fears and unfortunately the country's politics is heading towards a time when the President may eventually take this step. The possibility of such a step being taken will be greatest when the President and the Prime Minister belong to two parties which are known for their extreme views.

Duties of the Prime Minister

In his day to day functioning as Prime Minister, he has to perform certain duties in relation to the President which are as follows:

(i) It is a duty of the Prime Minister to communicate to the President all decisions relating to the administration of the country and proposals for legislation. The Prime Minister is thus the chief spokesman of the council of ministers and the sole channel of communication between the President and the council of ministers.

(ii) Another duty of the Prime Minister is to furnish any other information relating to the administration of the Union or proposals for legislation, which the President may demand.¹⁰

(iii) A third duty of the Prime Minister is to submit for reconsideration of the Council of Ministers, if asked by the President, any matter on which a decision has been taken by an individual minister but which has not been considered by the Council.¹¹ This clause is primarily meant to ensure collective respon-

sibility but it does not give the President any power to get a question reopened if the same has been considered and decided by the council. Since, normally it is the business of the Prime Minister to ensure collective responsibility, it would have been better if the President were not brought in the picture on this point, because the President may make use of this power in a way that might prove very embarrassing to the Prime Minister.

In spite of the fact that the President possesses vast powers under the constitution and the Prime Minister may be appointed and dismissed by the President at his discretion ; in actual practice it has been the Prime Minister who has dominated the whole political field. It was not President Rajendra Prasad who 'selected' the Prime Minister but rather Prime Minister Nehru along with his colleagues who 'selected' the President. The personality of Pt. Nehru was so dominating that President was reduced to a rubber-stamp. The impact has been so great that it was believed that the personality of the Prime Minister, and not the constitutional provision, would determine the actual powers of the President.

In spite of the vast powers that the President possessed under the constitution he had been almost reduced to a nominal figure head. The responsibility for this rested on Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru who held that the President had a place of great respect but not of power and authority. The Prime Minister became the real head of the executive ; the President always acted upon the advice of the Prime Minister¹². The President had been reduced to a shadow ; the substance being the Prime Minister¹³.

But Prime Minister Nehru showed utmost respect and regard to the President and tried to make his office one of dignity. He used to see him frequently and discuss current state

matters and developments. He often wrote to the President.¹⁴ He consulted the President on almost all important affairs of the state. Their relations were very friendly and cordial. This, however, does not give a clear picture of the pattern of relationship between the Prime Minister and the President, because, apart from occupying these high offices, they were old friends, bound by ties of mutual regard and affection. It is difficult to assess the impact of constitutional provisions on their relationship because Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said that he consulted the President more as an old colleague than as the President.¹⁵

In spite of the very cordial relations that existed between Nehru and Prasad, the latter did not hesitate to express his views to Nehru on matters on which he differed from him.¹⁶ It is a thing of common knowledge that he held different views from those of Prime Minister Nehru on the Hindu Code Bill and he made it known to him. Similarly he wrote a letter to Nehru, reviewing with a critical eye the Government's policy in regard to Land Reforms, Co-operative Farming, State Trading in Food Grains, Industrial Development, Educated Unemployment and the country's educational programme.¹⁷ Similarly Dr. Prasad did not like Pandit Nehru's hurry and speed in social matters. He did not like the Chief Justices of States to officiate for Governors during the latter's absence ; he also did not like the Defence Minister doing too much touring in foreign countries.¹⁸

These views of the President which were different from those of the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru are known to have little or no effect on Nehru. Dr. Prasad did not go beyond expressing opinion because he did not want to create any constitutional crisis. Whether this was constitutionally proper or not, this at least saved the country from a

high level clash relating to constitutional rights. Yet there was a common feeling that Dr. Prasad's views deserved greater and more careful consideration at the hands of the Prime Minister than they were given. For instance, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, as President had given timely warnings to the Prime Minister Nehru against the designs of China ; but they went unheeded. Since the views of Dr. Prasad about Chinese designs proved to be correct, as later events showed, the people have naturally been led to think that had the views of the President been given sufficient weight at the proper time, the country would have been saved from the aggression of 1962. This has naturally raised doubts about the pattern of relationship between the President and the Prime Minister, established during the regime of Nehru as Prime Minister. There is a feeling in the country that this particular pattern was established because Dr. Prasad was not strong enough to exercise his powers and that had he been strong, an entirely different pattern of relationship would have emerged.

It is, therefore, difficult to say whether other Presidents placed differently would stop just where Dr. Prasad stopped. Many sincerely feel that a strong President would not stop there and would assert himself on the strength of his powers. It is felt that "there is still a danger of reversion of roles if a strong minded President and a weak Prime Minister happened to occupy the two top offices.¹⁹⁷" We have had the experience of the Prime Minister's dominating the whole political scene including the President, therefore, it is a little difficult for us to imagine a situation in which the President may dominate the whole scene including the Prime Minister.

It is just possible that a President may rely on the letters of the Constitution and try to act as the sole repository of all powers.

Similarly a Prime Minister, basing his case solely on the support of the parliamentary majority and the constitutional conventions may regard himself to be the master of the situation and start making basic changes in the Constitution or the country's social and political life. The one is as the other. This may not, however, create any real difficulty so long as the combination of a weak President and a strong Prime Minister, or vice-versa, is available. Our executive containing the traits of both the Presidential and Parliamentary executives, would lean towards the former when there is a strong President, and towards the latter when there is a strong Prime Minister. It is contended in this context, rather seriously, that had Jawahar Lal Nehru been President of India, the character of our executive would not have remained Parliamentary as it had been with him as Prime Minister.

In case Parliament became a multiparty legislature, absolute majority would be a rare thing. Such a state of affairs would lead to coalition Governments. The Presidency and Prime Ministership would then in all probability be distributed between the main parties of the coalition. Its stronger constituent, bargaining from a position of strength, may prefer Presidency, as it is a securer office. "Moreover, it will try to make it really strong in order to be in a commanding position.²⁰" This division of power between different political parties will put the working of the Constitution in jeopardy because when both top men do not belong to the same political party, the Prime Minister may hesitate to give many a secret information to the President.

The real difficulty may crop up when the President and the Prime Minister are both strong, having balanced support in Parliament and about equal prestige and popularity in

the country. In a situation in which the majority of the Council of State is with the President, and that of the House of the People naturally with the Prime Minister, it would start a test of strength between the President and the Prime Minister. It is to be seen how things get shaped in such circumstances, whether it is the President or the Prime Minister who emerges as dominant. It is therefore, argued that the chance of a conflict between the President and the Prime Minister is not completely ruled out.

"Sometimes a President, by his democratic appeal, may command greater respect and support from the people than a Prime Minister and his colleagues. Conversely a Prime Minister and his colleagues may very often reflect public opinion more accurately than a President..... In such circumstances conflicts may arise, and reliance on the British Constitution in this setting may not prove helpful in resolving these conflicts.²¹" This confused relationship may be a potential source of trouble.²²

The fact is that both the President and the Prime Minister have their own different sources of strength. The source of the President's powers is the Constitution, whereas the strength of the Prime Minister depends upon political factors. If a Prime Minister has the confidence of his party (which is in majority in the Lok Sabha) the President normally should not interfere in the work of the Prime Minister. On the other hand, the Prime Minister must also realise that the President is under oath to protect the Constitution and serve the country and the Constitution gives him sufficient powers to perform his duty and therefore he should not do anything which may be against the spirit of the Constitution or the interest of the country. A President, who tries to interfere with such a Prime Minister, would be misusing his

powers thereby compelling the Prime Minister to resign or proceed to impeach the President. If the Prime Minister has sufficient backing in the country, either of the above two courses adopted by the Prime Minister will be embarrassing to the President. Similarly, a Prime Minister who acts against the interests of the nation or the principles of the Constitution, would be, in a way, inviting the President to do his duty of protecting the Constitution and serving the interests of the people by dismissing the Prime Minister and even dissolving the House of the People. The President if he chooses to be strong can use other methods also, e. g. warning, sending messages, calling a joint sitting of the two Houses or addressing any House to influence its decision. Viewed thus, both offices have been linked in a system of checks and balance within the framework of the Constitution. Each has sufficient power to check the other from abusing his power and authority.

On the other hand, both have been made inter-dependent. Neither can do without having the support of the other. The President, of course, behaving within the Constitutional framework, cannot do without a House of the People for a long time, and without a Council of Ministers at all, both of which will normally be behind the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister cannot function unless he has the co-operation of the President because of his legal powers. But the source of trouble is elsewhere. Hard realities of politics may not always allow this balanced view to prevail. The President and the Prime Minister both will try to assert their respective powers and each will try to dominate the other according to the political situations prevailing at any particular time. It may be said that this problem escaped the notice of the Constituent Assembly. Even after the

commencement of the Constitution the dangers involved in the un-clear relations of the two offices have not been realised. We have seen how in our neighbouring countries of Burma, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia and Sudan, the Presidents eliminated the Prime Ministers with the help of the army. This situation is, therefore, fraught with grave dangers and the sooner we take steps to clarify their relations in unambiguous terms, the better.²³ Not to see the dangers inherent in the provisions of our Constitution is to shut our eyes to the realities of politics.

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Current Affairs

Political Situation Elsewhere

The Polish food riots have been front line news for many days. No one could believe that a highly developed and industrially advanced country like Poland would suddenly have to face a food shortage of such dimensions as would start off riots in more than one city of that country. Moreover, Russia, Poland's neighbour and friend in need was there too. But apparently Russia had more guns than bread or butter and she was also not quite so mobile with her food carrying vehicles as she was with tanks and rocket carriers. It also proved that people of authoritarian countries are no longer as docile as they had been in Russia towards the beginning of the communist era when millions died of starvation in that land of nationalised farms. In 1943 when more than a million people died of starvation in Bengal, the communists of India advised people to avoid mass movements as that would affect the British War Effort against Hitler who was an enemy of communism.

In Egypt the Russians are assisting the U. A. R. people to resist the Israelis by mounting guided missiles along a certain line of defence. The Israelis are not trying to invade any new territories of the U. A. R. The reason for this is quite obvious. The Israelis do not wish to be drawn into any conflict with Russia, as the guided missiles are operated by the soldiers of USSR. The USSR too do not desire a show down, as that might involve them in a war with the U. S. A. So things are at a standstill for the time being and a state of armed peace prevails in the area. How

long that will remain so is a matter of conjecture.

In Britain Mr. Heath is finding it difficult to fulfil his promises of tax reduction and so forth. Rather, economic conditions are becoming worse and Mr. Heath may have to face the necessity for devaluation of the Pound. His decision to sell arms to South Africa also does not meet with the approval of the British public. Mr. Heath shows signs of floundering and if he tries to "muddle through" in the traditional British manner he may run into a defeat in Parliament sooner than he normally should.

Property Rights Under the Constitution

K. Subba Rao, former Chief Justice of India discusses property rights under our constitution in *Triveni*. After analysing the constitutional provisions relating to the fundamental right to property he comes to certain conclusions which we quote below :—

The Constitution conferred individual right to property and to do business on citizens subject to justiciable laws of social control. The said constitutional ideology was sought to be substituted by totalitarian philosophy in that the said amendments enabled the State in the exercise of its arbitrary power to confiscate property directly or indirectly or nationalise any business carried on by a citizen. What was more, they supported the release of arbitrary power from judicial checks in that regard.

No doubt the Supreme Court, by construction imposed certain limitations on that power, but they may not prove effective

against determined exercise of arbitrary power. What the Constituent Assembly apprehended and provided against has actually happened. The makers of the Constitution and some of them were of the highest calibre and character the Nation could produce visualized the situation that arbitrary power even benevolent might destroy property rights among others honestly believing it was for the good of the country though in fact it was not.

They also knew that in modern democracies the executive controlled the majority of the Parliament, and it could push through any law it liked. They knew further that in India for a long time to come there would not be enlightened public opinion. They therefore provided for judicial check on both executive and legislative action. But it has proved unavailing against the strong majority of a single party continuously in power for two decades.

Man Creates Life

Dr. G. F. Danielli claims to have made a living cell out of chemical ingredients mixed by him in his own laboratory. He calls this creation of life. In fact what he has done is the making of a cell which displayed the presence of life in it. He has therefore been able to make something which attracts life to it. A receptacle, a habitation, a favourable setting for life forces to take shelter in. Creating a material body, by putting together chemical constituents, which will help life to come into it and display its existence, is a great achievement, even if it may not be the same thing as creation of life. If we study the origin and development of life on this Earth we find that millions of years have passed between the appearance of living cells and the evolution of reptiles, birds and mammals. Making a living cell artificially and making an animal may require millions of attempts, experiments,

rejections and modifications. Man may some day be able to make a human body artificially which will acquire nourishment and grow. Which will again propagate its own progeny. But that may take thousands or millions of years or by lucky developments the artificially made man may appear much sooner. This is the age of quick developments. From the discovery of the steam engine to the rocket that took man to the moon has been a matter of only about 200 years ! So man may make an artificial man sooner than one may think it possible.

General Charles de Gaulle

On the 9th of November 1970 General de Gaulle, the greatest Frenchman after Napoleon died in Colombey Les Deux Eglises, France at the age of 79. He had a sudden heart attack while arranging to see a television broadcast at about 7-30 p.m. He was standing near a table and suddenly fell forward on the table. The General's wife immediately called a doctor and a priest ; but the General died within 15 minutes of the heart attack. Charles de Gaulle was born on the 22nd of November 1890 at Lille. He passed out of the Ecole Militaire de St. Cyr in 1911. He joined the 33rd Infantry Regiment under Colonel Philippe Petain. The war with Germany broke out in 1914. He was wounded and was promoted to a captain in 1915. He was wounded again and was made a prisoner of war by the Germans. He tried to escape but did not succeed. When he came back to France at the end of the war he rejoined his military teaching work at St. Cyr. In 1921 he married Yuonne Vendrou . After this he went to the Ecole superieure de Guerre, Paris. The head instructor here believed in fortifications for defence and de Gaulle believed in free movement. He proved his theories in practical demonstration and thus attracted the attention of the French General Staff. He

was opposed to the Maginot Line idea of border defence. Although the highest political personages agreed with him the French did not change their methods and arrangements for defence. When the second World War broke out de Gaulle was a Brigadier General. He fought brilliantly but the French were defeated. Many top ranking army and government personnel collaborated with the Germans. De Gaulle left France secretly and took up his fight against the army of occupation from London. The radio was his weapon. The Free Frenchmen accepted General de Gaulle as their leader. The Americans tried to oust him from this position but it did not work out as planned by the Americans. General de Gaulle always remained the real leader of the French Resistance.

His subsequent leadership of the French people had proved to be of great value to France. He revived the morale of the French, gave them back their self-respect and roused in their hearts a new faith which made them believe in a greater future for France and the French. He knew that no country could even achieve greatness in which there were too many political parties and in which the Trade Unions were politically motivated and went on strike or stopped work whenever the

political parties ordered them to do so. He also did not like students to make studies a secondary consideration in their program of work and to act as agents of political parties or secret societies which organised revolts or revolutions. General de Gaulle was rather unpopular with the Anglo-Americans. He did not like British or American interference in French affairs. They, the British and the Americans naturally wanted de Gaulle to give up his command over French politics. Various groups grew and developed in France towards the later period of the de Gaulle regime which tried to bring off great strikes and revolts. Attempts were also made to assassinate him which did not succeed. In 1968 the younger elements in France tried to oust de Gaulle from power. His authority was shaken for the first time since the early years of the forties. But de Gaulle took up the challenge and in the elections that were held in June 1968 de Gaulle achieved a spectacular victory. In 1969 he wanted to centralise the government still further and there was a referendum which rejected his proposal. Thereafter de Gaulle retired from politics and devoted himself to literary work. The first volume of his memoirs was published before his death.





IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(20)

His meal was over soon and Kshitimohan Babu came in right then to see him. Rabindranath left the table while discussing school affairs with him. He went outside carrying a kind of metal broom-stick, made in Java, used for sweeping dry leaves.

We could see him all the time from our house. A continuous stream of visitors pouring in, either for consultations or for a brief 'darshan', to touch his feet. Already guests from Calcutta were trickling in for the new year celebrations. Mulu had gone to him in the afternoon, to collect his usual supply of old newspapers for his night-school. He used to sell these and buy books and papers for his students. When he returned with the load, we found some old letters thrown in with the pile. A few of them were quite interesting. A Parsee young man had written an effusive letter, ending it thus—"I am a Parsee, and ashamed of it too." What was shameful in being a Parsee, remained a puzzle to me.

Just as we were going out for our evening walk, two boys from Sishu Bibhag came to us, with an invitation to their annual literary meeting. They needed a few candles and we gave them some from our stock. We went out again; there would be special evening prayers for the last day of the year—we did not wish to be late for that. But Rabindranath was still sitting on the terrace. Kshitimohan babu lived next door, so we dropped in there. Thandi got ready and we all went together to the Mandir. We soon saw Rabindranath coming behind us with a cluster of boys

following him in an orderly line. The poet came in right after we reached the temple and the Japanese gong started ringing. It seemed to come alive in his hands—calling all to prayer. No one else could ring it in that way.

Dinu babu had not yet returned from Calcutta—so there were no songs before the prayer. Nevertheless, Nature was festive outside and within the Mandir our hearts were filled with the Festival spirit of a coming new year.

The boys gathered around the poet to touch his feet after the service. We could not even go near him. Afterwards we saw him walk away towards the guest-house. We stood near the Sal grove and chatted with each other. Rabindranath returned soon after with the organisers of the literary meeting. They had planned the meeting to be held in the top floor of the guesthouse, but the poet refused to go there. They soon realised that a decorated venue was not as necessary for a meeting as the person to preside over it, and so, sadly, they went back to make the required changes. Now we went near him to bow down and touch his feet. He spoke a few words and then went up the stairs to his first-floor room.

The boys held their meeting on Dinubabu's terrace. Rabindranath came down to preside over the session. There were recitations and story readings, while one schoolboy, (most probably Dhirendra Krishna Dev Varma), exhibited a painting and the cast of a head he had sculpted. The poet commented on the two stories—the writers were good when they

were describing familiar objects and experiences he said. But the forced comic effects in the first and the deliberate pathos of the second spoiled much of the impression. Later they had an election meeting when the president left and we returned home.

On new year's day we woke up when it was still dark, not wanting to be late. The morning service, however, did not start till sunrise. When we saw Rabindranath walking towards the Mandir we also hurried out. The poet called Panditji aside to speak to him, most probably about some songs. Panditji and a few other boys sang the opening song. The second song was sung by the poet himself. After prayers we touched his feet and then returned home.

Dinubabu was still in Calcutta, but the song-sessions continued to be held on his terrace. We did not take too long to join the others there. Most of the songs were from 'Falguni'. Some new songs were also heard, with the poet singing a few of them and also reciting three of his newest poems. These were later placed in his 'Palataka'. Later a discussion began about formal Bengali and spoken Bengali and their suitability as poetic mediums. We were then shown a beautiful Japanese umbrella, which he called 'my royal canopy'. The Japanese people had presented it to him. We returned home after this. There were only a few guests from Calcutta

this year—may be most of the others did not know that the poet would be in the Ashram then.

Mulu's night-school boys were to have an evening feast—the whole afternoon we were busy with preparations. A little later we noticed a group of people gathered in the poet's bedroom. As there were no women present, we hesitated to go but were quite curious. Later we heard from Nepalbabu that the poet's correspondence with Mr. Montagu was being read out.

The night-school boys came marching into our backyard in the evening. They sat on the grass, in two separate lines—one Hindu, the other Muslim. The Muslim boys did not seem to mind eating a meal cooked by Hindu women. Then religious fanaticism had not taken the extreme turn. We arranged the dishes while Mulu and some of his boys served it to the others. Kalimohan babu joined us and soon we had a line of observers. Kalidas babu from Calcutta, Santosh babu and his wife, Nepal babu, Boroma and others started coming in. Mother asked us to invite the poet as he would enjoy the scene. Vijay Vasu of Madras, a class mate of mulu, ran out to call him in. Rabindranath watched the feasting from his terrace and then came down. We brought out our chairs but he was the only one to sit down.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

8

Ameer of Bukhara

This was the rumour. They say "do not lend your ears to rumours"—('Gujabe Kan Diona') but they also say that there is often some truth in what is rumoured ('Ja rate ta kotokta bote). The Ameer of Bukhara had fled from Bukhara and come to Kabul and was given asylum there only a few months before we left Kabul. The stories of luxurious living of the Ameer of Bukhara naturally lent colour and credence to the rumours. I did not know that very soon I would be going to Bokhara on our way to Moscow, otherwise, I would have surely contacted the people of the Ameer of Bokhara and got some news of Bokhara from the colleagues of the Ameer of Bokhara. The thought pressed on my mind that if communist expansion continued, the fate of the Ameer of Afghanistan might sooner or later be as that of the Ameer of Bokhara. But fortunately Afghanistan was a buffer state between the British Lion and the Russian Bear and was thus safe at least for the time being.

It was autumn—October 1922 and the roads were thick with yellow autumn leaves and with every breeze, the yellow leaves were falling like the proverbial autumn leaves and again the thought crossed my mind that the fate of the Ameer of Bokhara was like those of autumn leaves. The fall of the Czar, the big feudal lord was followed by the little Czars like the Ameer of Bokhara—would such things follow in India? It did follow but only 25 years later and not in the same way as in Russia but in

the Sardar Patel way, when over 650 of such little Czars or Ameers or Rajas and Maharajas or Nawaba were deprived of their powers in a peaceful and democratic manner.

Charikar 10 Miles

Our first stop was at Charikar, about ten miles from Kabul. It is a small village, where we stayed in an Inspection Bungalow. Maulana's servants went ahead of us and prepared food for us and we ate our meals and slept in our beds as in a camp. Three of the party viz, Md. Ali, alias Ahmed Hossain, Jaffar Hossain and Dr. Noor Md. spent the last evening in Kabul and came late at night after dinner in Kabul with their friends and slept with us in the Inspection Bungalow. We gathered that Charikar was the place where the Army of Alexander (*the Great*) had made their camp outside this small township (village) by the Kabul river. The similarity in sound between the Posthu Charikar and 'Chharkhar' in Bengali, meaning devastation was remarkable. It raised waves of thought in my mind, right from Alexander in 300 B. C. to 1922, A. D. There was no State of Afghanistan then. There were Pathan tribes only. It was almost an easy walk through, for the well trained and heavily armed Greek army of Alexander to march from Charikar to Kabul and beyond to Peshawar through the historic Khyber Pass, where the Greeks faced real resistance by the forces of the Hindu (?) King Pururaj. The resistance was overcome by Alexander by the weight of Arms of the Greeks, who in their long March from Greece had never met with any defeat anywhere.

One feels pride, how the defeated, and captured Purnraj behaved spiritedly before Alexander. When asked what treatment he expected, he had asserted, that it was—"A King to another King". It is both legend and history.

Jabal Siraj 20 Miles

Next morning we had our bath in the Kabul river near the township, where the Greek Soldiers of Alexander must have taken bath. We had early breakfast and proceeded through to Jabal Siraja a small hill town, where there was the hydro-electric power station and where Colonel Azimulla, a Bengali Muslim was in charge now. He had become quite famous and a hot favourite of the Ameer Amanulla for organising a telephone system in the war field at the time of the Third Afghan War of 1919, when Afghanistan became Independent. When we had proceeded a few miles, an Afghan military man on horse back galloped up to me and stopped me and peremptorily called me back, for a talk with the Moulana. I suggested, I would rather wait there and talk to Moulana when he would reach that place. But the Officer did not agree and I had to go back reluctantly to the Moulana who was sitting about a mile behind on the wayside grass with a very stern look. Moulana said to me, we were forbidden from proceeding by the usual Bamian Road where there were statues of Buddha about 150 feet high carved out of high and huge rock. Moulana also informed that the Ameer had ordered us to proceed by a different route through the Jungles. The plea was that the Ameer had gone for hunting in the Bamian direction. To me it appeared that it was quite arbitrary and autocratic, but not unusual for Feudal Lords. But Moulana said some thing most serious. He apprehended that it was a conspiracy to trap him and his party either to intern them in a very

out of the way place, so that they could have no contact with the outside world or to liquidate them altogether.

Ameer Amanulla, under pressure of the British, had told the Moulana that he would not allow Moulana to take help from the Russians and work against the British sitting in Kabul. Moulana was assured by Amanulla that Moulana was, however, welcome to stay in Kabul as guest of the Afghan Government but not to take financial help from Russia. Moulana did not agree. As staying in Kabul without doing anything effective to drive away the British from India, had no charm or meaning for him and he wanted permission to leave Afghanistan and go to Moscow. Such permission was readily granted. Now the Moulana thought that it was a trick to trap him and to liquidate him as the Ameer would not like the world to know of this weakness of the so called Independent Ameer of Afghanistan to submit to the pressure of British Imperialism. Moulana tried to persuade me to leave the party and go back to Kabul and then to India as I did not really belong to their party, and the Ameer had nothing personally against me. Moreover he argued that one was safe in India. I could agitate in India for their release, if they were interned in the interior of Afghanistan or for retribution if they were liquidated. I took my decision in a split second and finally and firmly told him that I would never leave them voluntarily, but if they abandoned me I would try to do what I thought best. I implored the Moulana not to ask me to leave them in the face of danger, real or imaginary. I stressed that in case it was necessary to send some one of the party to India, he should choose another and not me. The talks continued for one whole hour, but I did not yield and ultimately the Moulana agreed and embraced me warmly.

and I become a member of Moulana's party in body and spirit and not merely an Associate, as I had been so long.

Council of War.

When the Moulana was talking to me others of the group, all the other eight came there one by one and were told to wait and they waited at a distance, while we two Moulana and myself talked. Then, we all together had a council of war to decide what to do. Some took the situation lightly specially the younger ones, but the senior members took it seriously. But the decision was taken unanimously to proceed as directed by the Ameer and face the situation as it developed. We had two Mausers and two Webley revolvers and we trusted on our courage and the powerful revolvers. I had no revolver of my own with me and one Webley was given to me. Not one of the ten could be induced to leave the group and go back to Kabul or elsewhere, and we all proceeded on the journey, led by the Moulana.

Back to Jabal Siraj.

We all went back to Jabal Siraj together and had a grand reception by colonel Azimulla, the Bengali muslim, who was in-charge of the Hydro-electric Station there. The wayside consultations took nearly three hours and we reached back to Jabal Siraj at about 2 P. M. We had our hastily prepared meals as the guests of the Ameer and were housed in the spacious Guest House beautifully and gorgeously decorated with Persian Carpets and big and numerous lanterns and candles. Some of us went out to see the town and the Hydro-electric Station after the sumptuous meal. When we came back we found that others were preparing for evening Namaj-prayer. I had learnt Namaj and Uju (ablution or wash before Namaj)

from the Moulana before. I had I had my UJU and then had collective prayer. I thought I had acquitted myself well with all the processes of Uju, Sajida etc. I had taken the name of Abdnl, so that I would not be easily distinguishable from the rest, the nine Muslims of the group. But later on the Moulana told me in joke that I was found out to be a 'Kafir' (Infidel?). In astonishment I asked him how. He said that while making Uju or ablution before Nawaj I had washed the left foot first, as a Hindu usually does, but a Muslim starts with the right foot. I replied in joke also, that the fault was not mine, but that of my teacher, i. e., the Moulana himself. Luckily nobody else noticed the mistake.

Grand Feast

Colonel Azimulla was the most lavish and solicitous host, but the feast was on behalf of the Ameer. Moulana's first apprehensive thought was that we would be interned at Jabal Siraj, which was about thirty miles from Kabul and we could be much more easily cut out from outside contact than at Kabul. He thought, after a few days or weeks or months we would be liquidated. But nothing like this happened. Next morning after a delicious and heavy breakfast we started on our journey through the jungle road. We were given a horse-man as a guide, who was one of the most expert riders I have ever seen. He was riding up and down the hills, forwards and backwards through the jungles, over the rivers with ease, as if riding on a race course, smooth and even as the race course of the Calcutta Maidan.

Jungle Road

We went a few miles along the Bamian Road, the main Road from Kabul to Mazar-e-Sharif, the most important and sacred religious place in Afghanistan, where a relic of the Prophet or Khalifa was enshrined. The road from there goes straight to the

Russian frontier town and port of Termaz, on river Oxus or Amu Dariya. This is the usual road, quite smooth and broad. But after proceeding for some miles along this usual caravan road our guide led us into the jungle road or village road, which was still in the making. After a few miles, it was only a bridle path, meant for travellers on foot or expert riders. The path was hardly one foot wide and that also full of rocks, with rounded stones often in a state of unstable equilibrium. Any false step and you would be rolling down fifty or a hundred feet. It was indeed a short cut to Mazar-e-Sharif from Kabul; i. e., when the road in the making would be completed. As the existing path was, it was most difficult and dangerous to negotiate, when we had or were forced to travel.

Marble Stones in Galore

In the jungle road the fear of internment or liquidation reappeared. But quite undaunted, we proceeded onwards, braving all the risks. And we were rewarded by the most magnificent sight of multi-coloured marble hills, not in one place alone but along a route of about 50 or 60 miles. The marble hill at Jabalpur is only white and even then it is so beautiful that tourists and sightseers are drawn there from all over the world. If there were good roads, people would flock to Afghanistan also to see the miles and miles of beautiful multi-coloured marbles on both sides of the Kabul river. In some places only, the crust of the rock had been broken by the current of the flowing river and marbles of multiple colour of different designs, designed by Nature herself, were visible.

In Afghanistan, all these rich marble was lying unused and even the tomb of Babar, which lies in Bag-e-Babar (Garden of Babar) in Kabul, only a few white marble slabs decorated the place round the tomb.

Pathan Villages

We also came across villages, after villages where the Pathans were living in mud houses, exactly as they had done for the last two or three thousand years. They were absolutely unsophisticated. The more we entered the jungles along the banks of the Kabul river, towards the source, the more primitive type of Pathans, we could see. All these would have escaped us, if we had been allowed to proceed along the beaten track of the Bamian Road. In my heart I felt happy for these highly interesting sights and experiences. It was a good compensation for avoiding the smooth, broad Bamian Road.

First Halt in the Jungle

Our first halt was at noon in the house of a Pathan Chief. His house was on the top of a small hill, at a little distance from the other huts of the Pathans. Moulana said, on seeing the geography of the place, that it would be an ideal place for internment, from where, absolutely no news could reach the outside world. It was a worse place for internment than the island Elba for Napoleon. For liquidation also it would be an ideal place. Preparing ourselves for the worst, i. e. liquidation, we entered into the Chief's 'Baitak-Khana' (drawing room). Moulana was kept in the middle and two with revolvers were in front of him and two behind him, with our fingers on the triggers of the loaded revolvers and pistols, under cover of our coat pockets. We apprehended an ambush and were mentally prepared for the same. I was placed just behind the Moulana, with one Webley, both for defence and offence.

No Ambush in Khan's House

No attack came as apprehended and we were given a warm and cordial reception and had a real Pathan feast. All food was kept in wooden receptacles or utensils

on the rough wooden blanket, made by pressing wool in the Pathan way. One huge wooden bowl one foot high and one foot diameter with mutton soup was kept in the centre and all took the soup with big wooden spoons or ladles, all taking the soup together. Similarly, all the mutton ('Dumba') roast or Kabab curry, Tandur-ki-roti, etc., were kept on big wooden plates or Thalas two or three feet in diameter and all taking them with their own hands and eating all together, along with the host, the Chief (*Khan*) and about half a dozen other Pathan guests of the village. All did full justice but we lagged behind the Pathans. It was followed by fruits, grapes, etc. of all kinds and last of all 3 or 4 cups of green tea, by rotation. While eating, there was no fear of poisoning as we all ate together and we hardly remembered our apprehension, with which we had entered the Khan's house. We rested there for the night also. We started on our way next morning, led by the expert horse-man guide after profuse Pathan style salutations. We rested at night at another Chief's house. Each morning, our caravan started after breakfast and halted at night in the house of another Khan. But we had sometimes to make our own arrangements for food etc. Food was cheap, a good chicken for about three to four annas and a dozen eggs for 4 annas. Mutton of Dumba was as cheap as vegetables. Tanduri bread about a foot long and half as broad only for 2/3 pices. We went along the road, following the Kabul river towards the source. We went deeper and deeper through the jungles and small valleys-full of horses and mules and asses and hardly any bull or cow. We had to ford the Kabul river at least one hundred times on horse back or on mules or on foot. Water was not deep, but some times water reached up to our knees. The river was full of boulders

rounded by rolling down in strong currents in the summer. It being autumn, there was little water. It reminded me of the deep and swift flowing rivers of West Bengal, what a contrast! In summer, *when the snow in the upper reaches of the river melts and causes deep flow in the river*, fording the river and the journey by the road was difficult. No human hand made that road. It was made by the rubbing of feet of human beings and also of domestic animals like sheep, horses, mules and camels. We were following the river bank, till a big rock was reached and then we forded the river and started walking or riding on the other bank along the river. The horses and mules were extremely well trained and accustomed to this road.

This was the routine for the next 8 or 10 days. Rising early and taking a rather heavy breakfast, taking with us some boiled mutton or chicken. Tanduri bread and dried "tut" or raisins, eating the same when hungry, while riding on the back of a horse or a mule or halting at a place. Drinking water where available from river or spring, and halting at night in some caravan-sarai or in the house of a Pathan Chief. Our servants cooked our meals—rice-pilao, kabab, curry of Dumba or chicken, tandur bread or chapathi and fruits. Simple food and no special dishes, not much of a variety. Breakfast was usually egg omlette and tandur bread and green tea.

Wherever a village shop was available—these were very few and far between—we would stop and drink tea or buy snacks, biscuits and fruits.

We twenty, ten of us and four servants and six mule-owners were not travelling together all the way. We generally started together but got separated due to difference in pace of horse and mules and some were even on foot for some distances. The servants usually went

ahead and kept the food ready or half-ready-
awaiting our arrival.

Maulana Obeidulla

Maulana Obeidullah : Deobandhi-leader of the group. He was in his mid forties when I met him in Kabul. Robust in health, dark complexioned, of medium height, with long beard which had started to turn grey with bright eyes which seemed to penetrate and see through the men he interviewed and talked with. He was a habitual wearer of khaddar-coat, shalwar, pajama, underwear and his beddings were also of khaddar. He was a devout Muslim, saying his prayers five times a day. His grand father was a devoted Hindu in Sindh and his father embraced Sikh religion and was a devout Sikh. He embraced Islam, while he was a student in School and was a devout Muslim. He left his family and went to Deoband, U. P. the great centre of Islamic studies, where he lived for long twelve years. He was a student there for about 8 years and then taught there for about 4 years, and continued his deeper studies of Eastern and Western Philosophy. He knew Persian and Arabic very well, not to speak of Sindhi, Urdu and Punjabi. But he did not know English well enough to read books though he could understand simple conversation in English. He studied the Koran, Hadij etc. in Arabic in which he had vast knowledge and could converse freely. Arabic was the Lingua-franca of the Islamic world.

He was a strong Nationalist and intensely anti-British and had intimate connections with the Wahabis, mainly the Frontier Pathans who had never accepted British Rule and had been fighting the British with guns and rifles since 1857. They were carrying on guerrilla war from their mountain and jungle shelters in the no-man's land in the N. W. Frontier. They had recruits from all over India and Afghani-

stan. To my surprise I learnt that Bengali Muslims also contributed numerous recruits to the Wahabi movement. It was a religious cum political movement against British Rule in India.

During the first World War of 1914-18, their movement gathered strength and Maulana, finding it difficult to operate his Anti-British activities in India went to Afghanistan in 1915 with the help of the Wahabis. While in India, he had intimate connections with Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad, Badsha Khan, Pandit M. Malviya, Tilak, Bipin Pal, Lajpat Ray and other Khelafat and Congress leaders, and was intimately connected with both. He had accepted non-violent movement of the Indian National Congress led by Mahatma Gandhi, *as policy not as creed* just as most of the Revolutionaries of Bengal and other parts of India did. I myself had done the same.

He had a very active brain and his plans had wide sweep, over the whole International field. He believed passionately in Hindu-Muslim unity. It was his deep conviction also, that without this, the British could not be driven out of India.

Some of his ardent young associates and colleagues also managed to join him in Kabul with his advice and help. And thus a small group was formed in Kabul around him. Many more had joined after the Mahajarin movement, in which about 100,000 muslims sold or disposed of their properties, for a song and left India—a Kafir country under the British Rule for Islamic countries, like Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey etc. The link with Afghanistan being more close and specially as Afghanistan had recently forced Britain to concede Independence to them the over-whelming majority hoped for sympathetic and hospitable treatment in Afghanistan,

immediately they crossed the border. They therefore went there with their whole families and also all movable bag and baggage, the immovables and cattle were also disposed of, as they planned never to return to India.

They were no doubt most hospitably received; but Afghanistan's resources being poor, they could not meet the problems of the sudden and huge exodus, properly and adequately. Mismanagement also, partly due to very high expectations from Afghanistan, caused great hardship and misery for shortage of food, drinking water, transport, and medical help. Cholera and Dysentery spread in epidemic form and many died due to want of proper medical aid, for paucity of doctors and nurses and also medicine. Many returned to India from Jalalabad itself where the first big camp was established. They were much sadder and wiser after the return, finding themselves destitute and penniless not to speak of the loss of their near and dear ones in Afghanistan and on the way back. The worst part was that those who had bought their land and houses, would not return them, even on payment of double the amount they had paid for the same. Those who returned to India, were rehabilitated anyhow, but the sufferings of those left behind in Afghanistan knew no bounds. Some stayed on, others proceeded to Russia or Turkey and a few went to Persia also.

The Maulana and his colleagues rendered all possible help with the assistance of the Afghan Government with whom they were on very good terms, for giving active help to Ameer Amanulla in occupying the throne and in fighting the British for winning independence.

But in the first two years of the War during the regime of Ameer Habibulla who was very pro-British, Maulana Obeidullah and his colleagues lived a life of semi-internment.

In this condition also, he kept contact with Indian revolutionaries in India.

Silk Letter Conspiracy

He was the author and the leader of the conspiracy, famous as the Silk Letter Conspiracy. A letter was written on a silk handkerchief addressed to the German Govt. of the Kaiser and the Turkish Govt. of the Sultan to help the Indian Revolutionaries with arms and ammunitions, so that they could fight the British. Two emissaries were sent, but before they could reach their destinations, they were captured and the Silk letter Conspiracy was unearthed and scotched by the efficient British secret service.

A provisional Govt. of India, was formed with Raja Mahendra Pratap as President the Maulana Barkatulla as the Prime Minister and Maulana Obeidulla as the Home Minister etc. Its temporary office was the residence of Maulana Obeidulla. Ameer Amanulla gave his enthusiastic support to Moulana Obeidullah in the beginning, but later on it became rather lukewarm. His wide outlook and his personal sweet behaviour, made me accept him as my political mentor.

People of various shades of opinion used to come to him from India and abroad for consultation and advice. Sitting in Kabul he kept himself well-informed, not only through newspapers, which he read voraciously and scrutinisingly but also through smuggled letters and often through personal emissaries. I had great respect, even admiration for him.

He used to say that Indians are so good that if some good and true muslims had come to India, most Indians would have embraced Islam, but most unfortunately, the Muslims who came, were merely for loot and ravage and worse still, were ravishers of women. This has made Islam an object of hate rather than of appreciation. May be he was correct.

A significant joke of his was that I should be careful, when I mix with him for people complain that he always exploited others. I replied that the intelligent and the brave always lead the others. I do not call it exploitation and I would like to be used or exploited in this sense and I would not blame anybody else, if he was more intelligent, than myself.

The less intelligent is used or exploited usually by the more intelligent. Some men have to be cannon fodder in a great cause, violent or non-violent. For instance Gandhiji used (or exploited) me when I left college but instead of blaming him, I thank him and feel proud that I could respond, however partially it might have been. Maulana used to appreciate my view and self confidence.

2). Mohammad Ali or Ahmed Hossain - an under graduate, Communist colleague of Late M. N. Roy, clean shaven, bachelor of

medium size, stout and strong. He had been earlier sent along with another Sikh to the Czar of Russia by Maulana Obeidullah to seek Russian help for the Indian Independence during the First World War. Both were arrested by the Russian Government but Ahmed Hossain somehow managed to escape. The Sikh was handed over to the British by the Russian Government and executed. After the October Revolution, again Ahmad Hossain was sent to Lenin who directed him to M. N. Roy for help and guidance. Ahmad Hossain came back to Kabul, as a Communist. With the help of Russian money sent by M. N. Roy and Maulana's organisation, he started to work for Indian Revolution, by sending to India Communist literature and emissaries. He also bought all relevant newspapers and political books etc., from India, mostly, from, Lahore and Delhi, and sent the same to Moscow for careful study by the Communist International (Comintern).





EROTIC SCULPTURES OF ORISSA

ADRIIS BANERJI

Mediaevalism, before it was reduced to rubble and shambles, by the Turki converts to Islam, had left a rich legacy of magnificent monuments, in Orissa. Uttara Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal—none can claim this distinction, yet the fact requires to be underlined, that none of them escaped the hands of the vandals, due to the comparative immunity enjoyed by the area till a late date in its history, and to the virile nature of its inhabitants, which had sunk to such a low ebb on the eve of the British annexation. When one stands before these monuments one has a feeling of awe, in spite of the commercialism that is carried on within its four walls, by the Pandas, aided by officious Commissioners of Religious Endowments, ignorant about the fundamentals of art and architecture. This is particularly the case with the Lingaraja temple. One realises our failure to evaluate what its builders felt, what were the ideas that gave birth to the concepts, their approach and methods of representations. The subtle mind of the masters who were responsible for these unrivalled temples and their sculptures at Bhuvaneshvara, Konark, Gandharadi etc. The high watermark that they reached, can easily be appreciated from the fact, that Rajendra Chola, carried away images to be installed in the numerous shrines of the metropolitan area of the Chola empire.

In these sculptures the principal question that confronts us is the occurrence of erotic scenes. In the abode of the gods, where devotees congregated to purify their overburdened souls, even the most catholic modern mind fails to appreciate this evident lack of moral basis in admittedly religious structures, around the

sanctum sanctorum of the 'One Ultimate Universal Being'; who is the basic source of all moral and ethical living. Were they the creation of perverted minds, glorying in presenting the baser aspects of divine love to human spectators? Because, love ennobles members of either sex in this impermanent world. Love which does not consist of grasping and mauling in desecration and pain, but in supreme sacrifice on the altar of surrender. Just as Devdasa told Parvati, that, because he really loved her and since love does imply selfish possession, he had renounced her. Take for example Sita's attitude to Rama. Alternatively were they products of versatile geniuses, men of immense knowledge and masters of psychology, who rose above the common, place above the dust of this mortal world, to express in terms of stone, the most refined and profound philosophical truths?

The average man's estimation reminds me of Aldous Huxley. Even this individual of unrivalled subtlety and profound humanism has slandered Indian art in his *jesting Pilate*: "A visit to India makes one realise, how fortunate, so far at any rate the arts are concerned, our Europe has been in its religions. The Olympian religion of antiquity and, except occasionally, the Christianity that took its place, were both favourable to the productions of works of art. Neither Paganism nor Christianity imposed restrictions on what artists might represent, nor did either demand of him that he should try to represent the unrepresentable.....How different is the state of things in India. Here two of the predominant religions forbid absolutely the representation of human forms..... The Hindus are too much interested in Meta-

physics and ultimate reality to make good artists. Art is not the discovery of reality—whatever reality may be and no human being can know. They created many limited monsters.....symbolical of their cosmos.” One wonders why eroticism in Indian art escaped the attention of this purist critic of Indian art, or what his opinion is of *Lady Chatterlys Lover*?

Fortunately, there are others. Thus Stella Kramrisch, a familiar face for many decades in Calcutta has stated: “Moral man, limited in action, has only two arms and hands; but an Indian image of divinity may have many times that number to show the divine acts in all directions of space throughout the cosmos. The pliable plastic form in which the arms proliferate sculpturally is consistent in itself, yet may appear paradoxical when thought of outside the creative mould in which the multiple arms and hands are cast as [symbols.” (Kramrisch—*Indian Sculpture*. Philadelphia. 1960.pp.24-25). Like Kramrisch, there are other original minds in the West, in the field of international culture and understanding such as Prof. Tucci, the doyen of European Orientalists, who feels “But those images are laden with philosophical and liturgical implications. In them are gathered the mystical experience of India, a passion that consumes the world of things and dissolves the personalities in indefinable beginnings and end all creations. These couplings are not erotic insanities, but are intended to recall to the initiate the primeval androgynous, the one who was *il tempore* when the universe yet did not exist, is the indivisible union of two opposed yet complementary principles, from whose united labour life springs eternally.....“G.Tucci—Nepal. New York. 1962.p.23).

Indian art rose over the metabolism of man, to represent the natural and supernatural in perfect harmony. Pure devotion and the obscene together complete the repertory to show the plastic forms. Indian art therefore is creative

but its spiritual basis is often misunderstood by the uninitiated. To the one ultimate universal Being, there was nothing unknown about frail humanity, because he was omniscient. Gods were men and behaved like men. In Indian Olympia, there was no dirt, no filth and no taboos. Take for example Indra and Ahalya. There was no separate heaven for the twice born godly Brahmins or the lowly Harijans. Late J.L.Nehru while referring to the charm of Indian art stated: “In India we find during every period, when her civilization bloomed, an intense joy of life and nature, a pleasure in the art of living, the development of art, music and literature, song dancing and painting, theatres and highly sophisticated enquiry into sex relations. “(*Discovery of India*). The placid equilibrium of sane balanced life, which the materialism of Marx after foreign colonialism is destroying.

First we have to differentiate between Eroticism and Romanticism. The former was the liberation of the creative impulse in the organization of the plastic symbols with its own discipline and basic rhythm, intimating the existence of strange currents in the subterranean passages of the sub-conscious. They are remarkable for their utter devotion to form as was their devotion to religion. History of this eroticism goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era, I mean the so-called Bacchanalian groups, which are possibly derived from goshtha life recommended by Vatsayana. Their earliest appearance is in the Saka-Kushana art of Mathura. They seem to go down the empty corridors of time, since the internal evidence indicates evolution. The alleged early pieces are in Romano-Hellenistic style, while that at National Museum at New Delhi, originally found at Maholi and allied places from Pali-Khera, are typically Indian, in dress as well as physical types. How their association in structures, affiliated with the gentle creed of Buddha is

to be explained? The answer is that notwithstanding the fact of these being products of an abstract school, dedicated to religion, individual architects had liberty to create diversions. They were aided by the humanism of the art and the social milieu.

While eroticism differs from Romanticism a second distinction has to be made between it and Nudism. Antiquity of Nudism in India goes back to c.2800—1500 B.C., the palmy days of Harappa culture. This is the bronze "Beggar girls" from Mohenjodaro. The same is the case with the male figure in red sandstone. A female with an exaggerated vulva is found on stone and clay discs excavated at various historical sites like Taxila, and Sarnath. One such figure was found by late Dr. Th. Bloch in a stupa at Nandargarh, whose dating was uncharitably criticised by N. G. Majumdar, with his subjective method of excavations initiated by late Sir J. H. Marshall, without answering the question whether the mud envelopes on the stupas had not disturbed the contents. If he confused the sequence at Chanhudaro what guarantee there is for Nandargarh. At Matuhra that vast crucible of cultures from 2nd century B.C. to 4th century A.D., naked female *yakshis* occur on the railings of Bhutesvara. On each of these a thin diaphanous drapery is indicated; nevertheless the female *membra genre* is visible below it. Many of the Bacchanalian pieces are half naked, showing amorous poses. They disappear with the Guptas.

Then for centuries they remain in abeyance. They make a fresh appearance. Allowances no doubt have to be made for disappearance of monuments, nonetheless love scenes have seldom been found from Gupta to Pratihara art. They recur again with Chandella, Paramara, Chaulukya, and Gajapati foundations. If you feel that one bath in the Ganga cleans away a

life time's impurities. Few ringing of bells for seeking peace of mind absolves a man and woman of all hypocrisy, chicanery, perjury and forgery. If one sight of his *murti*—he who is *anadi*, *ananta* and *avinashin* purifies the worst black marketeer, liar, criminal and social anarchist, then, why wonder about images on temples engaged in sexual *yoga*? Can there be anything *kalusha* in the abode of *kalushanasana*? Civilization has made the mystery of creation a venal sin. But why should the creative artists be deterred from proliferation of forms for the formless; in depicting lovely and passionate embraces between *purusha* and *prakriti*, symbolised by the conjugal relation between man and woman. They are mere plastic symbols.

The creative mind seeks basic ideas and forms. The eternal message of this art goes directly to the heart of the unsophisticated millions. The vagueness of phantasy that takes its birth in the glory of creation, is properly controlled, by accepted iconographic clichés; which while offering endless scope for variations, never permitted the betrayal of fundamental ethics. Since the creed insists that God resides everywhere; is there any place between an untouchable, hut and a Marble palace, where he is not present? Most sordid and unclean actions of humanity, we are informed, are due to divine urge (*Tini karan! Amra kari*) Do not the *Upanishads* contain the message that all our conceptions, notions, ideas and ideals are related with some aspects of the Divine Being. God created the Brahmin, but, God also created the unclean pig. Vishnu-Narayana took the form of the boar to save the earth from a primordial watery grave. Do not *Yoni* and *Lingam* symbolise creation and this union represent *Karma*. Does not the *Bhagavata Gita* (X. 22) define the Lord as "I am the best that procreates?". The

Chhandyogya Upanishad defines OM as union of sexes.

Leaving aside these spiritual and philosophical speculation let us examine the question whether they were not inspired by any particular cult. It is undeniable that the numerous Lakulisa images prove that ancient and mediaeval Orissa was a stronghold of the Kapalikas or the Kaulas. They were one of the sects of Lakulisa-Pasupatas. These Kapalikas used to be associated with *Yoginis* in whose temples they performed their orgiastic rites. The existence of two Chaushant-yogini and hypatheral temples in Orissa lend colour to this theory. Lakulisa doctrine in the very beginnings like Neo-Vaishnavism might have been very pure, but in course of time degenerated into objectionable practices. They were referred to by Somadeva, Kshemendra and Yamunacharya, who mercilessly attacked their debased ritual and practices (*Desopadsa Narmamala* 1923, pp. 24-25.). It was the Kapalikas who practised human sacrifice which took place in Orissa. Pramod Chandra has garnered a mass of data, which pointed out that they always carried a CLUB. (Lalit Kala, Nos. 1 & 2 1956. pp. 103,1)

Late Dr. P. C. Bagchi has shown that

centuries after the appearance of Lakulisa, the cult practices and its esoteric rituals were reformed by Matsyendranatha and Krishnapada (*Kaula-jnana-nirṇaya and some other Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranatha*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series. 1934. pp. 27, 35, 38-39, and 127). But all their efforts were futile. Not even Sankaracharya's measured logic and reviling could dissuade the masses from following their absurd practices. The origins of these esoterism is probably deep rooted in Pre-Aryan traditions of India ; germs of whose adoption are traceable in the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavate Gita*. When Vedic religion and social organizations lost vitality, when the middle path of Gautama the Buddha and extreme austerities propounded by Mahavira declined, lacking social leaders to lead a better, moral and ethical life, these elements lying dormant in substratums of the folk mind, enveloped the psychology of the population, particularly the Sudras with the aid of rich and poor, Kings and subjects alike. Rankini, a sylvan divinity of the aboriginals transformed herself as a Bhairavi. Neri-bhut found a temple in Suri. This is probably one of the reasons of erotic sculptures on the temples of Orissa.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Presence of Russian Fleet in Indian Ocean

From the point of view of domination by warships the Indian Ocean 'has never been Indian. It had been a British Ocean and latterly an American Ocean ; but never Indian. The reason is that India has no strength of Warships. The most recent aspirant in the field of naval power is Russia. Russian Warships abound in the Indian Ocean ; but the Indian Government are officially unaware of their presence. This ridiculous attitude has been commented upon by certain newspapers. The *Swarajya* of December 5, 1970 said :

The presence of an expanded Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean region is being discussed in other countries, but the Government of India continues to profess ignorance about it. The Foreign Minister, noted increased naval activity by the other powers but not the Soviet Union. The question related to navel bases in the Indian Ocean, and Sardar Swaran Singh expressed concern that the USA and UK had concluded agreements for staging facilities. He added : "According to our information, the Soviet Government has no military bases in the Indian Ocean area." India's strong opposition to the establishment of bases in the Indian Ocean had been conveyed to all the powers, including the Soviet Union.

But developments in regard to big power presence in the Indian Ocean show that no reversal is possible. The non-aligned countries

are in no position to influence developments, for the powers concerned are too big. Moreover, the Lusaka Declaration has come too late: the rival fleets have been here for two years and have recently augmented their capacity, which they could not have done but for bases and facilities already available. The presence of both US and Soviet Fleets is, therefore, a reality. India as a big country in the region must be heard. But her views to command attention must take into account the full picture. She cannot harp on the old statements that the only countries which have stationed warships in the Indian Ocean area are the US, France and the UK, and exclude the Soviet Union. What has really given edge to the rivalry is the presence of the Soviet Fleet.

The Swatantra and other democratic opposition members have sent a communication to the Prime Minister giving details which had so far not been available. "We are surprised how the Government of India had no information of the formation, recently by the Soviet Union, of an Indian Ocean Fleet, with a general total presence of 20 ships. These ships, according to our information, include : four to eight cruisers and destroyers, both missile-equipped ; one to five regular destroyers ; some six to ten support ships ; four to ten "scientific research ships" (spy ships) ; and an unknown number of submarines including missile equipped nuclear submarines. Of more importance has been the recent addition

to the Soviet Indian Ocean fleet of a new type tank-landing ship. In August last, Soviet marines were offloaded from this new type ship on the island of Socotra near the entrance to the Red Sea. This was the first permanent basing of Soviet forces to defend a communication base being built for the control of the Soviet fleet in the region. The Soviets are in active negotiation with countries like Ceylon, Mauritius and Somalia in an attempt to seek further bases. The Soviet use of Pakistani ports for Soviet "spy ships" designated as fishing boats is well known.

"Since 1968 when the Soviet Union began maintaining a continuous presence in the Indian Ocean, they have made over 50 goodwill or flag-showing visits to over 25 ports in some 20 countries in the area. They have also engaged in training exercises and space support activities. In 1970, there has been an estimated increase of about 75 per cent in the number of their visits to the Indian Ocean. According to our information, when these visits first started in 1968, the squadron included ships from the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets and was made up of F-class submarines, guided missile light cruisers, guided missile destroyers and conventional destroyers. These initiatives have finally led to the Soviet Union forming an Indian Ocean Fleet".

The communication concludes by saying that since the Soviet Union is a friend of India it should be possible either to persuade them to refrain from such activities or to publicly pronounce in regard to Soviet initiatives and not to exclude them from the list of Big Powers' presence.

Four Wives for Muslims

Mr. Justice S. A. Masud of the Calcutta High Court writes in the *Law Journal* (quoted in November 1970 *Janata*) about Muslim Personal Law Reform. About the Muslim

law permitting a man to marry four wives at a time Justice Masud says :

A Muslim is allowed in law to have four wives at a time. This law had a history of its own. On account of war many soldiers lost their lives and the widows and unmarried girls in the country were larger in number than the male population. It was to meet such a contingency Islam permitted a Muslim to marry four times. The idea was to avoid promiscuous sexual relation and sufferings of the parents of the unmarried girls and young widows. Further from the historical point of view, many in those days were used to marry many times. It was thought that a restriction to four wives was a healthy golden limit.

In modern days, those situations no longer prevail and for economic reasons, if not for other grounds, the common man can rarely afford to have more than one wife. Yet some unscrupulous men take advantage of this law and cause sufferings to their wives on account of their wealth or in the hope of getting inheritance from the side of the wives. They forget that one of the fundamental tenets of Islam is that a Muslim is allowed to marry four times only if he can treat all the four wives equally. In modern age, women being female and also psychologically conscious of their rights such a treatment is difficult, if not impossible. It is, therefore, necessary that a law should be passed whereby a Muslim is allowed to marry again during the lifetime of his wife only after he gets the necessary sanction from the court. The court might grant the sanction if it is satisfied that the man has no child through his first wife or on some other reasonable ground.

Losses Incurred by Hindustan Steel

S. V. Raju gives the following figures in the December 1970 *Labour Bulletin* relating to losses suffered by the Steel factories of the Hindustan Steel.

| Year | Total losses of HSL including Coal Washeries and Fertiliser Plant | Rourkela Steel Plant | Bhilai Steel Plant | Durgapur Steel Plant | Alloy Steel Plant |
|---------|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1966-67 | 229.39 | 26.59 | 27.86 | 133.61 | 22.65 |
| 1967-68 | 401.19 | 72.05 | 91.21 | 180.84 | 47.82 |
| 1968-69 | 399.17 | 39.72 | 113.53 | 173.70 | 68.26 |
| | 1029.75 | 138.36 | 232.60 | 488.15 | 138.73 |

Many Public Undertakings are Profitable

Janata publishes the following table of figures relating to dividend performance of public sector undertakings :

| Year | No. of running concerns | No. of con- cerns mak- ing profits | Total pro- fits made Rs. crores | No. of con- cerns declar- ing dividends | Amount of dividends Rs. crores | Div. as % of paid-up capital |
|---------|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1959-60 | 24 | 22 | 4.97 | 4 | 1.04 | 3.0 |
| 1960-61 | 26 | 23 | 7.83 | 9 | 1.40 | 4.2 |
| 1961-62 | 28 | 25 | 8.66 | 8 | 1.21 | 6.7 |
| 1962-63 | 30 | 27 | 15.20 | 11 | 2.09 | 6.0 |
| 1963-64 | 34 | 29 | 18.54 | 12 | 2.70 | 6.0 |
| 1964-65 | 37 | 30 | 21.25 | 18 | 3.80 | 6.1 |
| 1965-66 | 40 | 31 | 17.51 | 19 | 2.75 | 4.5 |
| 1966-67 | 44 | 26 | 30.83 | 19 | 7.34 | 6.1 |
| 1967-68 | 55 | 31 | 48.43 | 22 | 10.14 | 6.5 |
| 1968-69 | 61 | 35 | 65.36 | 21 | 11.34 | 7.4 |

In making a proper assessment of the ability of the Public sector to run industries and commercial enterprises profitably, one should separate the figures relating to enterprises initially set up by the State from those showing the profit earning capacity of highly profitable enterprises like Life Insurance or Banks which the State nationalised. That may prove that though the State is incapable of organising industries and trade ; it can make profit by taking away profitable businesses from the private entrepreneurs.

Large Scale Poultry Farming

News from Bulgaria published an account of large scale poultry farming in that country. This shows that industrialisation has not made the people of Bulgaria blind to the prime necessity of nourishing food for the people. As Danton the leader of the French Revolution said, bread comes first and then education in a nation's plans for progress. In India we think industrialisation comes first. This is a mistake which we should correct- Bulgaria

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is industrialising but she has not forgotten the greater need of food.

The broiler factory farm built at Kostinbrod near Sofia a couple of years ago, is the largest in Bulgaria. Nearly six million broilers are reared here every year. The poultry factories in Rousse, Stara Zagora, Vratsa, Pleven, Lovech and Haskovo are also partly completed.

The plan for the development of poultry-breeding provides that in 1975 the country should provide 17 kg of poultry meat and 265 eggs per head of the population. In order to make this a fact, in 1975 the farms are expected to produce 153 million kg of poultry meat in live weight, as against 103 million kg this year, and the production of eggs is to increase from 1,600 million this year to 2,250 million in 1975. As much as 221 million leva are to be invested in poultry breeding in the next five years. Fourteen broiler factory farms are to be completed, in addition to one turkey factory farm and one duck factory farm, with a total capacity of 71 million broilers a year.

All the poultry factory farms, including those that will be set up in future, will achieve

full synchronisation of forage production, broiler production and meat packing. There will be automatic regulation of lighting and heating, ventilation, feeding, watering and cleaning. Only the small chickens will be put in and the fattened broilers will be taken out by hand. This is expected to raise labour productivity five times.

A large team of scientists from the Academy of Agriculture, experts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, of the Central Co-operative Union and the other departments are working out long-term plans for the development of poultry-raising in the 1980-90 period.

The production of more and cheaper eggs is another important problem. Ten poultry factory farms with a total capacity of 2.4 million laying hens are expected to be built by 1975. This capacity will range from 100,000 to 600,000 laying hens. The first of them was recently put into operation in the town of Tolbukhin. The hens are bred in cages, in which all processes are completely mechanised and automatic.



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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Socialism by K. Santhanam, Dr. R. C. Cooper and Prof. C. L. Gheevala, published by the Forum of Free Enterprise, Sohrab House, 235 Dr. D. N. Road, Bombay-1. Mr. Santhanam is an ex-minister for State Railways and an eminent economist. Dr. R. C. Cooper is a Chartered Accountant and Prof. Gheevala is Secretary of the Indian Merchants Chamber. They have dealt with the subject chapterwise, naming the chapters (1) Socialism or State Capitalism, (2) Twentieth Century Socialism and (3) Socialist Dilemma.

Jawaharlal Nehru : a man of letters, by Dr. V. N. Chhibber with a foreword by V. K.

R. V. Rao, published by Vikas Publications Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore, Demy Oct. pp 210 + XVI, cloth. Art Jacket Price 22.50, The author has made an analytical study of Pandit Nehru's writings in order to place him in his proper position among the important writers of the world. Dr. V. N. Chhibber works in the Publications and Information Directorate, New Delhi and is therefore well acquainted with the subject chosen by him. He has a lucid style and the ability to make literary evaluation and assessment in a convincing manner. Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao has rightly said in his foreword that the book "fills a longstanding gap in the literature on

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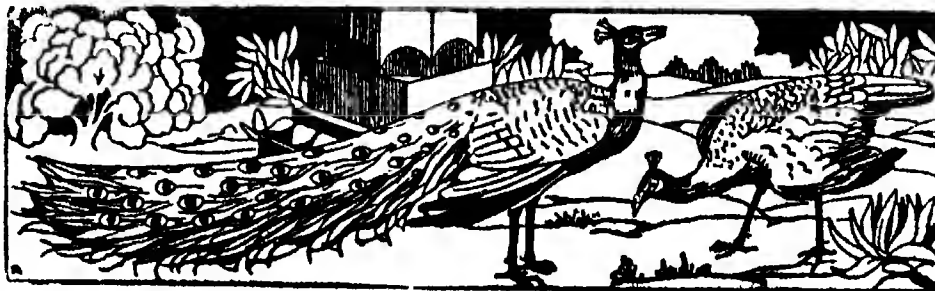
Nehru." It will help readers to appreciate Nehru as a literary figure.

Glorious History of Koh-i-Noor, By N. B. Sen published by New Book Society of India, P. B. No 250 New Delhi, Demy Oct. pp. 128, cloth Gilt, Art Jacket. Black and white illustrations and Art plates. Price Rs. 15.00-24 shilling.

The author gives in this book the romantic history of one of the famous jewels that mankind ever possessed. All famous gems have stories and anecdotes connected with them and much of these tales have superstition at their roots. True history cannot be mixed with romance and superstition without losing its historical value. The Koh-i-Noor of course has much authentic history attached to it and all that has been recorded in the book. The history of the Koh-i-Noor is by and large a part of the history of India. Indian readers will

find in this book many things which are familiar to them.

Urbanisation and Social Change, by prof. M. S. A. Rao, published by Orient Longman Ltd., 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta—13 Demy Oct. cloth bound Art Jacket pp 254 + XII, Maps and plans. The book presents an elaborate study of the economic, social, moral, political and cultural changes that take place in villages due to their nearness to urban centres. Prof. Rao lived in a village near Delhi in order to study, at first hand, the effects of such proximity to a great and growing urban centre. Certain types of changes affect rural people very soon and quite intensively, while other effects find villagers unresponsive and impervious. Prof. Rao has made a clear and precise study of all these which will enable the readers to appreciate the importance of his analytical study.





NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

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VOL. CXXVIII No. 2

CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY 1971

WHOLE No. 770

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | 81 |
| Indian settlers in Africa—C. F. Andrews | ... | ... | 89 |
| Race Prejudice an Analysis—C. F. Andrews | ... | ... | 97 |
| Status of Indian Abroad—C. F. Andrews | ... | ... | 99 |
| The Stranded Emigrants at Matiabruz—C. F. Andrews | ... | ... | 105 |
| Indian Labour recruiting for Fiji an imminent Danger—C. F. Andrews | ... | ... | 108 |
| Governor's pleasure vs coalition Ministries—Ashoke Kumar Mitra | ... | ... | 110 |
| Chesterton and Wilde as Epigrammatists—B. Dhar | ... | ... | 112 |
| Romanticism : Some extra-literary sources—D. D. Agrawal | ... | ... | 114 |
| Gherao—Tarun Kumar Chattopadhyaya | ... | ... | 116 |
| Tagore's Gitanjali—P. M. George | ... | ... | 124 |
| End of Culture—Nalini Kumar Bhadra | ... | ... | 128 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | 137 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | 146 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | 151 |
| Reviews and Notices of Books— | ... | ... | 156 |

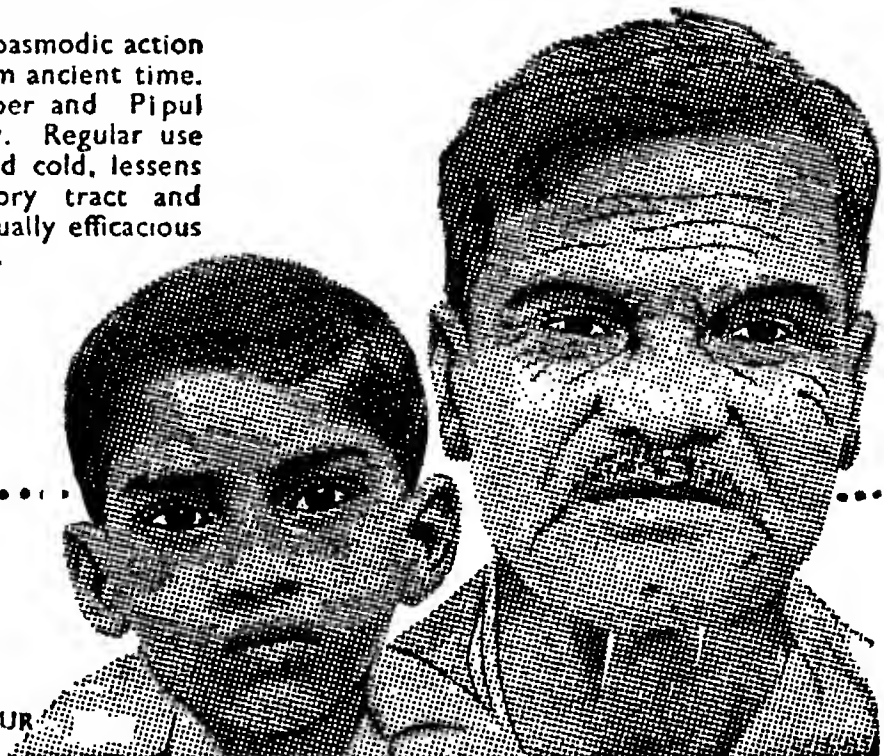
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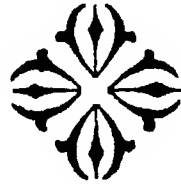
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NOTES

Dinabandhu Andrews

Charles Freer Andrews was a man with a spiritual, moral and intellectual outlook in which there was no place for religious, social or conventional prejudices and superstitions. He had no racial view point as an Englishman and he did not subscribe to the prejudices of the nation of his adoption, the Indian nation. For, just as he fought against the colour prejudice displayed by the imperialist British, he also condemned the untouchability and caste privileges that Indians observed and granted in their social life. His motto was service to humanity with particular reference to the poor, the helpless, to those who suffered from incurable diseases and all those who were burdened with ignorance, backwardness, exploitation by fellow humans and socio-political oppression. He therefore came to the forefront of the world wide struggle for establishing human rights in a fuller measure and his name was closely associated with removal of the colour bar, improvement of the conditions of work and existence of all who were economically enslaved and exploited

by factory and plantation owners, and the abolition of imperialism and all other social and political institutions which reduced humanity to a condition which God did not create them to shoulder and tolerate. His fight to abolish the system of indentured labour, his advocacy of labour, demands on numerous occasions, his condemnation of the conditions of life of working class people in the African States and the British Colonies and his wide and general support of the nationalist movement give one a clear idea of what Charles Freer Andrews stood for and tried hard to achieve. His close association with Gokhale, Lajpat Rai, Rabiindranath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, is a part of India's political and cultural history. He collaborated with Ramananda Chatterjee in a whole hearted manner and was considered to be one of his closest friends. Some of his articles published in the Modern Review during his life time are reproduced in this number, which is being published in commemoration of Charles Freer Andrews, a great Humanist, who was called Christ's Faithful Apostle by reason of his total attachment to

the fundamental principles of Christianity. His personal life was like that of a Saint and he devoted it exclusively and fully to the service of Mankind.

Teaching Patience and Socialism

We all know what patience is. That is what one gets steeped into when one goes to meet a State Railway train, cash a cheque at a branch of a nationalised bank, deposit money at a governmental milk supply centre, get a telephone call through over an Indian Government managed telephone line, get one's income tax return accepted or get anything done by a government department or institution. The term "government" of course includes every type of institution set up by the state in order to enable the public to enjoy the benefits of self-government and human rights as understood by the top ranking managers of the Indian State and States. Whosoever can call himself a public servant takes full advantage of the dignity of his position and does no work worth the name and the public pays him his salary and other emoluments as they pay the Maharajas their privy purse. It is a privilege to be employed as a public servant and it is also a very great privilege to be a tax payer of a country in which all men live by taxing each others patience, generosity and staying power.

We donot know what socialism is. We feel that it is a system in which all institutions are run for the greatest advantage of the least efficient and willing workers among those who are employed by the organisations which hang round the neck of the people like mill stones. Nobody can expect any public servant to work expeditiously in a "Socialist Pattern" office or establishment of which there is an abundance in India. Originally these were packed with political sufferers and now they are run in order to let the public suffer for socialism. SUFFER FOR SOCIALISM

LISM is a new ideological concept which has found the greatest number of protagonists among Indian government's bureaucratic lords and political tin-gods who manage all public affairs on the basis of government of the people by the anti-nationals for the anti-nationals. For politicians, bureaucrats and "public" servants make a perfect team of anti-national elements who extort a very large slice of the people's annual income for their own purpose without actually rendering the services that political leaders, top ranking officials and men employed at State cost should render to the public. There are rules and regulations galore and endless forms for "duly filling"; but nothing much happens anywhere for which the public of India should patiently carry the burden of the heaviest and most extortionate system of taxation in the world.

Swaran Singh and South Vietnam

Shri Swaran Singh made a very good suggestion at the Commonwealth gathering at Singapur for the solution of the South Vietnam problem. He said all foreign troops should withdraw from South Vietnam so that there can be peace in that country. Now, the point is who are foreigners in South Vietnam? Are the North Vietnamese or their fifth Columns "foreigners" in that country? They are very similar in appearance and many of them call themselves Viet-Cong and South Vietnamese. So that if only American troops, who are distinctly foreign, are made to leave South Vietnam, then that country will be easily overrun by the Chinese aided (also Russian) North Vietnamese in the garb of Viet-Cong. That is what the North Vietnamese have always wanted. But if the idea is to establish peace then all foreign aided and foreign supported "rebels" must be forced to cut off their foreign connections. The Chinese, the Russians, the North Viet-

name must guarantee South Vietnamese independence and an international force must be posted in South Vietnam to see that the flow of military aid to the so-called Viet-Cong stops, as well as the infiltration of guerrillas trained in North Vietnam or China.

The real trouble is that communists have great faith in insidious methods. They will always take shelter in subterfuge and make use of underhand tactics. The Americans are openly anti-communist and aggressively opinionated. But if there is to be peace in South East Asia or anywhere the communists must learn to live and let live. Their panacea of revolutions is a fundamental psychological disease and not a cure.

Equality or Privilege

What attracts mankind more, the lure of privilege or the promise of equality with all fellow humans? No doubt very few people who enjoy privilege want to vacate their position of advantage and wish to occupy a less gainful and satisfactory seat of honourable equality with all fellow beings. For once we get used to having more than others, we cannot think of having less, no matter how unjust our prosperity may prove to be. Those who have the greatest privilege want to maintain that position. Those who have less privilege than others always wish to have more so that they could have an easier and more enjoyable life. Those who possess less of the worldly goods than others whom they do not consider to be their superiors; think that equality is a basic moral necessity. For by attaining equality they should be getting more of consumption goods and other rights. But there are many who have little and yet do not advocate equality. They feel that life is a gamble and they would prefer to have a chance of winning a fortune rather than be satisfied with a sure and certain average life.

So that even among the have-nots there are many who would not vote for equality but would prefer to be in the gamble. In America the belief in the efficacy of personal effort and the hope of achieving great success is so strong that most ordinary people would vote for possibilities of gaining privilege rather than for social justice, equality and a virtuous and penurious co-existence with other persons of their own sort. They would suffer from want patiently in the hope that some day their luck would turn and they would leave their log cabins to walk into palaces. There are of course others who are told by idealistic people to struggle for equality rather than for personal privilege and gain; and these are the soldiers who fight to establish liberty, equality and universal brotherhood; that being the only sure way to improve their material set up in life.

Even then there are many persons in communist countries who try to go round rules and regulations and obtain a larger slice of the economic cake compared to their fellow men; and they face harsh punitive consequences if they are found out. Many communists have died and suffered prison sentences for silk, sugar or secret caches of foreign coins. This idea to excel others in wealth is ingrained in human beings. It is a part of their biological make up, a facet of the struggle for existence that all creatures naturally join in to prove that they are the fittest to survive as against others who cannot grab or snatch so cunningly. Of course all people know that following the elemental animal instincts and urges can never lead to total human well being. What we call social virtue and a civilised existence always point to self-control, self-sacrifice and observance of rules of conduct that assure general public welfare—the greatest good of the greatest number—rather than glorify the rule of

animal existence—everyone for himself and the Devil for the hindmost—. Greater reward for extraordinary merit or higher than average productive power and skill may be fitted into a scheme which is basically egalitarian. But cunning exploitation of fellow humans by use of sheer craftiness, cannot be permitted in an ethically well regulated community life. Luck, chance or gambling cannot be permitted to replace man's active endeavour to build his fortune and to acquire by honest effort what he can possess without injuring and depriving others.

Edward Heath's Aggressive Attitude

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Great Britain spent sometime in Delhi before continuing his journey to Singapur for the Commonwealth meeting. He had come out of his own country in order to establish better relations with the Commonwealth countries ; but his methods were aggressive, intolerant and self-righteous. Attack is no doubt a very effective form of defence ; but that is so when people are at war. Mr. Heath was going to a friendly gathering and not into battle. His offensiveness therefore was out of place at conferences called for peaceful communication. He had a guilty mind over the proposed sale of arms to South Africa. He did not approve of apartheid, he wanted to abolish it in every possible way short of armed intervention but he did not think supplying arms to South Africa would in any way affect his policy relating to apartheid. The South Africans will not use any of those arms against African who may challenge white supremacy and tyranny in a dark continent. This absurd attitude was merely a proof of Mr. Heath's secret approval of the South African racialism. Mr. Heath and many British leaders are also supporters of the colour bar in a more or less modified

form ; but there are many British leaders and intellectuals who firmly believe in equality and in the fundamental human rights of mankind. The idea that South Africa can be supplied with arms without affecting the British policy relating to apartheid is Mr. Heath's own creation and has little to do with logic as understood by ordinary mortals. Mr. Heath apparently feels that imperialism and white supremacy can reform ranks and counter attack in order to hold up the advance of civilisation and progress. Mr. Heath certainly knows that ethics rest on rationality and that the most obnoxious follies of mankind have no moral basis. Uncivilised conduct or outlook can be criticised by anybody and no one can escape criticism by declaring "it is my business and does not concern you."

Immortalise Persons by Naming Streets after Them

Hero worship is an admirable characteristic in human beings. Those who cannot rise to the heights that they would like to, realise their ideals in a vicarious manner, so to speak, by announcing and showing their admiration for persons who have achieved greatness. This display of admiration is carried out in various manners. Those who are lavish in their love of greatness in human beings, build cities after the greatmen admired by them. Washington in the United States of America is an example of this sort of admiration. Rome was named after its founders, the two brothers Remus and Romulus who were brought up and mothered by a she wolf. Many cities have been named after great men since the naming of Rome. But not all were built for that purpose. Many were just renamed by admirers who wished to avoid unnecessary expenditure of money and effort. St. Petersburg was first changed to Petrograd only for Russianizing the name. Later the

name was changed to Leningrad by the communists who had more reliance on taking over ready-made cities than in building new ones. Giving names of persons to cities is not common in the West. Names derived from religion, geographical origin and location or races and tribes are more common. Paris was named after a tribe. Constantinople or Istanbul comes from religious connections. Many places are named after Red Indian Tribes in America. Some countries, of course are named after great men. Rhodesia after Cecil Rhodes, Bolivia after Simon Bolivar or Columbia after Columbus are examples. In Britain no cities have been named after Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth, the Duke of Wellington or Victoria. There is a railway station in London named Victoria. Oxford and Cambridge produced many great persons but Isis, remains the Isis the Cam remains the Cam and High Street, Kings Parade, the Broad and New Market Road have not been renamed after any great scientists or historians. In India we have many names of towns of religious origin. There are also areas of big cities similarly named. Shyambazar or Bhowanipur in Calcutta, or Sibpur, Jadabpur and Kalighat in the suburbs are commonly known places. Names of mythological origin can also be found in India. Nasik, Kamakshya, Rameswaram, Krishnanagar and many others may be mentioned. Names like Hyderabad, Aligarh, Moghul Serai, Fatehpur etc. have an imperialistic significance. Islamabad in Pakistan is an attempt at glorification of Islam. But the conduct of the people of Pakistan may or may not be a credit to the religion they profess. There are many names which are changed for political reasons. Tamil Nadu is of linguistic-political inspiration.

The present tendency among so-called

leftists is to change street names. These leftists are no more intensely idealistic than the British or the French. In London or Paris no matter what political groups rule, Charing Cross, the Strand, Parliament Street, Boulevard St. Germain, L'Etoile, Rue de Rivoli do not change to Churchill Cross, Montgomery Road, Fabian Street, Boulevard des Gaulle, Sartre Square or Rue Foche. In India the so-called leftists and rightists like to display their political and economic preferences by confusing the postal department and the residents of particular localities by changing Dharamtala Street to Lenin Sarani or Chowringhee to Jawaharlal Nehru Road. The fact that Lenin did nothing to improve the city of Calcutta or that his admirers are not in a majority among the residents and shop owners of Dharamtala Street did not deter the name changers from glorifying Lenin in that inexpensive manner. Had all the councillors who voted for the change of name had to pay something or make some personal sacrifice for the spread of Leninism, there would have been no change of name. India has many idealists who give up nothing to spread the ideals they believe in. Communists enjoy their own property in India while other fellow believers in communism starve or suffer from all kinds of want. If all the great men whose memory these people wished to perpetuate, required that they would have to establish new schools in their name, at the cost of those who wanted the commemoration, there would have been a falling off in the forces of the fighters for new thought and new ways of organizing political life. Those who admire our great writers, film producers, musicians and political martyrs, also give nothing personally but try to get things done by impositions on third parties. There should be some arrangements for making these creators of unnecessary confusion spend even a small sum of money before they

were allowed to change names of streets. The money could then be utilised for setting up statues of the great persons at the street corners concerned. We have a very good idea as to the lavishness that people display when called upon to pay donations for even the best of causes.

Another thing that one should remember is that all these changed street names can be and probably will be changed all over again with changes in the ideology of the political majorities. There are signs that there would be frequent changes of leadership in all states of India. One should therefore be prepared to have street names altered at least every four years. There being 5000/6000 towns and cities in India we would require tens of thousands of great men to fill all the street name plates. Of course so long as we can also use Chinese, Vietnamese and Russian names ; things should be easier.

Mr. Heath's Own Business

M. Edward Heath Prime Minister of Great Britain, considers supplying arms to South Africa, developing a naval base in the Indian Ocean in collaboration with the U. S. A., following a racist policy in Great Britain and modifying Britain's international economic relations in a manner which may inconvenience other members of the commonwealth; as Britain's private affairs which concern no other nations than Britain and Britain's associates in these above matters. That Mr. Heath is illogical and even intentionally untruthful is obvious to all who credit Mr. Heath with normal intelligence and understanding of the effects of the kind of things that Mr. Heath proposes to do. If he supplies arms to South Africa the risk of war in that continent and the chances of the African states seeking the support of the communist bloc will greatly increase. He

cannot therefore say that it is nobody else's business but his own if he supplied arms to South Africa. His scheme of creating a naval communications centre in the Indian Ocean certainly concern other nations, particularly India. This will make other navies active in the Indian Ocean. The Russians, for instance, who are already operating in strength here by using Pakistani ports. Racism in Great Britain is something which can be criticised by all countries. The British can be asked to keep out of other lands if the British choose to segregate non-whites in Great Britain. Britain no doubt can come to what settlements of an economic nature she wishes to make but if such settlements affect the international trade of other nations adversely those nations will doubtless complain. It seems Britain's desire to enter the European Common Market will affect India's exports to Britain.

Dr. Kalidas Nag Memorial Award

The daughters of Dr. Kalidas Nag have instituted the award of a gold medal named after the late Dr. Nag, every year to a person who has achieved distinction through literary work. The first year's award was made to Mr. Nirod Chaudhury. The award this year goes to Mr. Pulin Behari Sen. Mrs. Shyamasree Lal, second daughter of the late Dr. Kalidas Nag arranged for a gathering of Dr. Nag's friends, relations and admirers in her house at the time of giving away the medal to the recipient. Sri Prasann Das Gupta of the "Indira" society of singers sang a solo "Jagade Ananda Yagna" to inaugurate the function. The song was much appreciated by the people attending the gathering. Suparna Devi, grand-daughter of the late Indira Devi sang two songs ; "Kichhuta Bujhine Pravu" "Tomar Sonar Thalaya". After that the two singers sang a duet "Tomaya Amaya Milan

Habe". The concluding song was a chorus by the grand children of Dr. Kalidas Nag "Tumi Amader Pita" which is the Bengali version of the Vedic "Om Pita Nohsi, Pita No Bodhi". We are giving below a free english rendering of what Mr. Pulin Bihari Sen said after receiving the Kalidas Nag Memorial Medal. "The person who received the medal before me is famous in two continents for his razor sharp intellect ; I am only a searcher after facts and I have no claims to intellectual achievement. The distinction that you have endowed me with by this award proves that you admit the value of hard work in the field of literature. My work has been exclusively one of research for the discovery of all relevant but forgotten facts connected with the life and work of a super man, in order to save for posterity such valuable documents and evidence as I can still unearth. Your appreciation of the value of such research work is a great encouragement to me and to all who devote themselves to such work.

"I have spent long years in this work of collecting facts connected with the history of literature ; not in the hope of winning awards ; but out of love—and it has been my good fortune that I have recieved the affection of those whom I revered, as well as the friendly support and love of many who have worked with me and are my juniors in point of age. The persons whom I remember particularly at a time like this are many and I can mention the names of only a few. I should record first of all my deep veneration for the late Ramananda Chatterjee under whom I had the privilege to work for several years and whose words and actions made it very clear to me that for sheer depth of love and admiration for Rabindranath Tagore he had only Dinabandhu Andrews as his compeer. It was his great admiration for the poet that

inspired men like me to take up the study of Rabindranath's life and literature with intensity and devotion.

"This award which commemorates Dr. Kalidas Nag is particularly welcome and stimulating to me for the reason that Dr. Nag always encouraged me and my co-workers to carry on our nationally important work of fact finding that we did ; and he showed great appreciation for the smallest service rendered by anyone in this field of work. He mentioned the names of very ordinary persons like us to the great *savants* of the West in a manner which roused our gratitude to him. This medal which you have given to me to-day represents Dr. Nag's unforgettable affection for me and is invaluable as such."

Death of a Great Magician

Very few Indians reach a "world's best" standard in any field of achievement now a days. P. C. Sorcar, the great magician who died in Japan suddenly of a heart attack early in January 1971, was considered to be the world's cleverest magician by many people in many lands. His death at an early age is therefore a great loss to India. He was called the man with the X-ray eye on account of his daring feat of cycling blindfolded through the crowded streets of big cities like Paris, New York and Calcutta. His acts of thought reading and other marvellous magical performance of the impossible brought him great popularity. He was frequently invited to foreign countries for demonstrating his superb ability to create illusions and he will be missed not only in this country but all over the world.

P. C. Sorcar was born in Bengal and was educated in Bengal too. He was a graduate and obtained honours in Mathematics in the B. A. examination. But he took up the career of a magician when he was quite young as he found the work creative and fascinating. He

was touring Japan with his troupe when he died. His body was brought back to Calcutta for cremation. He is survived by his wife, four sons and three daughters. We offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved family.

Anglo-American Naval Centre in the Indian Ocean

The Russians definitely want to develop their naval power in the Indian Ocean. They make use of Pakistani ports either openly or by subterfuge to keep a fairly large number of warships in the Indian Ocean region. The reason for this cannot be anything but their competitive attitude towards Anglo-American naval forces. The Anglo-Americans on their part are trying to maintain ever increasing naval and aerial forces in this area for the reason that the Russians are doing the same. David Fairhall says in the *Guardian* weekly. "The British Government has agreed to join the Americans in setting up a naval communications centre on the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean—a first move to strengthen Britain's military presence east of Suez as opposed to halting the withdrawal.

"In both London and Washington the new centre is seen as a counter though only of an indirect kind to the Soviet Navy's steadily increasing activity in that part of the world.

"The Royal Navy already has a naval communications centre in Mauritius and an RAF staging post on the island of Gan. Nor would there seem to be any operational reason to use Diego Garcia as an additional terminal in the skynet satellite communications system with which commanders have been able to communicate directly with the assault ship HMS Intrepid from London or Singapore....."

British eagerness to be of help to Pakistan is well known. The Americans too are not averse to assisting Pakistanis. The Russians are obviously aiming to have Pakistan in their list of friends too. In the circumstances naval forces of Russia, America and Britain

in the Indian Ocean are being augmented with a view to take part in a possible showdown between these powers. That possibility, however is remote. But what is very certain is a clash between Pakistan and India. When such a clash takes place, what will the foreign naval forces in the Indian Ocean do? Will they strictly observe their neutrality or will they quietly slip in urgently needed military supplies to Pakistan while appearing to be neutral. The Americans and the British had, in the past, provided arms and munitions to Pakistan which that country used against India. Now Russia has joined the Anglo-Americans. This increases the war risk for India. And when war comes India will have a tougher job to beat Pakistan which will be receiving more military supplies on account of Russian assistance.

India, of course, fondly hopes that Russia will be her devoted friend and supporter. But India's fond hopes have always proved baseless. One recalls Nehru's Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai and India's friendship with Burma, Ceylon and other lands from which Indians had been booted out from time to time. India's ridiculous efforts at placating North Vietnam are also there to show up India's foolishness in the field of international relations. The presence of foreign naval units in the Indian Ocean, therefore, should stimulate India to prepare for a military emergency in which she would be called upon to use nuclear arms and much larger air and naval forces. With her long coast line India will be defenceless if she does not develop the naval arm to a much greater extent. What she now possesses may be all right for Pakistan; but surely, with China, Russia, America and Britain assisting Pakistan; India will not be able to defend her coastline effectively without greatly increasing her naval and air forces. India will have to look for new friends to achieve this. One naturally comes to think of Japan, Canada, West Germany—but will they help India? Can Indian Diplomacy reach those heights where new friendships are made and consolidated?

INDIAN SETTLERS IN AFRICA

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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I have in my possession a pencil-written manuscript, which was given to me by an Indian friend, who travelled many long journeys with me in East Africa. We had talks together which sometimes continued far into the night; and I always found his nature the same,—simple, religious, free from the least touch of racial bias, perfectly frank and open and essentially truthful. He had a great wish to accompany me on all my journeys, and it would have been a delight to me to have had him as a companion; but he had family cares and anxieties which bound him. Before we parted, I asked him to put down on paper some notes concerning his own experiences in Uganda and East Africa, and he left me his pencil-written manuscript, from which I quote the following passages:—

“My own experiences during the War were chiefly in what is now the Conquered Territory of German East Africa. I was there shortly before the War. Though Indians were not treated in the same way as Europeans by the Germans, they were treated in a civilised manner. There was no segregation of races of any kind whatsoever. I am speaking of my experiences at Muanza, the chief German port on Lake Victoria Nyanza. Germans, Greeks, Arabs, Indians, Somalis and others resided side by side in the same street on quite friendly

terms and without any segregation restrictions. The women of one nation often passed their afternoons with their sisters of another nation in friendly talks. Children of all races played together in the streets and open spaces, their medium of talk being Swahili. The bare-footed German children of my neighbour would enter my house and take food with my children, enjoying our Indian *roti*. Indians had always full and free access to German Government officers without any ceremony. They could talk frankly with them, even on controversial subjects. Officers would take heed to any reasonable talk of Arabs, Indians, or natives.

I will give some definite examples to prove the nature of the treatment given to Indians by the German Government.

(1) I was out of employment during the war time. I had my wife and two children with me and a relative, who also was out of employment. I had no current means, of what little I had in store would be consumed in a very short time, if I earned nothing. This was in war time, as I have related, and so I went to the German officer commanding and asked for permission to open a class to teach students English and Mathematics; for I had been a teacher. The German Government being at war with the English, the commanding officer at first took objection to

my application ; but when I explained to him, that I had no other means to maintain my wife and children, together with my relative and myself, he gave me permission and I continued to teach all the while the Germans were in possession of the town.

(2) Towards the end of the campaign on the borders of Lake Victoria Nyanza, silver coins were getting very scarce. The German Government needed silver very badly, and all payments to the Government were required to be strictly in silver. I had to pay three rupees poll-tax to Government, but I had no silver. I explained my position to the officer who saw my distress. He told me I should be forced to pay ; but when I was just going away, he called me back and put three rupees, in silver, into my hand and told me to use it to pay the tax. He took it from his own pocket.

(3) Indians, who kept Oil Mills, used sometimes to burn their oil cakes at night. There being no means of export they had no use for these cakes. This happened one night ; and it was reported that an Indian was signalling to the enemy, and he was arrested. We went to the Magistrate and explained the whole matter to his satisfaction. He promised to release the man arrested on the next day,—that day being Sunday. We pleaded that the guilty could be kept in prison on Sundays, but the innocent should not be allowed to stay in prison for a single moment. The man was released.

(4) An Indian was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for a political offence. On appeal, the Governor reduced the sentence to six months and passed a general rule that no political prisoner should be sentenced to more than six months by any Local official. In case of a serious offence, the matter should be referred to the Government.

(5) A German officer caused the death of his native servant by beating him. He was arrested and put under trial. He was in prison, when Muanza came into the hands of the British.

(6) Indian prisoners, even in criminal cases, were treated quite respectfully. They were never required to wear prison uniform. Food if sent by their families, was allowed them. They were not required to labour in public, outside the prison compounds, but were taught tailoring, shoe-making, etc., indoors.

(7) During the War, there was, of course, control over food ; but there was no distinction made between Europeans and Indians in this matter. Law-abiding people were not harrassed in any way, whatever might be their nationality.

(8) When the British forces bombarded Bukoba, where there were many British Indian subjects with their wives and children, the Germans gave protection to Indians in a camp eleven miles off, built specially for them. Again, when the Germans left Muanza they kept fifty native soldiers in the town up to the last moment to protect the Indians.

I shall now write down, as they come into my mind, some general considerations about the treatment of Indians in German East Africa, and then proceed to speak of Uganda and the East Africa Protectorate.

Before the War, the question of Indian immigration into German East Africa came up for settlement. A Royal Commission from Berlin was appointed, and after making full enquiries they decided that Indians were desirable, and that the country could not be developed without them. After that, the Indians had no restrictions about entering German East Africa.

The natives in German East Africa were not subject to any segregation measures. They were able to reside within the towns, if they so wished, in the Muanza district. Since there was very little colour prejudice, the German took the Indian to be his fellow citizen, and the Indian in his turn took the native to be his fellow-citizen. But I must say they did not desire the presence of any mischievous and wild people, like the Masais. They drove them away from their territory, back to British East Africa. They did not like 'reserves', such as the 'Masai Reserve', in British East Africa. They did not govern on that principle at all, as far as I could see. Of course, I am only speaking of the district which I know, near lake Victoria Nyanza.

The Government had an Educational Department for native children. They engaged a German Headmaster, on Rs. 375 per-month, and they had some six or seven teachers at the Muanza School. German, Swahili, and Mathematics, were the chief subjects taught. Each boy received five cents for food every day and free clothing every six months, and also free lodging in a boarding house attached to the school if he were a boarder. I myself attended that School for about six months, in 1916.

I can say this, that the natives were far better treated in German East Africa than those on the Congo. Concerning morality, I am quite sorry to say that the lower strata, both of Indians and Europeans, kept native women in their houses.

In Uganda, the colour prejudice is at once evident. Indians are considered decidedly inferior to Europeans, and even to natives; and the natives are taught to look down upon Indians. This is one of the roots of all the trouble.

Under 'segregation' principles, the Indians are forced to live in restricted areas. This restriction is often at the caprice of the Chief Government officer for the time being for instance, a certain area at Entebbe was allotted to Indians. They erected buildings at great cost and trouble. Then a new area was assigned to them and they were induced to build houses. But now this new area, owing to certain natural reasons, has been neglected and at last abandoned. It has gone worse than the "Deserted Village" of Goldsmith. However the officers still seem bent on following the same mistake. A new area at Jinja has been surveyed, and Indians of the old township are being induced, persuaded, or compelled, one way or another, to abandon the old place for the new. Though there is ample room everywhere for the European residents, they are to be allowed to occupy the old Indian area. This continual harrassing of the Indians is very objectionable.

In contrast with German East Africa there is no Educational Department in Uganda for native children's education; and I must add, for the sake of justice, there is none for European children also. I think this carelessness about education very harmful.

A very troubling and increasing vexation is the separation of races on the railways and steamers. We find now introduced everywhere the distinction written up,—'For Europeans',—'For non-Europeans.' This is regarded by Indians as intended to make all Europeans into one superior class.

I candidly believe that colour prejudice against natives on the part of Indians is as I should feel no distinction whatever between them and myself. At the same time, the weaker sex, among Indians, is very helpless and timid and has to be protected. Many

of the natives are still wild and savage and frighten Indian women. I once saw a Somali forcibly enter a compartment reserved by an Indian family, and occupied by 3 males,—one of them eccentric—his wife and five children. The Indian station-master and the Goanese guard tried their best to get him down, but it was of no avail.

In land policy, as far as I have studied, there is no distinction in Uganda. I should like to see all people on an equal footing and allowed to obtain land freehold on equal terms. There should also be educational facilities given, as soon as possible, both to European and to Indian children, as well as to the native children. There should be Government education for all. In the Mission Schools, I have heard that sometimes the Christian natives are taught to look down on the Indians as 'heathen'. This should not be done, for we are all of us brothers and sisters.

Concerning morality, human weakness prevails in Uganda, as in German East Africa, and Indians show a tendency that way. I know also of one Arab supplying native women to Europeans, and really things are bad. The people of Uganda themselves are very immoral and this was the case long before Europeans or Indians entered the country. Venereal diseases prevail much among the people of Uganda. Other native races are not so notorious for that.

The treatment of natives by Europeans that I have seen, while residing in Uganda, is neither worse nor better than that which I have seen in German East Africa. I know of two cases of Europeans being punished in the law courts for ill treatment of natives.

There is no segregation of natives, and no reserves such as those in British East Africa. But it is wrong for Government to spend no money at all on educating the natives.

I have heard that the British East Africa Government once asked for natives from Uganda to do some menial work. But Uganda replied that their natives were not meant to do the menial work of British East Africa. They would rather keep to themselves. I think this is a good thing, because it is not good for people of Uganda to go to British East Africa as menials.

About British East Africa I do not know so much, because most of my time has been spent in Uganda and German East Africa.

One thing is at once to be noticed. After the coming of the South Africans the colour prejudice has gone very high.

There is a marked difference between British East Africa and what I found in German East Africa and Uganda. In British East Africa all sorts of restrictions abound and things are going every day from bad to worse. In large areas of the country, land cannot be purchased by Indians at all; and no lands from Europeans are allowed to be transferred by purchase to Indians. In the townships, segregation is being carried out more and more definitely and Indians are being harassed. The colour prejudice is strongest in British East Africa than anywhere else, much worse than Uganda.

Major Grogan has been very active in advocating a policy against Indians. He insulted Sir Edward Northey at a dinner, and asked him if he had come into the country with any powers of his own, or merely as a 'telephone girl' to give out messages from London. That was very insulting. I have heard that the anti-Indian policy, which is now being so strongly advocated, is due to Major Grogan, the same Major Grogan who was once imprisoned for flogging a native before the court house in Nairobi.

As to treatment, I have seen on the railways that Indians are frequently insulted.

They have often to endure insults from native porters, who push them on purpose and are encouraged to do so by Europeans. In order to get on to the platform, Indians, are obliged to purchase platform tickets which are not needed by Europeans; and the oldest carriages are kept for the use of Indians. Everywhere, the South African anti-Indian influence is being felt, and things are each day going from bad to worse as I have said.

I travelled yesterday, by the third class, on the Thika Railway, in order to see for myself what happened to Indian third class passengers. I found that the African native did not wish of his own accord, to get into the carriage where Indians were seated; but he would be told to go in, and pushed in, by the native railway porters. I suspect some one must have told the porters to do this.

I see that the Economic Commission Report recommends a purely industrial education for the native. But why not intellectual also? Are they not human creatures, just the same as ourselves, and therefore capable of intellectual knowledge? Again the Economic Report says, on page 33, 'In every direction the sphere of the Indian is not complementary, but competitive with those of the European and the African.'

This idea, I have found, is the root of all the evil. It is the main reason of the colour prejudice in all the colonies. Neither Europeans, nor, I must say, Indians, go to foreign countries as mere philanthropists, but rather as exploiters. Europeans have never cared one straw for American Indians, aboriginal Australians, Tasmanians, and other weak races. And though outwardly they profess to protect the Africans from the ravages of the Indians, it is not really the case. They seek to remove the Indian not because they wish to protect the natives, but because they want to remove competition.

For this very same reason, as far as I am able to judge, they do not wish to allow Germans in the Colonies. I know very well that the German Government in East Africa is worse than the British but they make it out to be injurious to the natives, because they want to destroy competition. They say they must protect the native against the bad treatment of the Germans.

Even if they would admit the Germans back after a little while, they would not like to allow the Indian to remain; because the Indian, with his very plain manner of life, can save at far less expense; and so the Indian creates very keen competition.

There is one great difference between South Africa and East Africa. In South Africa both Europeans and Indians are closely in touch with the natives; whereas, in East Africa, with the exception of some European settlers, it is only the Indian traders who are in close touch with the natives. Hence, in East Africa, there is all this talk of the evil results of Indian contact with the natives, which is not heard in South Africa. Otherwise, I cannot believe that the European is superior in the matters of morals to the Indian. I have seen things happening with my own eyes which show that the European is not morally superior. I said that both races are victims to immorality and exploitation, and that is the truth of the whole matter. In chastity neither race can teach anything to the naked Kavirondo; while the Buganda were very immoral long before any foreigners entered Uganda. This talk of the Commission about Indian immorality,—as though the Indian alone was weak in these matters,—is altogether one-sided, and it should not have been brought forward.

European settlers, I have often noticed, are supplied with native labour by the Government officials, while Indians have to

arrange for their own labour. Yet everywhere the European settlers complain that their native labourers run away; but I have seldom heard of such complaints from Indians. The deep reason is the different treatment given to the natives. Europeans know that they can still go on applying to the officials for more labour, and so they do not take care to treat the labourers well. But Indians not being able to rely on Government help, have to treat their labourers well and pay higher wages; and thus the natives prefer to come and work for Indians.

I admit fully that Indians are backward in sanitation and that this is one of their worst faults. But I have to find fault also with Government in this matter, to some extent. For since there are separate quarters for Europeans and Indians, the Government takes full care of the sanitary drainage and cleaning and watering of the European area, almost totally neglecting the Indian quarter. In consequence, the Indians are the first victims of epidemic diseases. In German East Africa, where I lived, there were no separate quarters; and in consequence the whole township was cleaned and watered each day and epidemics very rarely occurred.

We may be told that the poverty of Indians sent over to Africa the bubonic plague. This may very likely be true. But is it not equally true that the European war sent over to Africa and to India the Influenza epidemic? And did not the Influenza epidemic, which the war brought with it, kill as many as six millions of people in India alone, and more than a crore of people in the whole world?

Nature is a great judge, and we cannot defy her judgments, Nature says to us, that we are all brothers and sisters together in this

world; and if we break any least of her laws we shall have to undergo punishment to that extent. It is the same everywhere. We, Hindus, have ill treated the low-caste Shudras; and we are undergoing punishment for this; and until we undo the wrongs done to them, we shall not be able to call ourselves sons of God. This last War (I wish it would prove the 'last', but I fear it cannot be so,) teaches us the same lesson. If the Europeans here, in East Africa, learn the lesson and treat Indians and natives and every one with equal treatment, then we Indians will learn in turn to treat all as our brothers and forget our differences.

I agree with you, after our long talk last night, when you say that Indians should not consent, to be separated racially, having a franchise of their own, cutting out, as it were, little colonies for themselves in these foreign countries, and dividing themselves off from their brothers by high walls which they can hardly look over, I agree with you that this is not humane but narrow and selfish and against true religion. I have always held that the ideals of patriotism and nationalism, are not humane, and so Indians should not help in creating race distinctions, at least in a foreign country. I believe in common, not separate, elections; in common, not racial parliaments or councils. I believe in this, because I believe in one God, who is our Father, and we are all His children. Thus far I agree.

But, with all deference to your views of humanity, which coincide with mine, I differ from your views as to who should receive the vote. You stated that the test, not only of the candidate for the Council, but for the electorate itself, should be the knowledge of the language of the Government. Now, as far as I can see, the test for the ~~candidate~~

should be the ability to understand the great questions which face the Government so as to come to solutions and to express them. And so it is necessary for the candidate to know the State language. But I differ from you, when we come to the test of the voter. There the test should not be ability to express views in the State language, but simply commonsense. The most intelligent voters are often those, who do not read books and newspapers, but think a great deal, while they go about their business, and when they sit quietly by themselves. So, it is not necessary for the voter to learn the State language, if it is foreign. It is only necessary for the voter to be a man of commonsense.

If any candidate wants to win election and does not understand the language of the voters, then he should learn the language of the voters. This is better than that the voters should be compelled to learn the State language.

You, explained, in your argument last night, that the people of Uganda, if they wished to have votes in the British part of the Administration, might have to learn English, before getting the vote. But is that a good position? We shall soon be asking for votes for our sisters, as well as for ourselves. Can we force *them* to learn English? Should the people of Uganda and other nations be forced to learn English? I think it very troublesome and unnatural.

Now, concerning a State language in East Africa, is English a natural State language? For the sake of inconveniences caused to a certain number of Englishmen and Indians and other foreigners, which make them dislike the trouble of learning thoroughly the native language, can we force, as time goes on, the numberless natives, who wish to qualify themselves for a vote, to learn a most troublesome

language like English? Is it not more reasonable, that we few foreigners, in order to live among them and exploit their country should learn the native language and govern them through the native language? Even for exploiting,—to look at the most selfish side,—is it not safer? I think, therefore, that in Uganda the State language should be Luganda and not English; that not only at Mengo (the native capital) but also at Entebbe (the European capital) everything should be carried on in Luganda, and not in English. I see that Mahatma Gandhi is advocating that Hindi should be the State language for India, and not English. In German East Africa, Swahili was the language of the German Government and also the language of the people.

I leave here about 7 a. m. for Nairobi, and reach Mombasa about December 28th and sail for India. I hope to go to the Shantiniketan Ashrama, which you love so much; for I wish to spend some quiet days there. I am finishing this very early in the morning, because I am afraid I shall not see you again, as you are now in the Hospital. I wished very much to discuss the matter once more with you; but these are my views."

This was the end of the MSS. which my friend left with me at Kampala, in Uganda, before starting back across the Great lake. I have read over his words many times since, and I value them for the fairness of their admissions and for their obvious sincerity and simplicity.

The picture which I retain most vividly of him in my mind is the characteristic one, where he was seated in a retired corner on the deck of the steamer "Clement Hill" during our journey across the Lake. A large illustrated volume of Luther's version of the Bible, in German, was on his lap, and his English New Testament by

his side, open at his favourite chapters, the Sermon on the Mount. He is a Hindu, rejoicing in what is to him the supreme teaching of his religion, namely, Ahimsa,—that harmlessness to all God's creatures, whose positive side is Love. He had gone, so he told me to school under the German head master, at Muanza, and had been seated day after day with the children, in order to learn German, because a copy of Luther's version had been given to him and he had been told

that its rendering of the Sermon on the Mount threw a new light on its inner meaning.

I wish indeed he could have been spared from his family duties to accompany me to South Africa ; for I felt again and again, when we talked over many things together, that his simple, direct, religious outlook upon life might have helped me more towards the solution of the problems which were awaiting me, on my arrival in Johannesburg, than any conventional political discussions.



RACE PREJUDICE- AN ANALYSIS

By—C. F. ANDREWS

(Reproduced from
The MODERN REVIEW, August, 1929)

When we make a study of race prejudice in history in modern times some very interesting factors become apparent. One thing is certain. Little children naturally make no race distinction. Furthermore, it can be proved, that there is no such thing as racial instinct 'in the blood,' For instance, New Zealand has been colonized almost entirely from Great Britain and yet there is very little prejudice against the Maoris. To take another instance, the prejudice in England against the Jews, which was at one time very strong there, has now almost entirely vanished.

If we consider the rise of race prejudice, it has almost always some form of conflict behind it. Sometimes the conflict is for money and therefore purely economic, at other times it is a struggle for position, status and social prominence. The origin of the caste system in India is somewhat obscure. Yet there is no doubt that in its historical development 'Caste' has been apt to run along lines parallel to those of 'race'. The fact that one person cannot eat with another, or inter-marry with another, leads almost inevitably to the growth of exclusiveness and aloofness. If we attempt to analyse the situation which has been produced in the modern world by race-prejudice, the following factors seem to come out clear from the analysis.

(a) The prejudice against persons of another race, may appear suddenly anywhere in any land and people who are themselves the victims of race prejudice not seldom dis-

criminate against others in their own country. To take one example the Japanese are themselves discriminating in Japan, while at the same time in California, they are discriminated against.

(b) One racial prejudice will sometimes lead to another. For instance; in California, the race prejudice already existing, which excluded Negroes from white society, has now been applied to Indians, Chinese and Japanese. In the Southern States of America a new prejudice against the Mexican immigrants seems growing up, is a counterpart of the prejudice against the Chinese.

(c) There are many different forms of racial exclusiveness, but one barrier which always seems most difficult to overcome is that of intermarriage. Relations that are otherwise friendly between different races or castes may still preserve the barrier against intermarriage.

(d) Where for any reason, economic conflict, or social conflict becomes diminished and reduced, it is not unlikely that race prejudice which had become involved in these things will become diminished and reduced also. Sometimes, however, the race prejudice will survive even when economic and social barriers are broken down.

(e) Whenever religion enters in and accompanies racial prejudice the evil that ensues becomes worst of all. There is no prejudice stronger than that in which difference of race, colour, economic and social

status are combined with difference of religion.

(f) It is of profound interest to notice that even a deep, race prejudice can in the end entirely disappear. The hostility, for instance between the Saxons and the Normans in medieval English History has no counterpart whatever to-day. There is a second example of obliteration which followed the Act of Union between England and Scotland. Jokes may be passed on both sides between the Scotch and the English, but it would be absurd to call this to-day, race prejudice. Indeed, wherever racial differences have become matters of humour and laughter they are obviously under way of disappearance.

(g) The most rapid methods of overcoming racial prejudices are those that of common education and common franchise. Wherever both these exist and a common religious background is also in evidence, race prejudices find it very hard indeed to get a permanent footing.

(h) The most rapid methods of overcoming racial prejudice is usually slow in growth and development and linked up with social conditions. The removal of race prejudice must not only be institutional, but also psychological. If both psychology and social

structure are modified together the removal of race prejudice may come about rapidly without any reaction. But if merely institutional changes are made without any psychological change, a reaction is almost certain to occur, which may drive the race prejudice deeper.

From this analysis it may be gathered that when racial prejudices are very wide spread they are not in any sense an essential part in human nature. They are accidents dependent on varied circumstances. They are not birth inheritances, which nothing can obliterate. In all public teaching it is necessary to emphasize this fact and to regard race prejudice wherever it appears as an individual weakness which culture and refinement should do away with rather than increase. People who possess strong race prejudices should be pitied rather than praised. Their prejudice should be seen in its proper light as a hindrance to the harmony and unity of the human race, which is the only final race of mankind. Tagore's noble words "I belong to one Race, the Race of Man; I belong to one Nation, the Nation of Humanity," need to be taught in all schools and from all religious pulpits.



STATUS OF INDIANS ABROAD

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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Indians in South Africa

IN SPITE of fears, there has been a welcome lull in the South African Parliament, with regard to anti-Asiatic legislation. A challenge was made to the Governor-General's veto against the Natal Provincial Ordinance, disenfranchising Indians in that Province, but it was successfully met by the Government who justified the Governor-General's action. Yet this must not be thought to imply that the danger is over. It is only postponed for a time, in view of the far greater crisis of an industrial syndicalist revolt on the Rand, which had to be put down with bloodshed.

We have the full account before us of the Natal Provincial Congress of the South African Party (commonly called the S. A. P. Congress) on the Asiatic Question. The S. A. P. it should be remembered, is the Government party in power under General Smuts, opposed to the Nationalist party in opposition under General Hertzog. It is the party which represents imperial interests and as such is likely to be more moderate in its Anti-Asiatic demands than the Nationalist Party. Yet the speeches delivered, and the resolutions discussed, reveal an ever-widening breach between General Smuts and his party on the one hand and the Indian community on the other.

In the Official Report of the Congress, it is stated that the 'Asiatic Question' was 'one of the most important' discussed at Durban

by the S. A. P. Congress. General Smuts after warning the Congress, that India had 320 millions, and that anything they did or said had a far-reaching influence, which might even shake the foundations of the Empire, immediately went on to make the alarming statement, which was telegraphed to India by Reuter, that 'best thing they could do was to induce the Indians in ever-increasing numbers to go back to their own country and to leave South Africa. Let them encourage the white' population, while watching the Asiatics dwindle."

Sir Thomas Watt followed General Smuts, representing the Cabinet, and said that he hoped the Congress would impress upon the government the need for dealing with the *Asiatic Question. Action was long overdue and it must be directed to strengthening the hand of the 'white' man.* Natal must educate public opinion throughout South Africa. Mr. Patrick Duncan, the Minister of the Interior, another Cabinet representative, stated that South Africa was faced with a population problem that was acute—the problem of white versus coloured. The Europeans were the trustees of the coloured, and they must discharge their responsibilities in such a way as *to ensure the destinies of the country as a European civilisation.* (The italics are mine).

It must be understood, that these three-speakers, representing the Government, were speaking with the utmost caution and circumspection. It is ominous indeed, when sober

and cautious men such as these, men of liberal tendencies on the whole,—feel themselves pressed by their party to make utterances of such an obviously anti-Asiatic character.

South African Anti-Asiatic Proposals

When the actual resolutions were arrived at on the 'Asiatic Question' by the S. A. P. Congress, it was decided, on the motion of the Chairman, that a secret session should be held. The press was not admitted, but was given an official report of the proceedings. Fourteen resolutions were discussed in private. Votes were not taken, but it was decided, instead, to leave the whole question in the hands of Parliament itself.

In the Official Report are given to the public the exact terms of the 'Fourteen Resolutions' on the Asiatic Question which were thoroughly discussed at the Congress. They may be taken as representing in a general manner the mind of the S. A. P. These 'Fourteen Resolutions'; Therefore, may be regarded as document of first rate importance, and should be studied very carefully indeed. They run as follows :—

1. That the S. A. P. should make known, as speedily as possible, the policy it proposes in order to deal fairly, but effectively, with the problem caused by the presence of large numbers of Asiatics, especially in the Transvaal and in Natal.
2. That the Natal S. A. P. Congress respectfully requests Government to give an early opportunity for the discussion of the Asiatic problems in Parliament.
3. That it is essential that legislation be brought to bear to prevent Asiatics from acquiring further land in Natal.
4. That without disturbing existing rights, legislation should be passed to prohibit further sales, leases, or rental of land or buildings, to Asiatics, except in reserved areas.
5. That the issue and renewal of general dealers' licenses outside municipal areas be regulated in the manner contemplated by Natal Draft Ordinance 4 of 1921.
6. That no new trading licenses or transfers shall be granted to Asiatics, except in reserved areas.
7. That no Asiatic or native shall trade under, or assume, a European name. That no Asiatic may hold financial interest in any business, land, or property, registered in the name of Europeans.
8. That where Asiatics have acquired property and trading rights, *not* within reserved areas, they shall be strictly required to conform to the same laws as to sanitation, good order, and housing conditions, as apply to Europeans.
9. That the encroachment and unfair competition of Indians, in land, industries, commerce, labour and spheres of employment, generally suitable to Europeans, has injuriously affected the white races and increasingly menaces the economic standards, the social welfare, and political status of the South African Union.
10. That in all skilled trades, commerce, industries, and every sphere of employment, suitable for Europeans, payment and working conditions shall be fixed by Trade Boards in accordance with 'white' standards,
11. That no differentiation in favour of Asiatics over indigenous natives, of equal grade, be allowed in any legislation affecting either.
12. That the Ordinance relative to Indian franchise in Natal, which was vetoed be re-introduced.
13. That Government be asked to introduce a Bill to apply to Municipal voters, such as those contained in Section 12 of Charter of July 8, 1856 and Section 2 of October 8, 1806. (Natal).

14. That the Government draw up a definite statement of their policy, showing what they have done and what they are doing on the Indian question, especially regarding the Indian trader, and that Government should make its policy known as widely as possible.

The Evils of the 'Ghetto'

I am afraid that we, in India, can only regard these resolutions (which were thus officially made public after the secret sessions were over,) as forboding an almost unanimous attack on the last existing rights of Indians in Natal and the Transvaal with a view to making them in every sense of the word "on a level with the Kaffir." This, in itself, might not be objected to, if the Kaffir himself, had rights of citizenship in these two provinces such as he has in the Cape Province, (though even there his rights of holding land have, I believe, been recently curtailed), but the actual situation is that the Kaffir himself, in these two provinces, and in the province of the Orange Free State is bound down under conditions that border on serfdom. The Indian is fighting at all points for the rights of the Kaffir as well as his own.

Secondly, it needs to be remembered, that the whole trend of policy, with regard to the coloured races in South Africa, is in the direction of 'segregation', that is to say the old 'ghetto' system of Europe in the Middle Ages. The intention is to keep them strictly within 'reserved areas' as far as any rights and privileges are concerned, while at the same time keeping back practically all the best land for the aristocratic 'whites': Thus an African native may come into the white man's area as a hired labourer; but he can only hold political rights in the native 'reserves'. If any one will glance down the list of these 'Fourteen Resolutions,' he will be able to see at a glance how the policy of 'reserved areas' is every-

where at the back of 'the Europeans' minds. What they wish to do is either to get the Indians out of the country, or else to isolate them in 'reserves'. It is really, as I have said, the old 'Ghetto' policy of medieval Europe, over again. It is also exactly the same as the 'untouchable' policy of India. What we in India must do, in order effectively to resist this policy, is to break down the barriers of our own 'reserved areas', here in India. I have seen with my own eyes still existing today in Malabar a worse state of 'untouchability' than anything which is now being politically contemplated in South Africa. I have been also told by those who have seen them, that in Eastern Europe there are 'ghettos' still remaining. Let us away with them, everywhere!

Indian And African in Kenya.

A very great effort is being made by the Europeans in Kenya Colony to throw upon the Indians the blame for the recent violent outbreak of native African indignation on the arrest of Harry Thuku. It is stated in the public newspapers that Indian leaders secretly fomented native rising. The truth is, the Indians in Kenya today are between two fires. If they keep aloof from native affairs, the European settlers ask the question,—“What have Indians done for the natives?” If, on the other hand, Indians are friendly and familiar with the African natives, then they are charged with conspiracy and with encouraging native rebellion. Almost every day at Nairobi, I saw Harry Thuku, the young educated Kikuyu native, who has been deported. He was a very bright young lad with a pleasant, open face. Harry was a great friend of all our Indian leaders, who treated him with kindness and a courtesy, which he would not usually receive from Europeans. He appeared to me to be really in earnest in his desire to help his countrymen, who were

suffering under almost overwhelming disabilities. Their land has been taken from them, except certain tracts which are called 'reserves' and every effort has been made, either by compulsion or by semicompulsion, to get them out of these reserves themselves for labour on the great European estates. There has been in Kenya, in the past, not only what practically amounted to 'forced labour', but also excessive flogging with a very cruel whip, made of rhinoceros-hide, called *kiboko*.

The idea of the average European settler, at present, is to keep the African native in an inferior position. The European allows no liberties of any kind. As a consequence, the African native has a deep inveterate fear of him, but not of the Indian. With those Indians, who are village store-keepers, the African will sit for hours and hours,—and talk. The language is often a curious mixture of dialects, but somehow an understanding is reached, and both parties enjoy the conversation.

Every day, as far as my experience goes, Europeans are seeking to make the African native *despise* the Indian. The Indian is bullied by the European in front of the African native. And what is the most cowardly thing of all, the African native is at times encouraged by the European himself to insult the Indian. I have seen one such sight with my own eyes, and the meanness of it made my blood boil. The best way in which this can be counteracted is for the Indian to be truly kind and considerate, at all times, to the African native, and thus win his respect by sympathy and kindness. Such respect is far greater and nobler than the respect that is due to fear.

There is one thing that is happening in Kenya every day. The Indian and African are feeling more and more the *common* wrongs

from which they suffer at the hands of the European. The African native understands that, whatever rights the Indian acquires, the same will inevitably come to himself also. Therefore, he is looking upon the Indian as both his fellow sufferer and also his protagonist in the struggle for human rights.

What appears to me to be needed more than anything else, however, at the present time, is that Indians whose hearts are filled with the love of God, should go forth, as the Buddha went forth, as Chaitanya went forth, as Christ went forth,—to help and to bless the African natives serving them with the purest service of love. Until this is accomplished in God's name, the relation between Indian and African will not be made perfect,

India and an East African Federation.

Mr. Winston Churchill has announced that he already had Sir Robert Coryndon's cordial approval of an East African Federation. Sir Robert Coryndon is the Governor. This was startling news to me, because every single European official I had met in Uganda, including two acting Governors and two Chief Secretaries to Government, and told me in most emphatic terms, that they were strongly against any such Federation. There would obviously, also, be the practical difficulty of Tanganyika joining such a Union, because a mandated territory differs from a colony in important particulars.

The reason why Europeans in Uganda dislike any federation or union with Kenya is interesting. In Kenya (as in Rhodesia) the European settler has appropriated the land. To use Major Grogan's more accurate expression, they have 'stolen the land', from the native. Major Grogan goes on to say, that having stolen his lands they afterwards 'stole his limbs.' This again is accurately true concerning a great deal of what

has happened. For the whole idea of European occupation in Kenya Colony is that the African native should *not* own land himself, but should be the serf, or hired labourer of the European. But in Uganda, just as in Nigeria, in West Africa,—the idea is entirely different. The principle at work in Uganda and Nigeria is to leave the native himself in possession of the soil, *as producer*, and to buy his produce. Thus in Uganda and Nigeria the African native is encouraged to develop his own self-government and his own initiative and to consider the soil as inalienably his own.

The Europeans in Uganda and Nigeria are rightly proud of what they have accomplished by this method in so short a time. They have done much better than the Europeans in Kenya. The Baganda native is much happier than the Kikuyu native. Thus, the Europeans of Uganda are rightly afraid, that if an East African Federation, or Union, is organised similar to the South African Union, then they themselves will be flooded with European expropriators, who will want to run big estates with hired native labour. This would destroy the present initiative which is such an encouraging feature in Uganda. The Indians in Uganda are entirely one with the Europeans in their idea of treatment of the African native as a *producer* from whom they can purchase raw material, such as cotton. This conception not only suits their principles, but also their trade and business. There is nothing that the Indians in Uganda desire less than a great East African Union, or Federation, in which they themselves would be submerged and treated with contempt.

The C. S. R. CO. Profits Out of Indian Labour in Fiji

Again it is necessary to call attention in India to the fabulous profits which the C. S.

R. Co. of Australia have made recently out of sweated Indian labour in Fiji. It will perhaps be remembered how the 'Sydney Bulletin' revealed, without any contradiction, the scandalous war profits in sugar made by this Company. It may also be remembered how the C. S. R. Co. resisted to the very last any increase in the wretched wage of the indentured Indian labourer during the time of the war, although food prices had more than doubled. All that is past history.

But a still more amazing story is told with regard to profits, *after* the War, especially for the year ending March 1921. I shall try to show this very briefly, using again the published facts of the Financial Editor of the 'Sydney Bulletin': they run as follows:

"Never since the original C. S. R. Co., was split in two, by the formation of the Fiji and Maoriland Company in addition to the parent Company in Australia, have such fat results been shown up, as in the year, March 1920 to March 1921. Nor at any time have shareholders participated in such a gorgeous dividend banquet. From the parent Company (and the parent Company's interest in the subsidiary Company) shareholders get £162,500 for the past half year. In addition they get £97,500,—altogether £260,000. Nor does that give the full measure of their prosperity; for while the parent concern admitted to have done well (and there may be a good deal behind the scene which it does not admit) the subsidiary Company, i. e., the Fiji and Maoriland Co., has had the time of its life! Here is its record to date:—

| March | Profits | Reserves (accumulated) |
|-------|---------|---------------------------|
| 1916 | 328,830 | 126,330 |
| 1917 | 340,201 | 256,531 |
| 1918 | 338,147 | 384,678 |
| 1919 | 308,403 | 483,081 |
| 1920 | 297,784 | 570,865 |
| 1921 | 461,979 | 789,719 |

The figures above are those disclosed. But how much has been going on up the sleeve? Only those within can have the slightest idea. But it can be taken for granted that the big concern, which only half a dozen years ago shook out 3¼ million pounds sterling of 'inner reserves', has been storing away profits beyond the gaze of the curious.....

It was remarked by the Chairman, that the directors had placed at suspense account a sum that can be used for writing down the cost of the two factories in Fiji. This displays the glitter of the Fiji end of the business in another way :--

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Assets apart from | 1920 | 1921 |
| fixed assets | £ 2,428,241 | £ 3,788,469 |
| Liabilities | 45,155 | 143,485 |
| Liquid Surplus | £ 2,383,086 | £ 3,644,984 |

Including the interim dividends, *the year's operations show an increase of liquid surplus of more than one and a third million pounds sterling. It is an almost incredible performance.*" (The italics are mine.)

I believe that it is a fact that a depression is now inevitable in the world price of sugar and these phenomenal profits must cease. But what is almost certain to happen is that some attempt will be made to reduce the labourer's wages in order to keep up the profits.

The same problem will probably arise in Fiji that the Tea Planters had to face last year

in Assam when a depression came. I saw with my own eyes the miserable condition of the labourers, who came down from the Chargola Valley estates, and who told me that their wages had been reduced to two pence a day! Surely in all these cases, where great prosperity is followed by depression, the first person to suffer in the lean years should *not* be the labourer! For he hardly ever gets his share of the prosperity.

Yet what almost invariably happens is this. As soon as the lean years come, 'Big Business' absorbs first all the profits of prosperity and then seeks to 'cut' the labourer's wage. This causes a strike. But in a time of depression, with thousands out of employment, a strike is the worst thing possible for the labourers. For it is an axiom of labour, that a strike can hardly ever succeed on a falling market. So the labourer suffers.

It will be remembered how the C. S. R. Co., fought to the very last against giving any rise in Indian wages during the prosperous years, 1920-1921. It will be remembered how the Indian labourers continued the strike for five months without violence of any kind, but were beaten in the end. Now, for the first time, we know for certain, from the 'Sydney Bulletin' financial statement, that at the very time the C. S. R. Co., were fighting the Indian labourers to their knees, right down to sheer starvation, their own coffers were bulging with gold.

THE STRANDED EMIGRANTS AT MATIABRUZ

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By—C. F. ANDREWS

I have written letters continually to the papers on this very painful subject and have also spoken on public platforms, but the evil has gone on unremedied for nearly twenty years. It has appeared to me therefore that more support may be given to the programme that I have proposed, if I can set it out at greater length than can be afforded to it when it has been briefly presented in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. Those who have already grasped the subject in outline may be glad to see it stated more fully with its difficulties disclosed.

The evil goes back to the system of indentured labour itself whereby many hundreds of thousands of villagers were recruited from the Indian villages (chiefly by fraud) to go out to the sugar plantations in the distant British colonies. One of the few inducements which caused the more intelligent of these villagers to go out was the promise of a "free passage" at the expiry of their indenture. The value of this free passage, when the journey was taken from the West Indies, might be put down as equivalent to about £ 20. In the past, many thousands have taken this free passage and returned with their families to India. But of these, a rough estimate may be given, that about 60 per cent have been welcomed back into their own villages, as far as North India is concerned. In South India,

owing to the constant nearer emigration to Malaya and Ceylon, which has made these villages more "migration conscious" the proportion received back on their return appears to be higher.

In the United Provinces and Bihar, a rough estimate shows that out of the ship-loads of returned emigrants as many as 40 per cent have been rejected by the upcountry villagers and have slowly drifted down to the docks of Calcutta, where their only desire is to get on board a ship that will take them back to the colony from whence they have come to India. Thus for a very large number of these indentured emigrants, the free passage has proved, not a benefit at all, but a snare and a delusion; and they have most bitterly regretted the day when they took it and returned to India. Most pitiable of all is the fate of the children, whom they brought back with them. These had no idea of India, and cannot bear the Indian climate and the Indian conditions, especially where they are thus left derelict in the slums of Matiabruz and Akra Bagan. They die of dysentery and malignant malaria and not seldom of cholera. Thus the terribly high death-rate, so close to the rest of the population of Calcutta, makes their presence there a very alarming source of infection and leads to the spread of disease.

Added to this, their extreme misery and want, with no steady employment and no means of getting work, had led them inevitably on the downgrade path to beggary and mendicancy. It is estimated that some two hundred beggars have been added to the streets of Calcutta from this source alone. Beggary itself spreads like a disease, and one of the gravest of all difficulties, which we have had to meet in dealing with this subject, is the danger of merely encouraging mendicancy, instead of clearing away the great danger of further infection. In seeking for remedies, it is absolutely necessary to get at the root of the evil and not to deal merely with symptoms.

There are three things that stand out quite clearly as necessary :

(1) These "free passages" must be compensated for in the colonies themselves by offers of land or money—preferably land. This will immediately reduce the number of those who still wish to return, to such a small amount, that it will mean practically the end of the whole matter. The Dutch Guiana Government have already done this; and as a consequence, when the last emigrant boat left the West Indies for Calcutta, it contained only 13 from Dutch Guiana, while 867 came from British Guiana. It is true that the number of Indians in Dutch Guiana is under 40,000, as compared with 140,000 in British Guiana, but even then the figures are significant. From my own experience in British Guiana, I can assert confidently that with Indian opinion itself in that Colony strongly against this repatriation, and with the natural eagerness of those who are settled in the country to get freehold land for rice cultivation, the numbers that wish to come back if compensation was offered would be almost nil.

(2) The greatest tragedy has been that of the young people, who have been brought

over by their parents. We call these the "Colonialborn" and it has been made abundantly clear that their condition when they drift back to Calcutta is the most pitiable of all. The deathrate among them is very high indeed; and it is impossible for us to acquiesce in their present state, without lifting a finger to help them. Most of them had no choice about coming to India, because their parents brought them when they were young. They knew nothing about Indian conditions. They do not like India. They say, "We do not belong here : send us back to our own motherland."

It is obvious, of course, that Colonial Governments are not philanthropic societies : but it may be pointed out to a colony like British Guiana, which is altogether under-populated, that at least the able-bodied among these people, who were born in British Guiana, would be an asset to the colony, where thousands of acres of very fertile land is left uncultivated for lack of population. British Guiana, in the past, has sent over very expensive delegations to India in order to persuade the Indian people to send more emigrants over, and the Indian Government has rightly refused. But here are able-bodied young people, who were *born* in British Guiana, and are only too eager to get back to their own birthplace. They are doing no good, but only harm in India ; and they do not belong to India. Surely the able-bodied, at least, ought to be sent back to their own country, and the Government of India ought to see to it that they return as speedily as possible. If it were necessary for the Government of India to bear part of the cost, it should be borne, in order to put an end to this evil as far as possible.

(3) The last question is one of pure charity and humanity. Cannot something be done to make the lot of those who are lying ill diseased, infirm, and decrepit, less pitiable

than it is? Again and again, I have gone down with Mr. H. K. Mukerjee of the Y. M. C.A., and in earlier days with Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, when he was editing *Vishal-bharat*, and our hearts have been pained beyond measure by what we have seen. Only a few days ago, on two separate days, I had to go journeys with the Garden Reach Ambulance to the Hospital in Elgin Road, bringing altogether on different journeys, four of these returned emigrants who were terribly ill, one of whom died on the same evening on which I took him into the Hospital. Cannot

something at least be done for those who are in such utter misery as this?

The All-India Women's Conference has decided to take up the matter. The Society for the Protection of Children has also been helping in every way possible. My own efforts, with so much work elsewhere to be done, must of necessity be only occasional; for I do not live in Calcutta. But I am sure of one thing, that God's blessing will richly descend on any one who will undertake this service of mercy and compassion.



INDIAN LABOUR RECRUITING FOR FIJI— AN IMMINENT DANGER

By—C. F. ANDREWS

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The MODERN REVIEW November, 1920)

One thing the War has taught us in this country with a bitter fullness of realisation. It is that no trust whatever can be placed in the pledges of modern governments if self interest or commercial advantage stand in the way.

We have had two pledges from the government of India repeated again and again with regard to Indians abroad. One of them has been, that the government of India is prepared to uphold the equal status of Indians in the Colonies and Protectorates. We shall see, in the course of the next few weeks, how much or how little that pledge is worth, with regard to East Africa and in relation to Lord Milner's recent pronouncement. The second pledge was this, that it would be left entirely to the Indian people to decide whether Indian labour recruiting for the Crown Colonies of Fiji, British-Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica should be renewed or not. This was the final word of that prolonged struggle, which stirred India from one end to the other, called the struggle for the abolition of indentured labour. How is the Government of India intending to keep this second pledge? We must remember this Indian recruited labour is immensely lucrative to the capitalist. It exactly suits the needs of the great exploiting sugar companies. Even a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand pounds, spent in London and elsewhere in bringing about a renewal of this labour would very

easily be recouped in a single year out of the profits. There are ways of spending money in propaganda without actual bribery and corruption; and I know of a fact that huge sums were spent in London in the years that are now past in endeavouring to bring about a continuance of indenture. We have still to fear these hidden forces: for the Lloyd George Government is a Capitalist Government.

There have been very alarming signs indeed of an attempt to minimise the pledge that has been given to the Indian people and we must be strictly on our guard.

(i) The Government of India has refused to take any steps to enquire further into the labour troubles in Fiji. It has even refused to ask the new Labour Commission, which is about to go out, to make enquiries. Yet the only Report, which has hitherto been published, was, on the very face of it *an ex parte* statement by the Governor. Even an Imperialist Quarterly such as *The Round Table* writes as follows about the Fiji Government's action :—

“The Fiji Government took the easy course of ascribing the trouble to ‘agitators’ and ordered a Hindu Barrister to leave the affected area. But the matter cannot be cured thus, The Nemesis of an economic policy of cheap oriental labour and a large profit is upon us, and like the Negro problem in America

it will tax the resources of statesmanship to counter the results of reckless immorality."

It is strange indeed to see our Imperialist British Quarterly taking this view of the situation and the Government of India remaining absolutely passive and indifferent.

But worse is to follow. The Bishop of Polynesia and Mr. Rankine,—the official delegates from Fiji who came to India to demand a renewal of Indian labour recruiting,—have declared in the Fiji newspapers *that they have brought back from India a written statement, given them by the Government of India*, that, if the new Labour Commission, with Mr. Marjoribanks as its Chairman, reports favourably concerning labour conditions in Fiji, then recruiting will be immediately reopened in India.

This, then, seems all that the pledge of the Government of India amounts to, when they promised that it would be left entirely to the people of India to decide whether recruiting for the colonies should be renewed or not. The Government first appoints an official Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, whom the people of India thoroughly distrust, because of his whitewashing Ceylon and Malaya Labour Report. They then choose two Indian members, whose names are not yet known. Then, if this Commission reports favourably, the Indian people (so it appears)

are to have no voice at all. The matter is to be settled over their heads.

I wish to be quite fair to the Government of India and to state that I have little doubt they are trying to get good and trustworthy Indian members to join the Commission. But we cannot forget the record of Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Macarias : nor can we forget the record of Mr. Mc Neill and Mr. Chimnan Lal. However estimable they may be, we may well doubt if these new Commissioners will be any more a match for the tactics of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company than the earlier Commissioners were who went to Fiji and reported unanimously that the advantages of the indenture system greatly outweighed its disadvantages.

What then is to be done ? The Government of India needs clearly to be warned, that it will be kept strictly to its own pledge. It must not be allowed to act in this high-handed manner over the heads of the people, and make secret treaties with the delegates from Fiji. The Government of India can have no doubt whatever as to what the feelings of the masses of the people are today about the professional recruiter. Let them do, as they have promised, and refer the matter to the people and all will be well. The answer of the Indian *people* will be unanimous against recruiting for Fiji.

GOVERNOR'S PLEASURE VS COALITION MINISTRIES

ASHOKE KUMAR MITRA

After the Fourth general Election, the Congress was defeated in many states and as a result many coalition Ministries came into the Political field. The office of the governor has come into limelight just after the said election.

The Members of the Constituent Assembly vested a vast power in the governor. But the word "Pleasure" is really a peculiar one. That very word has hit hard the very foundation of our Parliamentary democracy. The other defect of the discretionary power is that, it is not explained in any place in the constitution. So, it becomes a privilege for the State Governors to do something which are said to be contrary to democracy.

Now, I shall examine the constitutional provisions relating to the discretionary power of the governor.

In Art 154 (1), "the executive Power of the State shall be vested in the governor and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the constitution."

That means, governor is the executive head of the State (Please mind that he is not the head of the Legislature).

Art 163 (1) says, "There shall be a council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advice the governor in the exercise of his functions, except in so far as he is by or under this constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his "discretion".

Now we get three points (1) that the governor is not the only person to manage every thing (2) that the governor is bound to accept the advice of the Chief Minister in normal time and (3) that the governor is given a prerogative, i.e., a special power.

Now the question of appointment & dismissal of the Ministry arise.

In Art 164 (1) "The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the governor."

This article is very important. Here also, we get some points—(1) the governor appoints the Chief Minister & the Chief Minister requests the governor to appoint other selected persons as Ministers (2) governor can dismiss the Ministers (3) governor can not dismiss the Ministry i.e., the council of Ministers—because the word "Ministers" connotes individual Ministers only.

In Art 164 (2), "The council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Legislative Assembly of the State."

That is, article 164 (2) says that the governor or any person is unfit for dismissing a ministry. And dismissal is only possible by the elected Members of the Legislature in the Legislative Assembly.

Now my question is, are not the Arts (164 (1)) and 164 (2) conflicting? Can the governor dismiss the council of Ministers himself without testifying the strength of the Ministry in the Legislative Assembly?

Mr. Justice B. C. Mitter of the Calcutta High Court said that the governor has the right to dismiss the council of Ministers. Governor Mr. Dharam Vira dismissed the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry in 1967 only on the basis of such "Pleasure" or "Satisfaction". In 1970, Dr. B. Gopal Reddy dismissed the Charan Singh Ministry on the same ground.

The Governors took the privilege of the said "Pleasure" without giving the Chief Ministers chances to show their Party strength in the House.

So it appears that Art 164 (2) is practically invalid to-day.

The Governor can use his discretion on the following matters :—

- 1) Selection of a Chief Minister
- 2) Dissolution of the Ministry
- 3) Dissolution of the Legislative Assembly
- 4) Asking information from the Chief Minister relating to Legislative & Administrative matters.
- 5) Refusing to give assent to the bills passed in the State Legislature and sending it to the President for his assent.
- 6) Advising the President for the proclamation of an Emergency (Art 356)
- 7) In the State of Assam—Certain extra powers.
- 8) Seeking President's advice before the promulgation of an ordinance.
- 9) He can ask the Chief Minister to submit for the consideration of the council of Ministers on any matter on which a decision has been taken by a Minister, which has not been considered by the Ministry.

The list is a very big one no doubt but that does not mean that he is a dictator. In the coalition Ministries, it is seen that floor-crossing, defection and the formation of new Parties with a very small number of members are also important problems. And under such a condition it is the constitutional duty of the governor to step in to solve such a constitutional crisis which may even lead to the dismissal of a Government or replacement of a government by another."¹

On the other hand Mr. N. C. Chatterjee M. P. said, "We should look to the British precedent for guidance regarding circumstances of evidentiary materials on which a governor can dismiss a council of Ministers."²

According to me, the governor has constitutional power to dismiss the Ministry but conventionally he should not use the power

because he is not the elected representative of the people.

Both Dr. A. Appadurai & Dr. K. V. Roa are in favour of a review.

Dr. K. V. Roa said, "the governorship is a useful institution and there is a greater role to play in the social and humanitarian fields and, as chancellor in (Politics-infested) State Universities. The working of this institution requires careful review."

Dr. A. Appadurai said, "(a) to give the governor the benefit of a sort of confirmation of the practices which have obtained in the various States, as for instance in the governor's duty to accept the advice of the chief Minister in regard to the date for the summoning of the Assembly referred to earlier. (b) to assure him that he should, in normal terms, exercise his independent judgement and exercise his influence and persuasion, with the right to be consulted, the right to encroach and the right to warn. The spectacle of the governor, hurrying to New Delhi to consult the central leaders (the Prime Minister, the Home Minister) as to what he should do in a situation—so often noted during the past two years—is not only undignified but politically undesirable, for the people of the state think that the Governor is an agent of the centre even in those matters which the constitution vests in the Chief Minister and the State Assembly."

The office of the governor is very important in a Federal State like India. Now the time has come to define & redefine the powers of the governor.

Help taken from :—

- 1) The Role of the governor under the Constitution And the working of Coalition Governments—by Prof. Dalip Singh, Indian Journal of Political Science P-59, Vol-XXIX January—March '68.
- 2) Statesman dated 5th December, 1967.
- 3) Dr. K. V. Roa—Parliamentary Democracy of India P-436.
- 4) Dr. A. Appadurai—Amrita Bazar Patrika—Sunday dated 28-7-70.

CHESTERTON AND WILDE AS EPIGRAMMATISTS

B. DHAR

The prose writings of both Oscar Wilde and G. K. Chesterton have an epigrammatic quality which explains why they are, down to the present day, quarries for striking and brilliant quotations. They, however, had diametrically opposed aims as thinkers and men of letters. This divergence of opinion is fully reflected in their epigrams.

The great epigrammatists of the *fin de siècle* in whose halcyon days Chesterton grew to manhood were Oscar Wilde and Whistler who did not appeal to him because of their abominable ethics. His own epigrams stand on the bedrock of sound morality and have spontaneity and freshness about them. Wilde's epigrams, on the other hand, are marked by their antagonism to the canons of accepted morality and bear the stamp of much preparation and refinement. Chesterton's epigrams however, combine Newman's concern for morality with Wilde's brilliance. They have a seriousness of purpose, but not a few of Wilde have a touch of levity; though both of them are equally brilliant because of the incomparable agility of their authors' intellect. It will not be out of place to compare the views of Wilde and Chesterton on literature and journalism to which they had a life-long attachment. Chesterton says, "The only excuse of literature is to make things new; and the chief misfortune of journalism is that it has to make them old". Chesterton's view is realistic whereas Wilde's is somewhat priggish and cynical when he says, "Journalism is unreadable, and literature is not read".

Truth and error between which humanity has gravitated since times immemorial engaged the attention of both the writers.

Chesterton was the upholder of traditional morality whereas Wilde, in the words of Alvin Redman "was always ready to sacrifice truth for the sake of epigram." Chesterton compresses the whole antithesis between truth and error in a memorable sentence in *Orthodoxy*. "Truth can understand error; but error cannot understand truth." Wilde sees the antagonism between these in an altogether different perspective. He sings of the romance of error whereas Chesterton sings of the glory of truth. Wilde is opposed to "a morbid and unhealthy faculty of truth-telling" which is proper to the old rather than the young. Truth to him is as reprehensible as falsehood to Chesterton. "It is a terrible thing for a man to find out suddenly that all the life he has been speaking but the truth", says Wilde. Chesterton, unconcerned as he is with these frivolities, makes a very profound observation about the real nature of truth which has little interest for Wilde. "The difference between the concrete and the abstract", says Chesterton, "is the difference between the country and the town. God made the concrete, but man made the abstract. A truthful man is a miracle, but the truth is a commonplace." Having stated his view of truth that it is concrete and natural (like the country), with his characteristic compactness he sums up in a sentence man's predicament, his deviation from the path of truth. It is vain to look for such pregnant and percipient epigrams in Wilde because he never tries to reach the heart of the matter; since he is little concerned with man's ultimate lot, his highest destiny.

Wilde who "was intrigued with the idea

of sin as a form of art", says, "Nothing makes one so vain as being told that one is a sinner." Chesterton thought of deeper things—of the nature of evil and good, of human frailty: "For the whole advantage of evil is in its being so often imperceptible and silent; evil comes at leisure like the disease; good comes in a hurry like the doctor." Again, "Virtue has the heavy burden of knowledge; sin has often something of the levity of sinlessness." The whole point of these epigrams is that they are not half-truths; they try to come as near as possible to truth by conjoining the opposing strands of reality. Wilde's epigram, however, is a half-truth: "Sin is the only real colour-element left in modern life". It is significant that Chesterton to some extent, concedes the opposite point of view in his epigram while setting forth his own, whereas Wilde's view is generally one-sided.

The attitudes of Wilde and Chesterton towards mankind were basically different. Chesterton was a lover of the common man; Wilde was in his element only in "high society." The former thought of mankind as a whole, the latter thought of its different segments—the upper classes, the middle classes and the poor. "Mankind is not a tribe of animals to which we owe compassion. Man-

kind is a club to which we owe our subscription", says Chesterton. He could crave for the honour of sitting at tea with the whole humanity, but Wilde with his class-consciousness would not have condescended to it. By the same token, Chesterton saw the two sexes cooperating in a healthy partnership; though he was by no means slow to see their points of divergence. "Men represent the deliberative and democratic element in life. Woman represent the despotic". But Chesterton would have never written Wilde's epigram in praise of the lewd woman; "an immoral woman is the sort of woman a man never gets tired of."

'The amiable, irresponsible, esurient Oscar' (so described by Whistler) was really a pagan who was never tired of asserting the independence of art and artist of all ethical considerations. Chesterton, a devoutly religious man, regarded art as a department of religion. Consequently, the epigrams of these writers project ideas which are mutually opposed. A student of literature, untrammelled by the religious and hedonistic prepossessions of *their* authors, can derive genuine pleasure from them full as they are of verbal felicity and intellectual brilliance.



ROMANTICISM : SOME EXTRA-LITERARY SOURCES

D. D. AGRAWAL

The Romantic poetry of nineteenth century was influenced and strengthened by the European political and philosophical thinking of the time. Historians of literature refer to them as the sources of Romanticism. It should here be remembered that although these sources went deep into the shaping of the Substance of Romanticism—the Romantic poetry must have taken shape and grown even without them. In that case it must have emerged as the offspring of instinct.

The extra-literary sources are philosophical and political. The philosophical sources are mainly the naturalism of Rousseau, the transcendentalism of the German thinkers Kant and Hegel and the empiricism of Locke and Hume. The poetry of the period was deeply influenced by them. Let us examine how.

Rousseau gave to Romantic poetry his sentimental subjectivism. He emphasised the importance and dignity of man as man and believed in the elemental simplicities of life achieved through reduction of the complexity of civilized experiences and ideas. He glorified the childhood and advocated education of nature. We need not say that the poetry of Wordsworth exemplifies these points. It does so in a mighty way and it is only at the end of his career that he starts deviating from the influence of Rousseau which he had once received so gratefully. The shepherds and the farmers and the dalesmen who figure in his poetry prominently are the creations of his consciousness that man is a dignified being only because he is man and for no other reason than that he is man. That Wordsworth glorified the childhood is obvious from his

poems of childhood. To him the child is the loveliest flower ever sown on earth (Three Years She Grew). The child has a divine spark in him and his exterior semblance belies the immensity of his soul (Intimation of Immortality). Wordsworth believes also in the education of nature. He condemns books (Expostulation and Reply) and advocates education through nature :

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

(Tables Turned)

The German transcendentalists, Kant and Hegel maintain that knowledge is not an isolated totality of sensations. It is life's signature on the receptive mind which is independent of the senses. This philosophy led to an emphasis on the role of mind from which emerged Wordsworth's concept of the gradual cultivation of the human mind from infancy to old age.

The empiricists: Locke and Hume, maintain that sense-perception, and not mental cognition, is the source of knowledge. Ideas are suggested to mind through the senses, our experiences record themselves through them and what we perceive empirically through visual, auditory or tactile awareness is reality par excellence. The entire Romantic emphasis on the senses—the sensuousness of Keats, Byron's force and physical passion and Wordsworth's "sensations sweet" "felt in the blood and felt along the heart" goes back to empiricism.

So much about the philosophical sources of Romanticism. Let us now examine the political sources. The French Revolution and the English War with France were the biggest political events of the time. The War with France could not influence the Romanticists deeply. It remained confined to the outer fringes of their poetic sensibility. Feeble patriotic feeling resulting in feeble patriotic songs and a hazy love of the country and her people were the only visible results of the French War. As soon as the wars were over and the contexts shifted, the literature of patriotism ended. That Wordsworth should be in love with a French girl, and should continue to cherish her memory always, indicates that the patriotic impulse was short-lived.

But the French Revolution impressed the Romantic poets really deeply. To them it was not only an event of great historical and political importance but also a source of great revolutionary ideas. The concept of liberty, fraternity and equality, which played an important part in the poetry and thought of the period, came from it. The poets of the age conceived of mankind as brothers akin, bound to one another with an active awareness of universal brotherhood. Divisions on the basis of rank and wealth came to be considered irrational, oppression inhuman, and hence, when the old fortress of Bastille was mobbed on July

14, 1789, it was believed that there was going to be a reincarnation of liberty. The forced tumbling of the towers of Bastille was to Wordsworth and Coleridge a welcome event. The vilest order, promulgated by the vicious circle of the rich and the mighty was over and the poets began to see visions of regeneration of mankind. The fourth Act of "Prometheus Unbound" became the choral song of the universal regeneration of all mankind in love and peace and joy.

The Revolution influenced Shelly intellectually, Wordsworth emotionally, Byron politically, but Keats not at all. It was perhaps because the Revolution which created an ugly grimace in the fair face of Europe, was not consistent with his idea of beauty. Wordsworth was nineteen when the Revolution took place. He reacted emotionally and lyrically:

Bliss was in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven.

Byron was a more active, a more dynamic child of the Revolution. The liberal cosmopolitan view emerging in the wake of the Revolution found a more powerful expression in Byron's poetry. Weimar, London, Venice, Florence, Rome and Paris jostled together in his poetry. That he hated oppression and worshipped liberty is obvious from the sizzling sentiment with which he wrote the 'Isles of Grece' and 'Sonnet on Children'.

G H E R A O

TARUN KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

Gherao is too well known a thing to need an introduction. Now a days Gherao is so important a word that it has even got a place in the dictionary. The Post election scene has a few disquieting things to show and Gherao is one of them. Leftists have acclaimed it as a legitimate weapon in the armoury of organised labour. Responsible ministers have encouraged it and publicly repudiated any intention of stopping it.

The term is a journalistic monstrosity. Gherao is said to have taken place when workmen bar ingress or egress of officials from their places of work or residence to force the latter to redress some real or imaginary grievance. 'Gherao' is defined as "wrongful confinement". Gheraos are new tactics of coercion and intimidation adopted by a section of labour in resolving industrial disputes. Irrespective of the undesirability of Gheraos the movement has entered a new phase, particularly in West Bengal, where people in charge of establishments in which labour trouble is taking place, are being surrounded by their employees as they go out on business or for other purposes. Gherao is an act of incarceration by a group of individuals, usually employees, of their employer or his executives for registering protest against some of his actions or to seek redress of some grievances, to extort some concessions or to seek re-employment. It has

two sets of human elements, a large collection of men and a lone or a few defenders.

The nature of Gheraos may best be seen from the way it has been practised in a few cases. Officers of companies belonging to the management cadre have been locked up in their office cabins and prevented from going home at the close of office. Their attempts to do so have been prevented by physical force. Their communication with the outside world has been cut-off and so also the access of friends.

In some cases, food and even the facility of visiting the toilet has been denied for some days. Apart from the implicit threat of violence, actual violence has been used in some cases. All this has been accomplished by large groups of workers acting in concert and after deliberation and under the guidance and instruction of their beloved leaders.

An eminent philosopher has defined a happy man as one who has got the work that he loved. In an industrial age, the progress of the country depends upon the wealth produced by our factories. If raw materials, capital and machinery are important for production, the efficiency of labour is the most vital element in raising the industrial output of the country. Because without well guided and disciplined human relations an industry is like a crowd without a purpose.

Ever since the advent of the industrial revolution, Capitalists have been trying to squeeze the maximum energy out of the labourers in exchange of the minimum of money. The capitalist was concerned only with his profit. He did not care for the health of the worker. He did not bother about his housing and education, safety and security. As a result the atmosphere in an industrial area used to be exceedingly unhealthy and depressing.

The old capitalism however has undergone change. Though the conditions of labour have shown marked improvement since independence, we find an increasing incidence of industrial unrest, in the country and labour pressing for more wages, bonus, provident fund and similar legitimate or exorbitant demands and also demands for various amenities.

The reasons for this are partly the difficulties experienced by labour as a result of the rising cost of living and also the general practice of the leaders of the trade union movement to pitch their demands at unreasonably high levels, often ignoring the larger interests of the country.

Employers also try to take undue advantage of the labourer's weak and unorganised position and the prevailing acuteness of the unemployment situation.

In ascertaining the causes of conflicts which may culminate in a Ghrao, several factors have to be taken into account:—

The economic factor is a compelling one in the perspective of present day increasingly rising cost of living. Rise in wages, upgradation and revision of pay scales, we know from experience, can offer no effective remedy. This therefore remains a potential field for conflict and may lead to a situation which may lead to a Ghrao.

Social factors work in a subtle manner and their workings have hardly anything to do with

what is called industrial disputes. The clamour for employment of local boys in an industry has often given rise to serious troubles in industry and in many cases the local elements resorted to Ghraos on the executives for enforcement of their demand for employment.

The impact of political considerations, the political complexion of the unions, interests of the political parties and changes of government are of considerable importance. Very often the political mask covers deep-seated causes. Ghraos in an industry have a political overtone whatever may be the basic cause of a conflict.

In spite of having so many lawful weapons in the armoury of labour, it is the psychological factor that is at work when workmen resort to Ghraos. In many cases the workers seem to persuade themselves that they can go to any length in pressing their demands, real or imaginary, and that a big political party and the government will condone whatever they take upon themselves to do.

Last but not the least is the trade union factor, i. e. interunion rivalries and the political affiliations of the unions. The inevitable association of politics with trade union activities poses grave problems of which Ghrao is an off-shoot.

Ghrao has become a household word in industrial life. But it is doubtful what blessings it has so far brought to its devotees. It has been claimed that it is a weapon in the hands of labour. If that be so it is a destructive weapon and may prove to be a boomerang in that employment potential is bound to shrink in a shaken and scared industrial field.

Industry is run both by the employers and the workers, not only for the benefit of the employer or the worker, but in the interest of the society as a whole.

Gherao and illegal occupation of premises ultimately lead to stoppage of production, to shortages, rise in prices, and suffering for the people at large. The workers have to realise that a single day's shortages mean suffering to society as a whole. Gheraos and illegal occupation of premises and other methods are causing hardship not only to the community due to dislocation of production in industries, but they also damage the trade unions themselves because, industrial relations based on mutuality has for the time being, almost disappeared, leaving in its place only bitterness and mistrust between union and management and a lot of bickering and sharp rivalries between the union themselves.

It therefore, becomes the duty of the workers and the management to see that they produce goods and services at reasonably cheap and economic cost, so that the consumer does not suffer. According to Taylor, father of scientific management, "Both worker and management should remember that every producer is a consumer. So there should not be rise in price by stoppage of production which will have its relative repercussion on other commodities".

Because the whole machinery of production belongs to society, not to an individual—One may have money, the other may have man-power—both have to be used for the benefit of society. Gandhiji's Economic conception of society was that all productive machinery, whether agricultural or industrial, ultimately belonged to the community as a whole. So any violation against society is a crime and danger to democracy.

The cult of violence and coercion due to gheraos in West Bengal has done much damage to the economic, industrial and social life of the state. West Bengal at present (both under U. F. and President's rule) presents a

picture of all round stagnation. Its declining industrial importance, loss of millions of man hours in production, closure of hundreds of factories, fast growing unemployment and complete disruption of education are eroding its economic and social structure. The people are caught in a web of frustration and discontent. People seem to have lost all faith in the ability of the guardians of law to come to their rescue when needed. Unless the sense of personal security is restored people cannot put their heart and energy in the pursuit of their avocations.

The 26th session of the tripartite standing labour committee held in New Delhi, after a heated debate between the representative of employers and unions adopted a resolution on May 10, 1967 expressing disapproval of coercive and intimidating tactics including Gheraos (wrongful confinement) in resolving industrial disputes. The AITUC representative did not agree and withdrew from the meeting. The UTUC representative objected to the word gherao, but not to the use of the words "wrongful confinement".

The resolution was adopted at the insistence of Mr. Naval Tata who, after a day's discussion announced angrily that "an injustice has been done to us".

While representative of the employers repeatedly urged that a formal denunciation of the "Gherao be made by the committee, a section of the union leaders, led by Mr. S. A. Dange (AITUC) determinedly resisted in vain that "murderous assaults" by management be also bracketed with the coercion tactics mentioned in the resolution. Mr. Dange maintained till the end that the "Gherao" was as legitimate a weapon as the strike.

In deference to the wishes of labour representatives, it was mentioned in the resolution that all tripartite agreements reached at labour conferences should be implemented. The labour representatives pointed out that

the present labour unrest was due to tardy implementation of awards on disputes and agreements between labour and management.

Mr. Naval Tata was of the opinion that a stage might come when employers too would take to gherao and lockup trade union leaders who did not fulfil their obligations. He did not agree with the view that non-implementation of awards was the cause of Gheraos and warned the government that it would have similar problems in its own undertakings if Gheraos were not checked in time.

Mr. Dange, on the otherhand, blamed employers and the government for the labour unrest. The policy of retrenchment, closure and dismissals, non-implementation of awards, denial of bonus to workers in both Public and Private Sectors and rising prices were responsible for the crisis in the economy. Gheraos, he held, were a minor problem compared with these, and the All India Trade Union Congress was in favour of Gheraos over unfulfilled demands of industrial workers. He declared that all attempts to declare Gheraos illegal would be resisted.

Mr. Subodh Banerjee, then the West Bengal Labour Minister, said it was the "moral right of workers" to agitate in support of their genuine demands. He said, out of 152 Gheraos in March, April of 1967, 44 were the "inevitable" outcome of the policy of retrenchment, lay offs and dismissals pursued by the managements. Another important factor was non-implementation of wage boards recommendations. In some cases workers had not been paid their wages for six months and labour disputes had been hanging fire in courts for 12 Years.

Mr. Banerjee agreed that he was a party to the resolutions disapproving of Gheraos, but he claimed that such a resolution was "Practically meaningless."

The Gheraos phenomena has since spread

in Public Sector undertakings in West Bengal. Formerly the West Bengal Industries and Commerce Minister Mr. Sushil Kumar Dhara had expressed his "Grave Concern" over growing incidence of 'Gheraos' in his state.

Mr. M. Chenna Reddy, formerly the Union Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel, said that the situation arising out of Gheraos by workers posed "a threat not only to our economic well being but also to our continuance as a stable society."

Forecasting the results of Gheraos he warned: "These are invitation to lawlessness and anarchy and there is such a thin line between Gherao and violence that it is difficult to say where one begins and where the other ends. The sooner we realise this fact, the better for us. Otherwise not only our Industrial Production will go down but also the civilized methods of negotiation will give way to chaos."

At a meeting of the West Bengal Engineering Workers' on 14th May, 1967, the then West Bengal Labour Minister stated: "The present labour policy of the West Bengal Government was a new thing in a progressive direction because by removing Police intervention from labour management disputes, the government had given the worker the opportunity of confronting the capitalist in a forthright manner."

The Labour Minister, Government of West Bengal is reported to have stated that capitalism vouchsafed for the exploitation of workers and no real benefit could accrue to them if this social frame work continued. The change over to socialism was possible only through revolution by which he meant a rapid qualitative change. He, however, stated that he was not pleading for chaos. But any legitimate movement of the workers, free from excesses and adventurism, would be supported because

the government wanted to give proper direction to the trade union movement.

At the inaugural function of the 2 day annual general conference of the Bihar state UTUC at Patna on 25th June, 1967 the then West Bengal Labour Minister said: "we have to work under the twin limitations of a capitalistic society and that of the constitution, and working under these limitations we cannot bring about basic and fundamental changes in society. We have come to office through elections and election is not revolution." He added that a section of the people was allergic to the word "revolution". Revolution did not mean blood shed or chaos but it only meant fundamental changes and "one need not be so allergic about it."

The labour minister, Assam, stated at the standing labour committee meeting on 10th May, 1967, "Gherao is the most un-scientific and unlawful labour movement."

The chief minister, Kerala, told the Kerala legislative Assembly on 22nd June that in the view of his Government, obstructions of any kind arising out of labour disputes were unlawful and that instructions had been issued to those concerned to deal with such cases accordingly. He added that all sections of the people had the right to hold peaceful demonstrations and agitations to ventilate their grievances, but if such demonstrations turned out to be obstructive, such obstruction was against the law and steps should be taken to remove the obstructions.

The danger of Gheraos triggering off widespread lawlessness was highlighted in a resolution adopted by the congress working committee on 22nd June, 1967 in Delhi.

According to Mr. Chavan, Gherao is illegal".- Mr. Chavan told the Lok Sabha on May 29, 1967 that his recent remarks in Calcutta on Gheraos and his appeal to employers, employees and the State Government

to maintain industrial production could not be regarded as an interference in the affairs of the West Bengal Government.

In fact, the Central Govt. would be failing in the duties and obligations imposed on it by the constitution, if it did not make such an appeal and offer such an advice in the face of the large number of Gheraos.

Describing Gherao as a cognizable offence, Mr. Chavan said there had been a very large number of Gheraos since the beginning of March 1967 mostly in West Bengal.

In certain other states also, there had been a few cases of Gheraos. These had aroused wide spread concern in the mind and caused misgivings and anxiety to the Central Government.

The Home Minister added that Gheraos involved wrongful confinement of supervisory, managerial or other personnel and in many cases also criminal trespass. Some of the Gheraos in West Bengal had occurred in Central Government establishments and undertakings, departmental or corporate.

Mr. Chavan said it had come to the Government's notice that certain political parties and trade unions had been instigating workers to take the law into their own hands instead of using the statutory machinery provided by labour laws for redress of grievances. It had also come to the government's notice that the Police were unable, for various reasons, to afford protections to citizens subjected to Gheraos even though it was their statutory duty to afford such protection.

The developments had aroused wide spread concern in the public mind and caused misgivings and anxiety to the Central Government; Mr. Chavan added.

In law, Gherao originates in a conspiracy to commit a number of offences and the actual commission of the offences are by unlawful assemblies. The offences involved are of

wrongful restraint and confinement, assault and use of criminal force in an attempt to wrongfully confine a person or persons and membership of an unlawful assembly. The code of criminal procedure declares that all these offences are cognizable offences, namely, offences which the Police not only may but is bound to investigate without any magisterial order or authority and they not only may but must arrest the offenders and send them up for trial before the courts of competent jurisdiction.

If there is a statutory obligation cast on the police, no person has the right or authority to advise or direct the police not to discharge this obligation without such person becoming an offender himself and rendering himself liable to prosecution and punishment. The fact that the person concerned happens to be a state minister neither makes a difference nor constitutes a defence.

According to a Press Report, Sri Subodh Banerjee, the one time labour minister of West Bengal, in an informal talk to newsmen said that if the workers did not get their just demands they themselves would decide what form of agitation they would resort to and this could well be a Gherao. He admitted that the government was not discouraging them but was not encouraging them either. Obviously, if the government publicly declares that it does not discourage unlawful activities, the declaration itself constitutes not only encouragement but abetment. The important point, however, is that the minister confessed that the police had been asked not to interfere in such situations. According to him, the interference would be illegal and immoral.

If this report was true, the ministers of the West Bengal Government collectively and individually were offenders in as much as they had directed a disobedience of the

mandatory directions contained in the law of this country.

The activities of organised labour are not exempt from the law of crimes and the law of torts except to the extent provided for in sections 17 and 18 of the Trade Union Act of 1926.

The first of these sections leaves nobody in doubt that labour can unite and use its collective bargaining power with capital for furthering its legitimate interests, but the means employed cannot under any circumstances, include an agreement to commit an offence. The law of criminal conspiracy will be applicable to such agreements.

The second of these sections legalises inducement of others to break contracts of employment and interference with trade, business or employment and the liberty of contract in contemplation or furtherance of trade disputes. The question, however, is : "Does it also sanction use of intimidation or violence or both ?"

The code for Discipline in Industry States "Management and union agree that neither party will have recourse to coercion, intimidation, victimisation or go-slow".

A special Bench of the Calcutta High Court with the Chief Justice as the Chairman, will decide 22 writ petitions under Article 226 of the constitution for declaring Gheraos illegal

An Important decision in the Jay Engineering "Gherao Case" was delivered on September 29, 1967 by a special bench of the Calcutta High Court. The case arose out of an application made by the company under Article 226 of the constitution complaining of wrongful confinement and restraint, trespass and other unlawful acts by its workmen and challenging the propriety of State Government's notorious circulars of March 27, 1967 and June 12 1967 which directed the adminis-

tration and the police not to interfere in "Gherao" cases without obtaining instructions from the labour minister,

The Chief Justice Mr. D. N. Sinha, presiding over the special bench said:

"All workmen guilty of wrongfully, restraining any person belonging to the Management or wrongfully confining him during a Gherao, are guilty under section 339 or 340 I. P. C. and have committed cognizable offences for which they are liable to be arrested without warrant and punishable with imprisonment and fine". He further said that the labour minister has no power or authority under the law to give directions to the police before taking action, whether such an offence has been committed or is said to have been committed. The action the police or magistrates shall take under such procedure cannot be altered or supplemented or varied. Striking down the two Government circulars of March 27 and June 12 as "inoperative" and calling on the executive authorities not to give effect to them, the Chief Justice said :

Once the laws are made, neither the Governor, not the Cabinet, not the Ministers, nor any subordinate executive authority has the power to add in or detract from its contents, to interfere with its working or to effect any discretionary Power given under it unless such power is clearly granted under the constitution or the laws"

Turning to the duty of the police, the Chief Justice said :—

"Inaction on the part of the police who are the guardians of law and orders is reprehensible when complaint of the commission of a criminal offence is made it is not open to the police to act or not to act according to their will and arbitrarily".

The above judgement of the special bench of the Calcutta High Court has struck a power-

ful blow for the Principle of "rule of law" which lies at the foundations of democratic Govts.

It is hoped that the menace of "Gheraos" which appeared to thrive in West Bengali on the belief that normal police protection will not be readily available to victims of "Gheraos", will now abate.

It is claimed, and I think Sri Dange claimed it as far back in 1967, that Gherao is the constitutional right of labour.

The Fundamental Rights chapter of the Constitution mentions no such right.

1) The right to picket in the sense of the right of labour to publicise the facts of a labour dispute may well be considered as a part of the freedom of speech and expression, but where picketing is attended by violence, it is both illegal and unconstitutional.

2) The right to strike may well be an element of personal liberty in the sense of liberty not to work, but where the exercise of the liberty involves breaches of contract, it is subject to regulation by the state in the interests of public order.

The provisions of the Industrial disputes Act, under which strikes can be declared illegal in certain circumstances, have been held to be valid and constitutional by the Supreme Court. In any event, the liberty not to work does not and cannot include the right to use force against others who wish to work.

To say that Gherao is either lawful or constitutional is to mislead the workers and the people. The West Bengal Labour Minister appeared to be little more well informed about the law and knowing that the Gherao was not lawful, he proceeded to draw a distinction between "legitimate" and "lawful". Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary uses the two words as synonymous but the communists have a vocabulary of their own.

To woo the capitalists on the one hand to

open up more industries and invest a little more in the state and on the other hand to insist that the more militant forms of workers' struggles like gherao will continue is a bit of tight rope walking which cannot last long.

All managers are not angels. Some of them can be pretty nasty. But they happen to be a necessary evil in production as it is organised now. Unless an alternative form to do away with their role is found and shown to be effective, they have to be tolerated at least so long as a unit is to run. Beyond a certain stage of uncertainty, however, they can lose their capacity to manage, caught as they are between the cross-fire of the owners who must have their profits at all costs and the workers who refuse to be cheated any longer of their rights. The results are a gradual loss of tone of the industrial units.

Gherao may rightly be called a workers' weapon in certain cases only. It can be such a weapon of limited offensive power and be used

against nasty managers who could not be made to behave in any other way.

If ministers not only condone, but direct an open defiance of legal and constitutional duties and sanction lawless activities of law enforcement officers, intelligent people must strive to end the dirty business.

Crime is contagious and if government becomes a law breaker it breeds contempt for the law ; it invites every man to become a law unto himself, it invites anarchy. According to the marxian dialectics force may be the midwife of progress, but force also breeds chaos. Chaos breeds dictators and dictators are a denial of human rights.

It is a challenge to the *modus operandi* of the existing administration. Gheraos are a caricature of revolutions, which if allowed to operate unchecked will degenerate into hooliganism. Old formulas no longer seem to work. Constructive and creative evolution, not revolution is needed to meet the many challenges of tomorrow.



TAGORE'S GITANJALI

P. M. GEORGE

Like Wordsworth's attitude to Nature, Rabirānath Tagore's muse has passed through three different phases. As can be expected of a Tagore, his religious experience and poetical life traversed the same identical path of development, although he did not realise this for a considerable time:

"My religious life has followed the same mysterious line of growth as has my poetical life. Somehow they are wedded to each other and though their betrothal had a long period of ceremony it was kept secret to me"¹.

As Tagore himself has admitted, "The first stage of my realization was through my feeling of intimacy with nature." He came into contact with separate aspects of nature and the different contacts became sources of inspiration for different poems, which apparently had no connecting link between them. In all movements of nature, Tagore however, saw the manifestation of a living principle, which works in and through nature. This principle soon became manifest to him as an all-pervading spirit. This awareness of the presence of an all pervading principle in nature gave rise to Tagore's concept of pantheism. But his pantheism has a characteristic of its own. The abiding principle which pervades nature and gives it unity is constantly changing its form. At a single point of time, it appears in a diversity of colours and forms. The diversity of this immanent principle working in nature is the theme of the poem given below:

"What a variety of shapes Thou assumest
in the world,

Oh, Thou of diverse forms.

Thou shinest in the blue sky in myriad lights,

In maddening thrills thou rejoicest in
flower-groves.

Thou traversest heaven and earth in fleeting
feet

Oh swift moving one."²

After realising the unity of nature and the diversity of the supreme principle, his heart yearned for a deeper contact with this reality. "The supreme principle, according to Tagore is capable of two functions simultaneously. It sustains the universe by making its different parts work in co-ordinated harmony and conform to laws. On a different plane it manifests itself as pure joy. Here it dons the garb of personality and is ready to reciprocate the love of individual human beings."³ In every movement and gesture of nature he reads the yearning of the personal God to shower love on him. We get the history of the second chapter of Tagore's poetic life, in which realization of God as the beloved is the dominant theme, in *Gitanjali*, *Gitimalya*, and *Gitali*.

Tagore, however, was not satisfied by establishing contact with his beloved. He sought a form of religious practice, which would offer equal satisfaction to all his fundamental urges—urge for work, for knowledge, and for love, Asceticism, which stifles all faculties, was unpalatable to Tagore :

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.
I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand
bonds of delight.

.....
No, I will never shut the doors of my
senses. The delights of sight and hearing
and touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumina-

nation of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love."⁴

The Vaisnava religion, which places emphasis exclusively on the devotional aspect, did not satisfy him because it could not offer scope for the other faculties of man. More than that, the devotee misses his God in the proliferation of the rituals. So he said :

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads ! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut ? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee !"

In his view, love of man, service to man, disinterested activities conducive to the general welfare of man kind thought that promotes the welfare of man are the best ways to serve God and love him :

"For this reason, worship of God in the world of man through all our daily activities, whether insignificant or not is the only true form of worship."⁵ When this realisation came to Tagore, he discarded the traditional form of worship previously adopted by him and felt a strong urge for disinterested service to man as the only rational form of worship acceptable to him. Such a conception of religion discards silent meditation and ritual worship in the temple :

"Where Thou art in union with the multitude
I shall seek union with Thee.
Neither in the forest, nor in solitude
Nor inside my own mind,
But where Thou art the beloved of every body
Thou art my beloved too."

"Come out of thy meditations and
leave aside thy flowers and incense !
What harm is there if thy clothes
become tattered and stained ? Meet
him and stand by him in toil and in
sweat of thy brow."⁶

Tagore avoided the Congress, but he took the lead in many of the characteristic develop-

ments of the Swadeshi Movement : and his songs set the students astir. In 1905, he joined the newly formed National Council of Education, for which he delivered a course of lectures. He helped to found national educational institutions and co-operative societies. He spread the use of weaving-loom and lost a good deal of money over them. He was in the Government list of 'suspects' and was watched. The poet told Edward Thompson, how one day, a friend of his, went to the Jorasanko police station, to give notice of a theft. While he was there, a constable came in, and reported that 'Rabindranath Tagore Class number 12' had come to Calcutta from Bolpur. The poet's political activities ceased suddenly. He became disillusioned with the national movement as it did not pay much attention to social reform. While bonfires of foreign cloth drew mobs of excited spectators and participators, no attempt was made to remove the stigma of untouchability. More than that, the narrow and aggressive lines on which the whole movement was worked out, making patriotism an end unto itself and efficiency the goal of all activities, did not harmonize with the poet's growing spiritual life. Very soon he resigned his membership of all public committees and bodies and retired to Shantiniketan. This retirement took place in 1907, and it was then that most of the longer Gitanjali poems were written. Those who were at Shantiniketan remembered the period, and the poet's wandering form in the moonlit mango groves. He slept very little, often only three or four hours ; he rose at about four O'clock, and usually retired at ten. Moonlight called him abroad always ; and when moonlight coincided with a phase of lyrical excitement, he would become 'beside himself', in veritable ecstasy, and spend his nights drifting among the trees.

I feel that disillusionment with the national

movement—with human activities—turned Tagore's attention more intensely towards God and brought about his entry into the second stage of the development of his poetic thought. His heart bankered for union with the pervasive principle of nature, through a more intimate form of contact, which is love. We can trace two distinct phases constituting this stage of his poetic life. As soon as he realises that the supreme principle which works in nature is also capable of reciprocating love on the emotional plane, his mind crosses the threshold and from a poet of nature revelling in its beauty, he becomes a poet of God, yearning for union with Him. After a good deal of suffering and sorrow, there ultimately comes a day when the poet finds to his utter delight that he has been able to establish contact with his beloved. The ecstasy of this union thrills his heart. This forms the second and last phase of this stage of his poetic life.

The poet, who is eager for union with God, realises his unworthiness and hesitates. How can there be a meeting on an equal footing between an insignificant person like him and the King of kings ?

"I know thee as my God and stand apart—
I do not know thee as my own and come
closer. I know thee as my father and
bow before thy feet—I do not grasp thy
hand as my friend's."⁷

I stand not where thou comest down and
ownest thyself as mine, there to clasp thee
to my heart and take thee as my
comrade."⁸

He declares his intention to drive away untruths and evils from his heart, in order to become worthy of union with God :

"Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my
body pure,.....
I shall ever try to keep all untruths out
from my thoughts,.....

I shall ever try to drive all evils away from
my heart and keep my love in flower....."⁹

He even gets rid of his ornaments :

"My song has put off her adornments. She
has no pride of dress and decoration. Or-
naments would mar our union ; they would
come between thee and me ; their jingling
would drown thy whispers."¹⁰

Fortunately God is also anxious for union
with him and lends a helping hand :

"Day by day thou art making me worthy of
thy full acceptance by refusing me ever and
anon, saving me from perils of weak, un-
certain desire."¹¹

Still, there is delay, and sorrow overwhelms
his heart. He sees the pang of separation
which afflicts him, reflected in nature around
him. The whole of nature appears to share
his sorrow."

"It is the pang of separation that spreads
throughout the world and gives birth
to shapes innumerable in the infinite sky.

It is this sorrow of separation that
gazes in silence all night from star to star
and becomes lyric among resulting leaves
in rainy darkness of July."¹²

This agony of separation becomes unbea-
rable on a rainy day :

"Clouds heap upon clouds and it darkens.
Ah, love, why dost thou let me wait
outside at the door all alone ?

.....
If thou showest me not thy face, if
thou leavest me wholly aside, I know not
how I am to pass these long, rainy hours."¹³

However, the poet is certain "The morn-
ing will surely come, the darkness will vanish,
and thy voice pour down in golden streams
breaking through the sky."¹⁴

The happy union takes place and a long
series of poems describe the ecstasy experienc-
ed by the poet :

"Light, my light, the world-filling light,
the eye-kissing light, heart-sweetening

light

Ah, the light dances, my darling, at the centre of my life ; the light strikes, my darling, the chords of my love ; the sky opens, the wind runs wild, laughter passes over the earth.¹⁵

God was all the time enthroned in his heart, but he had failed to detect Him, because he had looked for Him outside :

"Thou didst remain hidden in my heart and I failed to see Thee.

I had looked for Thee outside
And not inside my heart."

But God was present outside as well. How did his eyes miss Him ?

"How couldst Thou be screened away from my eyes,

In this sky where light has free access ?

How couldst Thou hide thyself
In the grab of emptiness—

This game of thine rings out
in pain,

In my heart."

The yearning for God the beloved, the pangs of separation from him and the joy of union find a very prominent place in Vaisnava literature as well. While in Vaisnava literature, God is the dominant partner and the devotee (Radha) is the favoured party, in Tagore the relationship between God and the devotee is conceived as a relationship of love between two persons on a footing of absolute equality. The King of kings humbles himself to capture the heart of the poet : "And for this, thou who art the King of kings, hast decked thyself in beauty to captivate my heart."

"It would be churlish to find the collection monotonous ; nevertheless, the eager delight with which one enters this gentle paradise flags at intervals, before one gets to the end of its hundred and fifty nine poems.....

But the best fifty of these songs are outstanding in their beauty and appeal, and make a

far richer book than the whole."¹⁶ Probably the impression of monotony comes from the fact that the book gets its effect out of the merest handful of illustrations. Rarely was fine poetry made out of less variety ; rain and cloud, wind and rising river, boatmen, lamps, temples and gongs, flutes and vines, birds flying, home at dusk, traveller tired or with provisions exhausted, flowers opening and falling. W. B. Yeats speak of these songs as being 'as much the growth of the common soil as the grass and rushes'. Though Tagore was not a close observer of nature, *Gitanjali* is a book whose every poem conveys the impression of having been composed in the open air, or before open windows. Above all this book, born out of disillusionment, brings us very close to a religious experience which is universal yet intensely individual. This has spoken to countless hearts, has been a revelation of what they felt and experienced, and its future seems to be certain. As W. B. Yeats has remarked : "as the generations pass travellers will hum them on the highway and men rowing upon rivers. Lovers, while they await one another, shall find, in murmuring them, this love of God a magic gulf where their own more bitter passion may bathe and renew its youth."

1. Preface to the Religion of Man.
2. Chitra.
3. How Thou Singest My Master.
Hiranmay Banerjee.
4. *Gitanjali*, No. 73.
5. *Gitanjali*, No. 11.
6. Dharma.
7. *Gitanjali*, No. 11.
8. *Gitanjali*, No. 77.
9. *Gitanjali*, No. 47.
10. *Gitanjali*, No. 7.
11. *Gitanjali*, No. 14.
12. *Gitanjali*, No. 84.
13. *Gitanjali*, No. 18.
14. *Gitanjali*, No. 19.
15. *Gitanjali*, No. 57.
16. Rabindranath Tagore Poet and D.
by Edward Thompson.

'END OF CULTURE'
NALINI KUMAR BHADRA



Artist—KACHI CHAKRABARTY

Political unrest and economic crisis for last few years have inevitably come as a th-blow to our National Culture and ition. Our younger generation on whom ends the future of our motherland have many cases become instrumental in the of so-called careerist political and great damage has been and is being done to our educational institutions air violent and indiscriminate atrocities want of farsightedness of our top-ranking — — — — — their followers the very foundation

of our education and culture is going to be shattered.

The artist has visualised the imminent ruin of our culture and his conception and mode of expression is convincingly realistic. The two human faces respectively represent the original natural form and the present deformed conditions of our culture, the end of which is gradually drawing nigh. The face has now become ugly and looks horrible. It fills our mind with terror and uncanny feeling. This painting realistically presents before us the inevitability of a great national catastrophe.



DOES INDIAN PHILOSOPHY REST ON A MISTAKE?

Dr. A. RAMAMURTY

This is in no way a rejoinder to an article Published in the September issue of the Modern Review by A. Lakshamana Rao. Taking a comprehensive view of the whole problem, it only presents a view point, fully based on facts that are there in Indian philosophical tradition. His paper, in its own way challenges the validity of the concept of Indian philosophy, and I am not impelled in any way to take a defensive view of Indian philosophy.

The main charge against Indian philosophy is its association with revelation. While Jaina and Bauddha philosophies are based on the revealed knowledge of their founders, the rest of the systems of Indian philosophy, with the sole exception of Carvaka philosophy, have invoked a common revelation that is, the Hindu scriptures. Because of their commitment to, or dependence on revelation, what they could achieve at best was an acceptable presentation, in a seemingly rational manner, of the revealed dogmas; but not an independent and rational understanding of the problems of philosophy. Consequently, the whole of Indian philosophy becomes intelligible and gains its significance, not in terms of natural reason, but in terms of revelation. The thought presented in the various systems of Indian philosophy is basically theological and mystical, but not philosophical; philosophy proper is strange to it. As systems of religious philosophy, their value lies in invoking religious consciousness in man, for their avowed purpose is spiritual liberation or 'Moksha'. Therefore, the true and sincere motive of philosophy to grapple with the problems of reality by pursuing an independent and rational inquiry, and also the full employment of

unfettered and self-conscious human reason are lacking in Indian thought, to a degree that is characteristic of true philosophy, if not completely absent.

The purpose of the present study is to understand, whether Indian philosophers, in following the lead of scriptures, have stumbled themselves in a predicament from whence there is no way out for a healthy growth of philosophy in India, or have made any substantial contribution to the advancement of it, despite their commitment to tradition. The problems that naturally arise in this connection are: whether knowing the conclusions in advance, which they have accepted from revelation on faith, they only struggled to justify or rather to fortify them with their peculiar ways of argumentation; whether they made any sincere attempt to construct philosophy creatively on the basis of reason. In other words, how far, realising the real dignity and sovereignty of human reason, they made full and unbiased use of it in their philosophical inquiries. Is Indian philosophy then only a futile exercise in proving; for the sake proof, the sacred dogmas of revelation. Unless these problems are discussed with full attention they deserve, the main issue cannot be decided. To understand these, more than anything else, an historical perspective is needed,

Although there is not a single universally acceptable definition of philosophy, still those who are concerned with it agree that it is a systematic and independent inquiry, based on natural reason, into the real nature, and ultimate meaning of the things experienced. Following a method of free inquiry it may try, either to interpret the whole of human experi-

ence coherently to arrive at a comprehensive view of the things interpreted, or to analyse and evaluate critically the facts of experience with a purpose to know thereby the ultimate reality of things. The goal of philosophy is thus to attain objective and universal knowledge of Reality which it tries to present cogently in the form of ideas or in pure thought forms. Therefore; any and every rational activity of man is not philosophy, if such an activity is not directed towards an understanding of the problems of reality, and conversely, any search for truth is not philosophy if it does not prove to be rational and objective.

Religion also pursues the same ideal as philosophy, but in accordance with its purpose of God-realisation or salvation, it adopts different methods and expresses its conclusions in different forms. Although reason is to be found in the religious doctrines it is not explicit and self-conscious, rather it is clothed in myths and fables, as the primary function of religious knowledge is to invoke human feelings and to develop attitudes. In the earliest stages of religion, man has conceived of god or gods, in an anthropomorphic way, that may respond to his supplications and help solving his problems, both worldly and otherworldly. He also conceived an ideal of salvation which mainly meant for him the preservation of soul in its pure form in an unknown world of perfection. In such a religious search for truth, as man was guided by his personal feelings and aspirations, he consciously or unconsciously projected his own feelings and shortcomings into his conceptions of God, liberation etc. With the progressive unfolding of human reason, which struggles to become self-critical, man could realise the anthropomorphic nature of gods he conceived, and started discriminating between what was his creation or projection and what really exists in itself. In that search for objective

truth, many earlier notions of reality were rejected and more rational ones were conceived. In this evolutionary process of human thought, the consistent ambition of man has been to transcend his subjective limitations in understanding the problems of reality and to become aware of an objective and all comprehensive reality. As a result, he has become self-conscious and critical of his ways of understanding, and reality is viewed in all its dimensions. Such a self-critical and objective approach which is interested not in the immediate problems of man, but in the fundamental and more meaningful problems of reality marks the beginning of philosophy.

The development of every philosophical tradition can be traced back to its mythological and religious origins. Every philosophy is born into a tradition and derives much from it, whether the fact is acknowledged or not. No philosopher has ever constructed his system of philosophy without being inspired or influenced by the then available tradition. Tradition acts as a challenge and different philosophers have tried to respond to it creatively in their own way. How far this has hampered the growth of free thinking and philosophy? In accepting the challenges of tradition, if the philosophers have behaved dogmatically, in that what they attempted was only to transmit the tradition in terms acceptable to reason, or to make it more explicit, they can be described as unphilosophical and their thought as unprogressive. In that event there would have been no advancement in philosophy, except periodic re-presentation of tradition in more and more acceptable forms. But, as history of philosophy amply demonstrates, what every philosopher wanted was to create something new and perfect, which is an improvement over the past. Each philosopher, in his own way, tried to transcend the limitations of the existing tradition, by way of

rejecting what was found to be rationally wanting in it and assimilating what was found valid in it into his own thought, or by way of modifying or qualifying it and in many cases by way of perfecting it. Thus traditions are not superseded ; they are transcended. No living tradition has ever remained the same throughout its existence. They are changing and growing, while their continuity is maintained. They are running streams and those that could not assimilate new ideas and adapt themselves to change have dried up.

The continuous development of the various philosophical traditions is a clear testimony to this process. Much of Greek philosophy owes its inspiration to early Greek religion. Plato's writings were a development and perfection over his forerunners, while Aristotle's philosophy was an advance over his master. Thus every system of Greek philosophy acquires its full significance in terms of the preceeding one, in that what was creatively constructed by one cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the previous thought. Similarly, modern Western philosophy has inherited many of its problems and insight from the writings of early Church Fathers and medieaval scholastic philosophers, who in their turn have derived much from Greek philosophy. Auguste Compt's remark that the modern metaphysics is merely a shadow cast by medieaval theology, though not completely true, is relevant in this context. This process of development has two aspects : polemical and constructive. Each philosopher critically evaluating the earlier systems has rejected what was found rationally wanting in them and adopted what was valid into his own thought. What was thus constructed by deriving was never the same as that from which it was derived. This growth is more pronounced and significant in modern times, because the modern philosophers have the

advantage of availing a rich domain of advanced scientific knowledge.

Now, turning to the problem of growth in Indian philosophy, it should be said that due to their superficial understanding of it, some are prone to see in it a static continuity and fail to appreciate its dynamic aspect. As it is true with all living traditions, change amidst continuity is also characteristic of Indian thought, notwithstanding a few occasional gaps in that process, particularly during the pre-modern period. Such gaps are in no way caused by an unphilosophical and dogmatic attitude of the Indian philosophers, but indicate a general lack of creativity at such periods. To recognise progress in Indian philosophy, no sympathy is needed on our part, but requires a capacity to penetrate through the outer expressions into the inner workings of it. The symbols and terminology employed in it mainly stand in the way. If undesirable emphasis is placed on these aspects, one may fail to comprehend the real workings of Indian philosophy.

Rigveda, which is the starting point of recorded philosophical tradition in India, is predominantly mythological and religious ; and the primary concern of those people seems to maintain their racial and cultural integrity against their enemies. To achieve that objective they freely invoked various gods, crudely conceived as the presiding or controlling deities of the various forces of nature. Amidst such struggles they have soon realised that such deities have no objective reality except in the minds of those that conceived them. Becoming sceptical of the gods they conceived, they started asking questions which are truly philosophical. "I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one all ignorant for sake of knowledge, what was that one who in the Unborn's image hath established and fixed firm these

worlds' six regions" (R. V., I, 164.6) "Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born and whence comes this creation? The gods are later than this world's creation. Who knows then whence it first came into being?" (R. V. X, 129.6) With growing disenchantment in the plurality of naturalistic gods, who do not seem to respond to their prayers, they sought to know that one source of principle which is the essence of everything that is experienced. "What was the tree, what wood in sooth produced it, from which they fashioned out the earth and heaven?" (R. V., X, 81.4)

In the Upanishads, the problem was conceived in all its magnitude and the various facets of it have come to be realised. At times the whole problem was re-stated in more radical terms. The Vedic phenomenon of warring gods has altogether disappeared or was relegated to the sphere of ignorance or relativity. We no longer find in the Upanishads, Indra and Varuna, dominating the mental horizon of those people. On the other hand, Vedically less significant and philosophically more valuable concepts of Brahman and Atman have come to occupy their full attention. Many rituals that were once believed to be efficacious were ignored or with a completely changed significance were adopted. There was no longer a quest for gods who can be prayed to fulfil the personal needs of the worshipper. Thus, the progressive freedom of Indian thought from its mythological and religious beginnings to a mature awareness of philosophic problems was now completely achieved. The quest was now to know the ultimate reality in itself and the various subjective notions of it were recognised to be relative. Freedom from subjective limitations in knowing the truth and the goal of achieving complete objectivity of thought are no less important to an Indian philosopher than to

his counterpart anywhere. This is the true significance of the concepts of 'Adhyasa' (superimposition) and 'Avidya' (ignorance) and the goal of philosophy is to transcend the limitations imposed by them in attaining objective knowledge of reality. These are the Indian equivalents of the modern concepts of 'conditioning' and 'relativity'. From the Upanishads to now, which is a continuous process of development, though the problem has remained basically the same, it has been stated and re-stated more and more clearly, and hitherto unknown facets of it have been envisaged.

Let us now discuss the crux of the problem. Having conceived the riddles of philosophy correctly, how they tried to solve them. In philosophy, it is not sufficient to formulate the problems clearly, though it is not less important, but the methods adopted to solve them is more important. The charge against Indian philosophy is more relevant to this aspect of it. Instead of attempting to solve the problems independently on the basis of reason, they resorted to revelation for solutions. This charge is also unfounded on facts as the following discussion makes it clear. The methods adopted by Indian philosophers in general, in so far as they were dealing with the problems of speculative philosophy are independent and rational. They treated reason with the dignity it deserves and fully appreciated the value of free inquiry. But, in the end they were compelled, again on rational grounds, to reject the whole approach as they found it ultimately unsatisfactory and not valid, in solving the basic problems of philosophy. Instead of ending in scepticism and landing in contradictions and antinomies which different systems of philosophy based on pure reason present, they tried to transcend philosophy, conceived as a speculative activity and

attempted to construct a meaningful one on the basis of intuitive insights of revelation. In that their values differ from the values of speculative philosophy. For them, nothing less than a direct awareness of reality in its complete objectivity is the goal of philosophy, while for many others it may be an intellectual understanding of reality, whether it is possible or not. This is the real significance of 'perfect knowledge.' The important point to be noted in this connection is that in so far as they handled the problems of speculative philosophy, they showed utmost independence, made full use of reason and followed the spirit of free inquiry. However, in conformity with their objective of attaining 'perfect knowledge' which they realised could not be achieved by following pure reason, they invoked revelation. Acceptance of revelation and subordinating reason to it are not done on sentimental grounds, than for philosophical reasons. Because of their firm commitment to truth, they were not disturbed in compromising reason for its attainment. If it is a question of compromise between reason and truth, Indian philosophers would prefer to compromise the former. Philosophy does not rest ultimately on the claims of reason. Its main concern is not to uphold dogmatically the sanctity of reason even when it is found to be wanting. If the main function of philosophy is not simply to uphold the claims of reason, but to know things correctly, there is no valid reason why it should resist to accept rich insights from whatever source they may come from.

No doubt, philosophy is different from mysticism. While the aim of philosophy is to attain an intellectual understanding of Reality, a mystic passionately craves for a direct experience of it. He is not so much interested in formulating intellectually plausible theories of reality, nor in demonstrating the

rationality and logical validity of his experience. His is mainly an approach of involvement. The concern of a philosopher, on the other hand, is to construct meaningful theories of reality which are logically sound and can be rationally demonstrated.

The office of reason is to analyse and evaluate critically the facts of experience or to interpret them with a view to discover the underlying principle or principles that govern them. In performing these, its functions are not cognitive, but are analytical and interpretative by supplying certain principles inherent in its nature. As such when reason becomes indifferent to facts of human experience, the conclusions based upon it turn to be empty. Thus understanding the nature of reason many modern philosophers are eager to rest their inquiries on sure facts offered by ever growing sciences, so that, their conclusions can be substantial and meaningful. Therefore, philosophy cannot be indifferent to facts of human experience without resulting in mere imagination.

The facts of experience should be critically examined before they are accepted or rejected. Philosophy should not arbitrarily reject some facts of human experience. It should not pre-judge any facts or treat some as untouchables. To be comprehensive in its inquiries, it should keep open its doors to all facts of human experience. Revolution is one such fact or at least points out to the possibilities of human experience, which many may not have realised, and for that reason philosophy should not be blind to such human possibilities. In so far as it offers valuable insights in understanding the problems of philosophy, its evidence should be carefully judged. On the other hand, if philosophy accepts revelation for reasons other than philosophical, it loses its distinction from theology. It is equally unphilosophical to reject it without ever

examining its philosophic worth. Revelation may not be meaningful in terms of empirical experience and hence in terms of human reason, but if by accepting it the latter can gain better significance, it should be accepted hypothetically like scientists who follow certain hypotheses when they can yield fruitful results. In accepting certain revealed dogmas, in so far as they are not anti-rational and do not contradict empirical experience, they can act as hypotheses for philosophy. So, in accepting them after a critical examination of their claims to truth, a philosopher does not commit any wrong. This was the exact predicament in which the Indian philosophers found themselves placed in their search for truth.

Indian philosophy has accepted revelation as one of the sources of valid knowledge, but not strictly speaking based its conclusions entirely on it. That is how the fact that though all the systems have accepted the authority of revelation they did not arrive at the same conclusions can be explained. On the contrary, if their conclusions remaining substantially the same, they only adopted different arguments all of them must be employing the latter to bring forth the same established truth of revelation. In fact, they have not invented reasons for justifying the truths of revelation, but only gave their reasons for accepting it. Their different conclusions, which provide a wide range of philosophical speculation, are primarily due to their different approaches and have substantially nothing to do with revelation. What follows is a brief historical resume of the different systems of Indian philosophy which can substantiate the above.

The so called revelation is not antagonistic to reason. On the contrary, it is much more rational than what many think of it. Because of their rational approach, Upanishadic thinkers could reject much of Vedic cosmo-

logy, metaphysics, religion and ethics. The scepticism of Vedic thinkers and their reliance on divine inspiration were to an extent given up by them, who believed in the possibility of attaining objective knowledge of Reality and showed much reliance on reflective thinking. The Vedic concepts like Brahman and Atman were so developed by them they have lost their original significance. Moreover, we find in the Upanishads the presentation of different view points on any important philosophic problem which were discussed before they were rejected and particular view point was accepted. The main problems of philosophy were thoroughly debated in seminars of learned people, wherein one was free to criticise the other's view point. This was later considered by Sankara as a form of reasoning. The logical particle 'therefore' which we find prefixed to important Upanishadic statements also shows their conclusive nature. These points cannot be elaborated further, as that is not our main purpose, but it is sufficient to note for the present purpose that revelation is not anti-rational though in it reason is transcended.

The systems like Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Sankhya have simply acknowledged the authority of scriptures. Nyaya is predominantly a school of logic which it developed independently. Vaisheshika and Sankhya metaphysics derived nothing from revelation. They are independent and rational constructions of philosophy. The metaphysical principles of these systems were rationally conceived and proved so that, their validity and intelligibility do not depend upon revelation. As such they were later criticised for not being faithful to revelation. Even Sankhya was considered by some to be heterodox or non-traditional. If they derived anything from revelation, it is to be found in their theologies. Thus, their acceptance of tradition, which seems to rest

on historical reasons, has not hampered their freedom of inquiry and their right to exercise reason.

Coming to systems which are more closely connected with revelation namely, Mimamsa and Vedanta, it can be observed that while Mimamsa philosophers, who are concerned mainly with finding out the ethical importance of the various Vedic rituals, have discussed the concept of revelation and its authority thoroughly. Vedanta philosophers have accepted what they considered as the cardinal teachings of revelation. They have rejected Karma Mimamsa, except a few epistemological conclusions of it, as they found it irrelevant to the real problems of philosophy. Besides, they have rejected from Vedas all that is contradictory to empirical. The few intuitive insights of revelation which they adopted were considered by them to be fruitful and ultimately valid in deciding the transcendental problems of philosophy. They followed reason to where it led them and when they have realised that thereby the basic problems of philosophy remain unsolved, they left off pure reason, accepted revelation and employed reason in the service of it. In doing so, they did not try to subvert reason because of their jealous commitment to revelation. Sankara could clearly envisage the claims of reason. He was aware of its supremacy, for he realised that the rejection of reason is itself based on reason. It should not be rejected because of its faulty use by some philosophers, for the possibility of its future perfection is always there. He also realised the efficiency of reason in achieving unity and cohesion of human thought, especially within the empirical sphere. Moreover, he was fully convinced that what was constructed on the basis of revelation could also be based on reason. But, the mutual contradictions into which speculative philosophy based on

pure reason lands, whereby showing that reason lacks finality of judgement when applied to transcendental problems of philosophy, and if applied results in unsubstantial conclusions, led him to the rejection of reason and acceptance of revelation, mainly for its experiential value. Precisely for these reasons, Descartes, the father of modern philosophy wanted to rest his philosophy on sure and certain facts of experience like 'cogito ergo sum'. Many of the above arguments may be valid against revelation also, but we are not here concerned with the validity of arguments as with their presence. Thus, to base their inquiries on sure grounds, so as to reach substantial conclusions, Vedanta philosophers have invoked revelation which, according to them, is the repository of intuitive and direct knowledge of reality.

Vedanta philosophy is a critique of revelation as much as it is a critique of pure reason. As such we find not one interpretation of it; but as many as its interpreters. The various commentaries and commentaries over commentaries exhibit an excellent zeal for philosophy and a capacity to philosophise. They leave behind such an impression of freedom which they could not have achieved if they never wanted to exercise their freedom of inquiry and simply wished to follow the original faithfully. If, in accepting revelation they only sought to rationalise it, there could have been no different systems, of Vedanta philosophy. Using reason and assimilating the various arguments of their opponents, they constructed substantially different systems. Thus, what Sankara presented was not completely there in revelation, for which he was later suspected as a crypto Buddhist. He, who could reject much of revelation as philosophically irrelevant, could have rejected it in total, had he not found it rationally irresistible to do so.

In modern times, what Radhakrishnan

accomplished is not a simple and modern version of ancient Indian philosophy. There is much in his writings of which he is the creative author. Aurobindo's philosophy cannot be fully comprehended without sufficient knowledge of Vedanta philosophy, but simply in terms of it, his philosophy cannot be understood. Gandhian doctrine of 'Ahimsa' was there in Indian tradition, but as developed by him it was something new and creative. I am precluding from the scope of the present study the growth of Jaina and Buddhist philosophies for reasons of space. Though the enlightening experience of Buddha is the primary source of inspiration for all the schools of Buddhist philosophy, the rich philosophical tradition they have built upon it is really stunning for its argumentative skill, conceptual analysis, dialectical reasoning and its grip over philosophical problems.

If we take specific concepts like Brahman and Atman, the pivotal concepts of Indian philosophy, the evolutionary process of growth based on reason is clearly discernible. The significance of these concepts has never remained the same from the time of their conception to now. These concepts in the course of their development have grown so rich in philosophical significance, it becomes difficult to trace their origins exactly and adequately. From a simple principle of prayer or the power inherent in it to an absolute and all comprehensive reality, and from a principle of life-breath to pure consciousness which is infinite and eternal, the continuous development of the concepts of Brahman and Atman respectively represents unmistakably the progressive evolution of Indian philosophy. For a fuller discussion of the problem of continuous growth of these and many other important concepts of Indian philosophy, one can refer to the works of J. Gonda, who after evaluating every bit of evidence found in Indian tradition has conclusively shown that "from an objective point of view there are many arguments for the fact that the Indian culture which is expressed and reflected by the uninterrupted literary production from the Rigveda onward is an

unmistakable continuum, which while transforming and rejuvenating itself has always been subject to a process of adaptation and assimilation."

Lastly, to conceive a purpose to philosophy, as the Indian philosophers did in conceiving 'Moksha', is not unphilosophical. Moksha as conceived in all the systems of Indian philosophy is not an ignorant person's emotional attitude towards an unknown, nor an attempt to escape from the deficiencies of human nature. It is to attain 'perfect knowledge' or to know the nature of ultimate reality in its complete objectivity. To know things as they are in themselves, but not as what they appear to us, or as conditioned by human peculiarities is to attain liberation. It is to liberate oneself from ignorance, that fragmentary and conditioned knowledge of things. If to cherish such an ideal is unphilosophical there can be no philosophy worth the name. Every philosopher wants to know truth, not in order to escape from his psychological needs or to satisfy them, but because he no longer wants to remain in the world of shadows. In conceiving a purpose—intellectual love of God—Spinoza does not cease to be a philosopher. Marx who set a purpose to his thought, that is to change the fate of the ways of human thinking is a philosopher. Because his thought has given rise to a political creed, as communism is the direct outcome of his philosophy, no one can deny the philosophical worth of his writings. One may not like communism, but one has no choice to dismiss Marx as unphilosophical. In India, all the systems of philosophy have not resulted in establishing religious traditions. There is no religion in the name of Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Sankhya.

To conclude, Indian philosophy is like a tree of which the fruit, the flower, the leaf etc., share the same essence and derive their nourishment from the same roots, and yet they are qualitatively different and represent growth, while organic continuity of the tree is maintained. It is a continuous and dynamic flow, and not a stagnant pool of ideas, into which many new streams of ideas have joined making it ever rich, while many old elements of it have dried up.

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

9

3) Jaffar Hossain was a graduate from Lahore, about 20 years, tough but thin and very intelligent. He ran away from India during the first World War (1914—18) along with Ahmad Hossain and several others to join Moulana Obeidulla Deobandhi in Kabul to fight for Indian Independence. He was interned by Ameer Habibulla in Afghanistan and was freed by Ameer Amanulla, along with the Moulana (in 1919). Jaffar took very active part in actual fighting against the British, under the then Commander-in-Chief of Afghanistan Nadir Khan, who later on became the Ameer. He was the most trusted lieutenant of the Moulana. He learnt Russian thoroughly and taught Urdu or Hindusthani to Com. Ricener, Asst. Foreign Secretary, while he was in Eastern University with me in Moscow. Com. Ricener was the father of the pretty wife of Com. Roskolnikov, the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul.

4). Dr. Noor Mohammad—from Hyderabad (Sind), a Medical Graduate from Bombay, age about 24 tall, fair, but of delicate health, with moustache. His father was a Hindu, and he was converted to Islam but was not a bigot—as it usually happens in such cases. A very sympathetic soul and a pleasant companion. He was nice to all. He was Court Physician in Kabul and also family physician of Ameer Amanullah. He was a good shot, and often a companion of the Ameer in his 'Sikhars' or hunting. A hot favourite of the Ameer and also a lady's man-chivalrous-in the families of the Ameer and high Afghan Court circles. He had with him money and after a few weeks

in Moscow, he went to Germany for further studies at his own expense, and came back to Moscow after one year of studies in Germany. He was in Moscow when I left that city (in 1924). He later on came back to India and then went back to Kabul again as a Court Physician. After Independence in 1947 of India and Pakistan, Dr. Noor Mahammad, had some difference with the Afghan Government and he came back to Karachi, Pakistan. I met his tall handsome son in Karachi in 1949, when I had gone there to attend the Asian Trade Union Convention. He was not married when I left him in Moscow in Autumn of 1924, but married later on in India.

5) Iqbal Sadai, a Nationalist Revolutionary Graduate from the Punjab, about 35 years of age. He joined the Hizrat movement and though he did not belong to the inner circle of the Maulana, yet he was an intimate associate of the Maulana. He was clean shaven and a bachelor and a great admirer of the great Punjab poet Heer. His love for the Soviet Govt. was not very deep and he left for Ankara Turkey from Moscow, a couple of months after we reached Moscow.

6). His ward was Rafiq, a bright and handsome young school student and a Mahajer. He also left for Turkey with Iqbal Sadai. He would have liked to stay on in Moscow with us, but followed Sadai's advice.

7). Md. Rashid, a graduate from Deoband, clean shaven, a Mahjir, very modest and unassuming and eager to serve. He had taken up a job in a primary school in Kabul. He was devoted to the Moulana. He was

the only married person in our group of ten, beside myself.

8). Abdul Hamid, was a nephew of the Maulana. He was very modest and used to look after the food, dress and personal comforts of the Moulana. He was in a key position as the nephew of the Maulana, but never put on airs. He was clean shaven, but when I met him in Karachi in 1949, he had grown a long flowing beard and I could not recognise him at all till he told who he was. He was a bachelor and under-graduate.

9). Abdul Aziz, was the youngest of all and the most lovable. He had a swarthy complexion with a round face. His child-like simplicity made him dear to all of us. Most unfortunately he got T. B. and was sent to a T. B. Sanitorium near Moscow. He would be happy beyond measure, when we used to go to see him in the Sanitorium once a week. He was cured and was back to the KYTB university when I left Moscow.

10). Last, my humble self.

Kotal-E-Khanjan-Pass.

In about ten days we reached the Pass named Kotal-E-Khanjan, the highest pass, through which we had to pass before reaching the peak of Hindukush, which was more than 10,000 ft. high, where we crossed it.

The pass was narrow, about 8 to 9 thousand ft. above sea-level, very damp, cold and slippery; two huge almost perpendicular rocks more than 100 ft. high on two sides with moss growing thick on the rocks formed the pass and water was dripping down the sides. In a few days it would be covered with snow and become impassable. Ours was perhaps the last caravan of the year to go through the pass. On both sides there were thick jungles but no habitation near by.

I succumbed to the usual human weakness and scribbled my name in Bengalee with knife

on the moss covered rock on the left (Western) side of the Pass, hoping that the next Bengali who would pass through that Pass, would read with surprise a name in Bengali, if decipherable at all and may feel proud that another Bengali had passed through that pass in Oct. 1922. It was a hope against hope for in a few days moss must have grown on my writing making it illegible. I presume that I was the first Bengali, to pass through that pass, for the usual route is through Bamian pass, which was 5/6000 feet high and which has been the historic International Caravan or Trade route. This was shorter but far more difficult and dangerous, as described above.

Hindukush Peak.

From Kotal-E-Khanjan, we descended into a very pleasant valley with cultivated lands, growing wheat and huge melons 1 to 2 ft. in diameter, resting temptingly on the ground on both sides of our road. We halted in the last village on the Southern side of the Hindukush which literally means (Kustan in Persian means—'to kill,' Hindu Killar).

We were guests of the Khan of the village who was very rich. He cultivated huge areas of land and also helped the caravans of traders, passing to Turkomanistan from Kabul valley and also in the reverse direction on payment of cash. The caravans are to halt there necessarily. Serving the caravans in that lonely place, with food and fodder and resting place after they passed through inhospitable passes on Hindukush peak was a very profitable business. He had dozens of horses and mules and hundreds of Dumba sheep and chicken.

We were his guests in one of his spacious cluster of mud houses. A fat Dumba was slaughtered (Jabhaed) in our honour and we were treated to a sumptuous feast. The

Khan with his white beard and tall figure participated with about 10/12 of the Khan's Chiefs. The feast was free, but he charged a heavy sum, in helping us with about 20 porters or coolies who would share the luggage with the mules we had. The load of the mules had to be reduced to half or even less to facilitate the crossing of the peak. The porters carried only ten to fifteen seers on their backs in the usual way of the hill people tying the luggage with a piece of rope, the flat middle of the rope went round the forehead, and the luggage carried on the back of the porters. In high altitude a person can carry much less than in the plains due to the presence of less oxygen.

In our journey so far, we used to start after early and heavy breakfast almost at day break and stopped in the evening for food and rest, near about sunset. This was the pattern for all caravans. Night journeys are difficult and dangerous and are usually avoided for safety reasons also.

On this day we reached our destination at about 2 P. M. and we did not proceed any further as the next stop was about ten miles after crossing the peak of the Hindukush, but relaxed and sauntered about in the mellow light of the afternoon sun. We picked up a few melons from the field, cut them into big pieces and ate voraciously. Those melons were very sweet, juicy and luscious. The teen agers started throwing the thick skins of the melons after eating the red portions, at one another and running about in attack or escape. It was a good game and gave much merriment. We the elders chatted walking in the cultivated village land. The sight of cultivated land full of green vegetables (and also melons) was very soothing to the eyes, after miles of barren rocky lands or thick jungles.

The apprehension of Moulana and some other senior members of the party of being

liquidated or interned in some remote place, had already become almost a joke.

I asked Maulana mischievously how he would like to be interned in that village. He replied "not bad", but there must be enough books to read.

I added "with daily newspapers, brought once a week or even a fortnight". I said I would not mind staying there as internee, but for one year or atmost two. I would study their language, their ways of life and customs, tradition, folklore and history, ways of cultivation etc, and become a real expert on Pathan way of life in that region. If I got Maulana as a companion it would be paradise. Maulana roared in laughter. If not released by that time then I would try to find ways and means to escape, which would not be difficult, when once I mastered their language, local Posto. Persian, which I had learnt sufficiently to converse, would not be of much help there, among the Posto speaking Pathans and Turkomans, Kabul river was nearby. If I followed its course I could never get lost, in my attempt to escape.

The sun went down and we continued sauntering in the beautiful twilight, not 'Godhuli' or light filtering through the dust raised by cows returning home at sun set. In that region it can not be "godhuli" as cows are rare there. It might be called Bhera dhuli, but most sheep graze in distant hills and dales with the shepherds and don't come back home in the villages in the evenings. They come back only after months.

Soon after sunset we had our sumptuous meal in the Pathan way and retired to sleep early as we were required to get up soon and start on our journey at about 2 A. M., so that we could reach the next village on the other (northern) side of Hindukush by sunset next day. It takes about 12 to 14 hours, but we took more than half as long but that sad but interesting story is following immediately.

Crossing the Peak.

We were roused from sleep at about 2 A. M. The porters had come. They had finished, unpacking the big packages carried by mules and making small packages etc, already in the previous evening. We finished our earliest ever breakfast of tea etc. at 2.30 A. M. and started. Each being given some boiled mutton, about a kg. and about half kg. of bread and quarter kg. of dried raisins and some salt and pepper. When hungry we would eat the meat and bread with salt and pepper and then chew a few raisins. This we did some times on horse back or mule-back or more often after getting down near a hill rivulet or spring and then finished our simple meal and drink water to our hearts content. Tea shops are very, very rare in those parts, except at caravan sarais, which also were rather rare in those regions.

Variation of Vegetation

We went up and down and again up by the bridle path, but were steadily gaining height. The temperature also steadily fell about 1° centigrade for every 200 ft. of ascent. The thick jungles became scarce and more scarce, as we gained height. The leaves of trees in higher altitudes, were not flat but needle-like, as the pines. Then the trees were shorter and then mere shrubs, dispersed in the rocky land. Still higher, these were like ferns or cactus. Near the summit there was no green vegetation at all.

In the Southern side, the sun's rays fall, however weak and snow melts in summer and becomes the source of the Kabul river. But sun's rays hardly fall on the Northern side of the peak and as a result the snow does not melt and with treading of men and beasts of burden, turns into ice, which is very very slippery and one false step and the man or mule would roll down several hundred feet and be turned into minced meat.

So, our ascent, however tiring was comparatively less dangerous. Where we reached the peak it was all white. It was my first experience of snow and we played with snow balls and really comprehended how actually, Napoleon used to play with snow balls. Hitting one another with snow balls, I could not understand when I read about it in my school days, how a man could be hit with a snow ball and still escape serious injury. I did not know the difference between snow and ice, as I had seen the latter, but not the former, till I reached the top of the Hindukush. It was fun to make snow balls by pressing a quantity of snow between two hands and it would remain in shape and when it hit something, the ball would break into small snow particles. We specially myself indulged in this game for quite sometime and I remembered Napoleon and his school day frolics.

Rising on the top of Hindukush, we looked around and it was all a white sheet covering the entire slope on the northern side. We found a dead body there covered with snow and kept in an improvised grave of a few stone boulders. He must have been one of the last caravans who died out of some illness or simply of cold. From his dress he looked like a Pathan, perhaps a peasant or a poor trader. His body though exposed in the air, did not decompose, as it was very cold and it was covered with snow. His companions left him like that under the care of Mother Nature. If one of us died there he would have met with a similar fate.

On reaching the top of Hindukush, we felt, specially myself, very much elated, that the Hindukush or the Hindu Killer could not kill me, a Hindu. People on the Southern side were called Indus or Hindus. Even (now) the Russians call all Indians—Hindus. So Ahmad Hossain told me that in Russia we

Muslims of India have become Hindus and the problems of Hindu—Muslim unity did not exist, as all Indians are called Hindus there, irrespective of whether he was Hindu or a Muslim or a Sikh or a Christian, **Indus or Hindoos was synonymous with Indians.**

Frozen Lake.

Near the peak, we found a lake. There was a crust of ice on the surface. We were four of us detached and ahead of the rest. Jaffar Hossain, Dr. Noor Md. and myself, being all four on horse back. We were surprised and delighted to see the frozen lake. It was also my first experience. It was partly frozen near the shores but partly not, particularly in the centre. A black duck-like bird was swimming in the ice-cold water where the lake was not frozen. Some one suggested that we should test the accuracy of shooting of each of us. We fired three rounds each turn by turn but the bird was not touched by any bullet. When a bullet would fall in water near it, it would only change the direction of swimming, but would not fly away. I did not claim to be an expert shot, but the other three did. They explained, that because they were firing from the height of a hill top 100 or 150 ft. high, due to action of gravity, they all missed the target. Perhaps they were correct, but I really did not understand why they could not make allowance for gravity, while shooting. None of the 12 shots, came within a radius of five yards from the duck.

We went down to the lake from the hill top and found the marks of the feet of deer in the soft shore of the lake. The deer must have been going to the lake for drinking water. We tried our weight on the sheet of frozen ice on the surface, but it was not strong enough to stand our weight and broke.

But in a month or so it would be completely frozen and be able to carry the weight of a horse, with carriage, as we saw later on in Moscow river. Winter was just starting and the frozen water or ice was hardly one inch thick.

We had our meal of boiled mutton and raisins and drank the pure ice cold water of the hill-top lake. I named it Shiva Lake. By the time we got back on the road from the lake, others in the caravan also arrived and we all proceeded farther.

Now started the most difficult and dangerous part of the journey. The snow of last year was there, unmelted throughout the year. Due to the treading of the caravans a narrow path hardly a foot wide, had been made in the sea of snow. But this narrow path hardly a foot wide had been turned into hard Ice and was therefore very slippery. On both sides of the road was snow which was $2/3$ feet or more deep at places. If your foot slipped on the ice and fell into one of the pitfalls, your foot would go into the soft snow $2/3$ ft, and you were bound to fall and be engulfed in snow. It happened to most of us several times. The path itself was slippery and we had to avoid, the ice and put our feet on any stony surface, that could be discovered, amidst the sheets of ice. Moreover some of these stones were not stable. So, standing on one foot, we would probe with the other foot the ground and if found stable, would put the other foot on it. Stable support and thus proceed forward. It was like a toddler starting to walk for the first time. The most remarkable were the horses and mules, who moved in the same way trying the ground with one front hoof and if found stable, put the hoof firmly there and then bring forward another hoof and proceed in the same cautious manner. How trained and cautious these animals were ! Instinct of the experience

of innumerable falls must have taught them this intelligent and difficult practice, in their numerous journies over these mountains. Sticks made of branches which some of us had cut from the way side trees, at the time of ascent and had proved very useful, were not of much use now in the descent. The descent therefore proved very slow and dangerous for several miles of eternal snow, till we came to the snow free road.

One Mule Rolled Down.

One sad incident was that one mule slipped and rolled down some 2/3 hundred feet and became almost (Kima) minced meat. One chainandan or box tied tightly on its back also rolled with the mule for sometime, then got detached, but continued to roll down on its own momentum separately. The box got battered and broken to pieces and all its contents were scattered in the snow on the hill side. As there were some valuable documents in the box, two of our Pathan helpers, braved the snowy hill and went down, collected the papers and some clothes they found and went to the mule and found it still alive and writhing in death agony. They cut its throat (or halaled) and ended its agony and left the carcass there to be devoured by vultures or perhaps it was too cold even for vultures to go there and the carcass would remain undecomposed in the snow which (will cover it with its white sheet) till next summer, when the snow would melt. While these operations went on, we found a flat place and waited in the snow and biting cold. While walking down, the movement and effort kept us comparatively warm but when waiting we were very nearly frozen.

We were all on foot as riding a horse or a mule was unimaginable, in the situation there. We also had made a chain of the whole caravan. A man was in front with the bridle of the horse behind. Behind him was another

man holding the tail of the horse in front and the bridle of the horse behind and lastly the remaining men, holding the cloth of the man in front. If the foot or hoof of any in the chain slipped, he would regain the balance with the help of others in the chain. I was told that it was the usual way in those journeys through snow and ice. It reminded me of villagers coming to Calcutta for sight-seeing, making a chain like this with the clothes or saris of the group, one behind the other, for fear of any one getting detached and lost in the human sea in Calcutta.

Fortunately, this most difficult part of the journey ended in the late afternoon when the sun was above the horizon there. Gradually the snow became thinner and the road less icy and before sunset we were again on firm earth or rock and walked confidently and firmly. The chain of men and animals was broken as no longer necessary. We were firmly on the otherside of the Hindukush which was 10/12 thousand feet high near the Peak. But still there was no habitation (and tea shop?). The journey was still difficult, steep cliff on one side and rapidly flowing rivulet, 50/60 feet down on the other. It was walking between the Devil and the deep sea, literally.

As we descended from the peak, vegetation gradually reappeared in the reverse order, to what happened when we ascended. First cactus and shrubs scattered here and there. Then the needle leafed pines and flat leave thereafter. Lastly came the creepers and jungles. Though we saw no habitations of men, we found shepherds with flocks of sheep and their guards, the dogs all along the route at intervals. The sight of shepherds, was very reassuring. We asked them about the distance of the village where we were to stay, for the night and they told us "it was three miles off" (Che Koshmanda). It was twilight

or (about) 6 P. M. We continued to walk or proceed on mule-back whenever there was any broad space and we came accross shepherds with flocks of sheep at intervals of a mile or two. These flocks of sheep, with their shepherds, leave their homes with the flock in early summer and return home only in late winter. During the day, they graze in the fields and at night the shepherds make a circle of sheep and sleep in the centre of the circle which becomes very warm from the warmth of the sheep. They do not need even to kindle a fire to keep themselves warm, except on rare occasions.

At intervals of half an hour or so, whenever we found a Shepherd, we asked the same question and got the same reply, it continued Che Kosh menda. 3 miles more till 10 P.M. i.e. for nearly four hours. In the time since 6 P.M. we must have covered at least 10/12 miles, but the 'Che Kosh' or three miles remained unending. The journey was still difficult and dangerous, as there were high cliffs on one side and a deep gorge on the other. The gorge was a branch of river Oxus or Amudariya. While ascending to the peak of Hindukush we had followed the Kabul river towards its source. After crossing the peak we were descending following Amu Dariya from its source on the peak of Hindukush mountains. During twilight the journey was not so bad but it ended soon and the road, rather the bridle path, was hardly visible. Fortunately for us half moon appeared in the sky and lighted our path to some extent, with its feeble autumn light through the mist. But the moon was not always visible as it was often covered by hills, while we proceeded. Even then, we could see the road, by the indirect lighting of the landscape by the moon. At about 11 P.M. the half moon also set and it was jet dark and movement forward was most difficult and dangerous.

I suggested to my companions that we should pass the night with some shepherds and sleep in the centre of the flock of sheep with the shepherds. It would be warm and safe, for I thought "Che Kosh" may continue till the morning. I argued that it would be better to start again in the dawn, with a few hours of rest. By this time we had been on the move for nearly 20 hours with practically no rest. I needed rest very badly but others would not agree to my suggestion of sleeping with the Shepherds.

The reason for my being more tired than the others was my attempts to outshine the others in climbing mountains. Whenever we came to a hill there were invariably two roads; one, the road round the hill and the other a bridle path over the hill. I took a branch of a tree as my stick to help me in the ascent and descent. The senior colleagues of course did not join me and preferred to remain on horse back or on mule back. A few of the junior colleagues joined me, but one by one they left and chose to go back to the horse or mule. While crossing such hills I was invariably the first to go to the top and triumphantly signal to my colleagues on the road and then descend to the road, long before the caravan would reach there. I must have crossed at least 20 such hills before reaching the peak of Hindukush. It was not a very wise thing to do. Though I had the satisfaction of beating others in mountaineering, but I exhausted myself, much more than others. But wisdom was not a virtue with me. It is so even now after 50 years since those youthful days.

However, at about 11 P. M. at last we found a road under construction. It was a short cut from Mazare Shariff to Kabul. It was such a relief, that language can hardly express it. We were about to shout "the Road, the Road" as the Greck Soldiers, going

back home from the Indian expedition shouted "Thala Ta, Thalata—the Sea, the Sea" on seeing the sea in Asia Minor. It was indeed a great relief. One could ride horse or mule and they could move forward with ease on their four legs and even walk on the broad even road about 10ft. wide was a pleasure, after all the rough surface we had to negotiate for more than 2 weeks, since we left the Bamian Road. The construction of the road had started from Maza-e-Sharif and completed up to that place which was about 20 miles from Mazar-e-Sharif. I am sure, it must have been completed up to Kabul in a year or two and thus the road from Kabul to Mazar-e-Sharif was shortened by fifty miles. Future travellers, must have reaped the benefit, but we got it all rough as rough can be. There must have been one or two caravan Sarais in this long distance of about 30 miles for the convenience of the traders who were the main travellers on the International trade route.

Two Missing.

When we reached in batches the house of the Khan, which had been fixed for our place of rest for the night, we found two of the team were missing. They were of the younger batch. We waited for half an hour, but as they did not appear, it was necessary to send two in search of them. This was the first time (and the last) when I did not or could not volunteer. Two others volunteered to go in search and found they were in the next village, cosy and comfortable. I was dead tired. So, though the Hindukush could not kill the Hindu Sibnath, it had made the Hindu as tired as dead.

Steaming Pillao and Dumba curry etc. were waiting for us, but I spread my bed and fell on it like a log, fully dressed. I had not an ounce of energy left even to undress or specially to eat. This was also the first and

last time this has happened to me in my fairly long and eventful life. I immediately fell into sleep and slept like a log. All attempts to wake me up to take food failed. I did not get up at 5 A. M. as had been usual for me all through my life, but woke up at 9 a. m. and all attempts by friends to induce me to take bed-tea, my only luxury also failed.

It was decided to halt for the day there to give a little rest to our aching bones. Moulana and most of the party were more or less in the same condition, as myself.

The porters who had been hired from the Southern side of the Hindukush were paid off and the luggage repacked for the mules as they were when we had started from Kabul.

Turkomanistan.

In the morning when I got up and had hot tea and also breakfast of Pillao and Dumba curry (of previous night), I felt then my usual self again and ready to start for another expedition as on the previous day. But as all of the party including the horses and mules were tired, it had been decided to rest for the day and I was glad at heart for it, though I felt fit enough to start on the journey.

When we were resting and taking rounds and rounds of green tea, I found we were amongst a different people, namely Turkomans. Their dresses were different and their overcoats had longer sleeves, which covered the hands and lower part of overcoats fell much below the knees. They were more slim and not so robust as the Pathans living in the south of the Hindukush. Their language was Persian but of a quite different dialect. The Turkomans, were said to be of Turkish origin. They had come from Turkey, conquered this region to the north of the Hindukush and made it their home both to the Southern and Northern side of the Oxus river. Those who lived in the Southern side of Oxus were citizens of Afghanistan and those on the

Northern side were in the southern fringe of the Czarist Empire. Enver Pasha, one of the famous Turkish Triumvirate, (Zamal Pasha and Jaglul Pasha were the other two) had made an abortive attempt to form a Turkoman Empire, with the help of the British and other Imperialists in 1921. This was called the Basmachi movement. At that time I did not know much of Basmachi movement. It was a religious cum political move against the Soviets, but it failed specially as they had tried to re-introduce feudalism and take the land away from the cultivators to whom it had been distributed by the Soviets and hand them over back to the land lords. This the peasants resented and revolted.

However, to proceed with the story. It was now a road over the plains and we reached Mazar-e-Sharif in 2 days time. It was not only the Capital of North Afghanistan, but also an important centre of the International and historical Trade Route. It is also a very famous religious place, where not only people from all parts of Afghanistan, but also from other neighbouring Muslim countries flock for the Annual Dargah.

Netaji Bose, when he was crossing Afghanistan, pretended he was deaf and

dumb and was going to the Dargah at Mazar-e-Sharif to find a cure for his illness. It was a good and plausible idea. For if he talked with any one as Netaji Bose or as a Pathan, the Police, even the Afghan Police would have suspected and arrested him and sent him to the British and thus baffled all his grand plans to fight for Indian Independence from abroad.

At Mazar-e-Sharif, we were quite comfortable, as there was a fairly big market there and we could buy food of our choice in the restaurants or eating houses. We went to see the Mazar-e-Sharif, where the relic of one of the 4 Khalifas was preserved. It is a mosque and a Makbare (tomb), but not much used except during the Dargah days, when the place was overflowing. When we went there were literally hundreds of pigeons, living and breeding comfortably there, but making the place dirty with their droppings. On our approach, they got flustered and started flying in all directions in great numbers. But they settled down soon in their peaceful resting places. We spent about 15/20 minutes there and some of us said their special prayers.



Current Affairs

Cigarette smoking and other dangerous habits

A British estimate places cigarette smoking as a very dangerous habit in so far as at least 40000—10.000 persons die in Great Britain annually as a result of smoking. Britain has only a small fraction of the total smoker population of the world and calculating on a proportionate basis smoking must be killing off millions if we took into account all the smokers of all the countries of the world. But there are many other injurious habits which cause premature death directly or indirectly and some of these habits may be more wide spread than smoking. Drug habits of various kinds, consuming alcoholic drinks, eating food which increases blood pressure or cholestoral, diet habits which cause vitamine deficiency or malnutrition may be cited as examples. Then there are other habits which reduce longevity. Hustle and bustle, anger, irritation, fear, anxiety, sorrow and general poverty also cause death. Poverty and undernourishment go hand in hand with living in crowded rooms or suffering from exposure. Dirt and squalor also accompany poverty. One may say without any fear of contradiction that want is the greatest cause of untimely death. If one studies the death rate of different countries, the affluent countries have the lowest death rates. Though in these countries one finds all the bad habits that cause untimely death. The high death rate in poor countries can be ascribed to lack of food, proper housing, clothing, medical aid and healthy conditions of living. Removal of poverty will prevent untimely death, reduce human suffering and add to the

pleasures of human existence. Removal of poverty may increase smoking, drinking and all bad habits ; but it will increase the life span nevertheless.

Privately Owned Cars in Russia

The Russians are a highly productive people and their total national income would be fairly high. But only five persons out of a thousand own private motor cars in Russia. In the USA 400 out of 1000 persons have their own cars. The Russians can make cars in fairly large numbers but the government do not allow any one to produce more cars. As a result there is a well developed "black market" in cars in Russia. People quite often pay double the market price of a car in this black market. The half of one per cent of the population of Russia who own cars would be considered to be a highly privileged group. They would number about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in a large country like Russia which has a population of about 250 millions. Car owners will be concentrated in big cities like Moscow and Leningrad where there would be thousands of privately owned cars. This would rouse the envy of those who want cars but cannot get any. So, as a method of forcing equality on the people of Russia, this cutting down of car supplies cannot be considered to be very effective. Rather, inequality is emphasised by such extremely exclusive privileges.

Police Efficiency

The police in India are supposed to enforce law and order, prevent crime and control anti-social behaviour. The present police organisation of the country is a throw

back to what the British set up to serve their purpose in the past and one can not say that this continuation of an ineffective system has been a very wise policy. In olden days the police could exist by standing to attention before and by "selam"ing high level personalities and they had no need to be clever, efficient, morally sound and reliable. Any fellow of proper height, chest measurement and caste would serve and certain areas of India which produced the necessary types supplied all the policemen for India.

But a modern police force cannot be developed out of such mentally and morally ill equipped persons. If anyone chooses to examine how the police work in a big city like Calcutta one has only to stand on the side of a "one way" road. He will find streams of rickshaws and hand carts coming from the wrong side and policemen taking no notice of it. The footpaths too are occupied by hawkers and the people for whose use the roads are made somehow manage to squeeze their way through. Car parts are stolen by miscreants all over the city and we have not heard of the police recovering any stolen parts from any thief at any time. But the police always send notices to car owners for alleged violations of minor parking regulations in order to prove that they are doing their job. This is a farce which the police have been enacting over long years without anyone going to the High Court about such useless harassment of tax payers. The police cars are driven quite recklessly at times; but, of course, police drivers can never be charged with careless driving unless they actually kill some one. As to stopping crime, the less said the better. The police cannot even put a stop to members of their own force being murderously assaulted. The police in West Bengal have now got extra

ordinary powers. The crime wave sweeping over this state would point to the existence of a good few thousand potential law breakers in the state. But the police have not been able to arrest more than a small percentage of the army of law breakers. This shows that the police either have little knowledge of what goes on in the state or they are not making use of their knowledge and information. Ordinary crime is also going on without check. There is therefore necessity for reorganising the police force. The old type "Paharawallahs" and their pen pushing superiors are no longer adequate. The so called detectives also are failing to detect in the same way as the traffic or ordinary police are failing to control traffic or crimes. The crime dens must be liquidated. So must there be control over **Khatals** and over crowded **bustees**, use of roads for shops, garages, dumps of building material and housing of persons who have no homes. Receivers of stolen goods, usurious landlords and money lenders should be checked. The police should have mounted high way constabulary to prevent dangerous driving.

Parking Fees in Calcutta

The system recently introduced by the Calcutta Corporation for charging money for parking in certain areas should be stopped, as it is iniquitous. A person paying an annual road tax of 200/300 rupees should not be forced to pay another 200/300 rupees a year for parking cars. This happens in many cases where persons have to keep their cars in such "fee" areas for their work or business. Such "fees" may come to nearly a rupee a day in many cases and there is no reasonable ground why one man should have to pay so much while others donot pay anything in other areas. For instance parking fees are charged on the East Side of the Chowringhee while no fees are charged

for cars parked on the West Side. There are fee areas within a few feet of which there are parking places where no fees are charged. The real point is that when cars pay an annual road tax they do so for the use of the roads in general. Use of roads does not mean that the cars must be in motion all the time. If a car is parked on a road along which it can move without paying anything extra; why should it pay extra money for staying on the road motionlessly? Parking is also using the road by a car. The city corporation may be in need of money but that does not justify unfair impositions on particular persons. They may ask for increasing the road tax by a few rupees and take that extra money for their needs. Or they can have City Tax on cars which all cars using the city roads must pay. This will also make it unnecessary to appoint numerous fee collectors whose work is really unproductive and a waste of the nation's work power. An additional Rs. ten or fifteen per annum would yield a higher revenue at no extra cost for collection than whatever the "fee" collectors are obtaining by wasting their and the car owners' time and energy. And, we repeat, these collections are unfair and unjust.

Moral Reform through Murders

Any fundamental change in the social and the political organisation of a country is justifiable only on ethical grounds. Thus when the French demanded the establishment of *liberte, egalite, fraternite* during the French Revolution the world saw some sense in the killing of the aristocrats in so far as the gruesome acts were perpetrated in order to establish equality and liberty among the French people who were oppressed and exploited mercilessly by the feudal lords of France. The Americans who were lorded over by the British fought their war of independence with justice on

their side; for colonialism was a violation of the Human Rights of man and the overthrowing of colonial or imperial power was justifiable ethically. The Russian Revolution saw some killing of the Russian nobility; also some organised fighting. The Russian nobility had enforced serfdom on many working class people of that country and land was sold along with the cultivators there. The Czarist set up was a contradiction of social morality in many ways. One could therefore find some excuse for the killings associated with the 1917 revolution. When the Chinese overthrew the Chiang Kai Shek domination they merely drove out the General and his army and entourage, without in anyway molesting physically the Privileged People of China. They established communism without committing murders, setting fire to places, robbing banks and shops or breaking up furniture in the manner of frenzied crowds destroying what they disliked. Some reckless and ruthless action was seen at the time of the "cultural revolution" for a little while; but murders were the least part of it.

"So, Class War had been and could have been associated with murders and other acts of violence with some semblance of justice only where there had been grave acts of injustice oppression and persecution commonly perpetrated by members of the privileged classes. Murdering teachers, ordinary policemen, shopkeepers and rival political party members cannot even be called class war. Destroying college libraries, laboratories and class room furniture, cannot be called necessary part of a class war. Teachers are workers and not members of the aristocracy nor are they capitalists. Ordinary police men are not the armed forces and killing a few of them cannot have overthrowing the government as its objective. The social system cannot be changed by destroying laboratories, libraries or by

looting shops or banks. The crime wave that is now sweeping over the country, therefore, cannot be called either a revolution or an attempt at carrying on a class war. The people who are indulging in it are quite often fighting among each other without attacking any members of the privileged classes. There are a few persons who are making attacks on selected persons disapproved of by them. But most of such attacks are on rivals in the game or upon fairly innocent and common people. The whole thing appears to be more like a gang war rather than a social revolution. It is said that the people who are engaged in this destructive work are desiring a change in the social order. If that is so one has to say that they are achieving very little in the way of reaching their objective.

It is also believed that the government of the country is not doing its best to put down the crimes which are disturbing public life at present. The reason for this is that the top people in government do not wish to put in prison the instigators of the criminals as those men are political leaders and friends of the persons in authority. Whatever that may be, the obnoxious situation does no credit to the state officials nor to the alleged revolutionaries, and the sooner this farcical but murderous display of obscene fury is controlled by those who can do so, the better it will be for them as well as for the public.

Pakistanis Offended by British Publication

Some British Publication has offended the students of Lahore Rawalpindi and other cities of Pakistan by its reference to the Prophet of Islam in objectionable terms. The students attacked the British Consulates and embassies in Pakistan, set fire to consular cars, broke windows and generally, tried to do away with all diplomatic immunity for the British diplomats in Pakistan. This anti-British outburst of

popular feeling had its beginning in the criticism by British newspapers of the callousness displayed by the Pakistan government officials when East Pakistan was stricken by Cyclone and Tidal waves. That criticism was resented by the West Pakistanis and the British were disliked for not minding their own business. The publication of the offensive book added fuel to the fire, so to speak, and the British are the least loved people now in Islamabad.

Bank Robbery at Chittaranjan

Nearly rupees nineteen lakhs were looted from the State Bank of India, Chittaranjan, at gun point by seven or eight armed men who came in a black Ambassador Car, shot dead one of the guards, disarmed two others and left in the same car with the money and three rifles which the guards were carrying. Later the police recovered some of the money, found the car abandoned by the bandits and picked up valuable clues which should enable the police to recover more money and apprehend all the criminals. It was reported that the driver of the car voluntarily surrendered to the police. His car he is alleged to have said is a Private Taxi or some such thing and it was hired at Calcutta for a trip to Santiniketan a few days ago. There after the driver was put out of the car at some place near Chittaranjan and the bandits drove away in the car. This is one of the biggest bank robberies of recent times and show the carelessness of bank employees in handling large quantities of cash in bulk in easily approachable places. The guards too appear to be quite inexperienced in the use of fire arms. They should also be in bullet and bomb proof shelters in all banks from which protected places they could fire at robbers without any risk of being shot themselves.

C. R. 'S Appeal to the Leaders

The Swarajya weekly has published an

appeal to the leaders of political parties by Chakravarty Rajagopalachari the grand old man of Indian Politics. It reads as follows :

"In a wholly unprecedented manner the Prime Minister has dissolved the Lok Sabha and ordered general elections a year in advance of the schedule only to suit her strategy. She presented the parties opposed to her politics with a *fait accompli* with maximum disadvantages to them. She was not inhibited by any moral or constitutional scruples on account of it. I therefore look upon this not as a general election but as a Referendum on the single question whether the country approves of Smt. Indira Gandhi's plan to tear up the Constitution and annul the liberties of the people and replace democracy by totalitarianism. Leaders of democratic parties should realize that this is a God-Sent opportunity to demonstrate once for all that India does not want communism in any form. How one wishes the opposition to Smt. Indira Gandhi showed greater alacrity and confidence and forgot all matters irrelevant to the great menace posed by Smt. Indira Gandhi's assault on the constitution. The work of the giants who fought and won India's freedom took shape in the constitution, which Smt. Indira Gandhi now seeks to treat as a scrap of paper. With the help of the communists and others she seeks to tear it and throw it into the waste-paper basket of history. "Unite ! Unite !" is my

appeal Money and power of patronage will prove to be trash and the constitution will be saved by the people's answer to this Referendum if the opposition groups drive out the bees in their bounets and resolve to win this great battle which has come unasked."

C.R.

The trouble is that the "giants" who fought for and won political freedom for India were sold by Pandit Jawahar Lal Neheru and the Congress, and the Muslim League dismembered India with a view to make this subcontinent a field for exploitation by numerous self-seeking pigmies who became political leaders by collecting gangs of followers who all thought they could rule the country and, incidentally, help themselves to jobs, contracts, licences, permits etc. etc and make the political parties money making organisations for the privileged few. The majority of the people of India suffered silently and thousands of millions of rupees were borrowed in their name by the party leaders. The leftist leaders were no better than the rightist and they also created and enjoyed privilege whenever they got a chance.

The people of India have no respect for the politicians and the political parties and people vote for candidates without considering their merits. Party members collect their supporters by making false promises or by even more reprehensible methods.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Bulgarian Author and Playwright

The following account of the visit of a noted Bulgarian author and playwright to India is reproduced from *News from Bulgaria*.

Orlin Vassilev, a noted author, playwright and essayist of Bulgaria visited India recently in connection with the 4th Afro-Asian Writers' Conference which was held in Delhi in the middle of November. A prolific writer for the the past 40 years, he is now 66. Orlin Vassilev is an eminent social worker as well and is a member of Bulgarian Parliament (National Assembly).

Besides attending the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference during his week-long stay in Delhi, Orlin Vassilev met a number of eminent Indian writers and poets and gave several interviews to the press and the Radio.

Although Mr. Vassilev considers that exchange of literary works translated into respective languages contribute more to the growth of mutual acquaintance, he finds the personal contacts established through visits to be equally important. He expressed his sincere satisfaction in having been able to visit India, a country with great tradition of ancient culture which has always provided a source of inspiration.

Addressing the Writers' Conference Orlin Vassilev asserted that he was not just an ordinary, 'objective' and indifferent foreign observer to the Conference. His mission

was an expression of solidarity of Bulgarian writers, as soldiers of the same front, with the writers of Asia and Africa against the common struggle against imperialist brutality and the designs of neocolonialism to thwart mankind's progress towards the kingdom of light and happiness. He pointed out that notwithstanding the many difficulties Bulgarian people face in building up their own new life, they have been lending their whole-hearted support to the fighting front against aggression both in Asia and Africa. Mr. Vassilev told the writer representatives from over 20 Asian and African countries that in spite of her limited resources, Bulgaria took particular care for presenting to her public outstanding works of literature of many countries. "Not a single day goes by", he declared, "not a single issue of Bulgarian journal comes out of print which does not carry translations of your works or does not reflect our fraternal compassion for your creative efforts and your sacred struggle".

Replying to press interviews Mr. Vassilev told that he began writing at the young age of 22. Conditions at that time in Bulgaria were different. People suffered under the unbearable yoke of a monarcho-fascist dictatorship and it was more difficult for the progressive writers to express their views and rouse the people for struggle. They found recourse to allegories and legends in order to pass the barrier of strict censorship. But Mr. Vassilev

did not go unscathed and was arrested about 23 times.

Mr. Vassilev's works are highly popular in Bulgaria and many of his books and plays have been translated into several languages abroad.

Political Tidal Wave in East Pakistan

Nripendranath Ghosh says in *Janata*

The recent tidal wave has taken its toll in East Pakistan. Nearly a million Bengali lives have been lost. No power on earth can stop a natural disaster but the monumental inefficiency of the West Pakistani leadership in handling the relief operations was unforgivable. As a result, the political tidal wave yet to visit that region will have double the ferocity of the November 13 Cyclone. It will change the face of Pakistan.

Also washed away along with Bengali lives is the West Pakistani rulers' hope of retaining their dominating role over the Eastern wing. Needless to say, it is the Bengali socialists who will win in the December 7 General Elections, Pakistan's first. Their victory is guaranteed by two factors (1) Linguistically, they are the superior group in the whole country. (2) There is 1000 miles of Indian territory between West and East Pakistan. For the first time since the disappearance of Subhas Bose in 1945, Bengalis will be calling the tune in the politics of the subcontinent.

Recurring annual losses of Bengali lives and homes due to flood and cyclone have proved once and for all that elected leaders of East Pakistan must have a say in running the economy of that wing. In 1952, the Bengalis protested against linguistic domination and in 1969 against political domination by the Western wing. After the next election, they will go further. Bengali resurgence will naturally come in the shape of economic decisions. To quote the London Times of October 20,

"At the moment East Pakistan buys its coal from China at a prohibitive price of Rs. 172 a ton. This is one of the main reasons why East Pakistan's only steel mill is running at a huge loss. Yet coal imported from West Bengal across the border would only cost Rs. 50 a ton. East Pakistan would also be able to export its main commodities, fish and low-grade jute, to eager markets and starved mills of West Bengal."

East Pakistan has its indigenous band of parasites and corrupt civil servants just like its West Bengal counterpart. But the Bengal peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population, will not stand any more nonsense. They want land and protection from flood and cyclone.

As early as 1937, Subhas Bose suggested a 260 mile-long coastal dam with a six-lane traffic way for controlling flood, boosting trade and commerce, generating electricity and reclaiming land for cultivation. Such projects have been undertaken by mutually hostile powers in Europe and by West Pakistan and India. There is no reason why it cannot be done by East Pakistan and West Bengal. The sub-continent is laced with mighty mountains. There is no dearth of rocks and boulders. Bengalis are eager to work. There is no dearth of labour. All that is needed is leadership. This can only be provided by the Bengalis who from time immemorial have lived with the cruel sea and the uncontrolled rivers. The proposed dam will not only electrify the economy of the entire region but also generate hope for the future which poverty-stricken Bengalis are rather good at harnessing for their cause. Whereas East Pakistan has some sort of leadership, West Bengal has none. The politicians of West Bengal have lost all the farsightedness for which once they were admired. Hence the leadership must come from East Pakistan.

Recently, a Western diplomat in Dacca

said: "If the civilisation collapses, the process will start here in Bengal." The collapse can be prevented by the coastal dam. Nothing else can.

The Highest Enlightenment

Dr. S. N. L. Shrivastava writes in *the Aryan Path* :

Said the Lord Buddha :

Appakate manussesu ye jana paragamino

Atha'yam Itara paja tiramevanudhavati.

"Few are they amongst men who desire to cross over (the river of empirical existence) and reach the Other (transcendental) Shore."

—*Dhammapada*, verse 85

To the same tune, Shri-Krishna the Ancient Teacher said : - "*manusyanam sahasresu kasca id yatati siddhaye*"—"Rarely one in thousands strives for Perfection" (Gita, VII. 3).

In a telling manner, the stern teacher of the *Kathopanishad* tells us : "*na samparayah pratibhati balam*"—"The Beyond does not come within the ken of those of puerile understanding".

Indeed, those who bring to us "authentic tidings of invisible things" are few and far between.

Scientific and technological advance of humanity has not raised its ethical level. A wise thinker has aptly remarked that ours is an age of nuclear giants and ethical infants. The knowledge which raises man to his highest ethico-spiritual stature is of a different order. Our Upanisadic sages drew a very significant distinction between *apara vidya* and *para vidya*. All the varied sciences and branches of knowledge which pertain to this universe of our empirical experience constitute *apara vidya*, the knowledge by which the Immortal and the Transcendental is comprehended is the *para vidya*, the *prajna-paramita* in Buddhistic terminology.

The great spiritual teachers of humanity,

Krishna, Christ, Buddha, and others, came to awaken humanity to an awareness of That which is beyond all limits of the empirical—the Atman of the Upanisads, the Nirvana of the Buddha, the Sunyam of Nagarjuna, the Nameless Tao of Lao-tze. So deep and unutterable is the Truth to which they wanted to awaken humanity that Lao-tze was divinely right in saying about it :

He who knows, speaks not,

He who speaks, knows not.

Gautama the Buddha was a seer of this unutterable Truth. For full three weeks he remained immersed in the enjoyment of the Vision Splendid and what he realized appeared to him so subtle that he thought it futile to speak about it to anybody. But Brahma, it is said, appeared before him and with folded hands entreated him to preach the truth he had realized for the welfare of humanity, and Buddha then resolved to do so. He was always conscious of the fact that the highest truth he had realized was beyond the comprehension of ordinary minds. He would speak about it to the select few, to those who had a high degree of spiritual sensitivity.

We read in the *Saddharma-Pundarika* that once five thousand monks and nuns and lay devotees of both sexes had gathered at a congregation to hear from Buddha about the highest Buddha-knowledge. In spite of their repeated entreaties, the Buddha would not speak out. At last the entire congregation melted away and only Sariputra was left. The Buddha, recognizing Sariputra as a worthy recipient of his highest teaching, said : "My congregation is now pure, freed from chaff ; the trash is removed and the pith only remains."

The Buddha always adjusted his teachings to the level of the audience he had to face. Said the Buddha to Sariputra : "I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the

inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge." (SDP, p. 54)

"*Ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*"--the One Truth is spoken of variously by the wise--said the seer of the *Rigveda*. The idea is echoed in Buddha's words :

As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it, so the Tathagatas, on account of the diversity of taste, mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddha-vehicle be the only indisputable one. (SDP, p. 136)

The Buddha is regarded as the founder of a religion, a new religion which has come to be known as Buddhism. In fact, Buddha never intended to found a religion in the institutionalized sense of the word. He called his religion a Way, (*magga* ; Sanskrit, *Marga*). This Way he never regarded as *his* Way, or a Way *invented* by him. To him it was a Way taught by all the Buddhas that came before him and a Way that will be taught by all the Buddhas that will follow him in times to come. The different Buddhas in different epochs of time cannot possibly teach different vehicles, he said, for there is but one vehicle to Buddhahood. The following words uttered by him to Sariputra are significant :

The former Tathagatas also, living in the past for innumerable Aons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,

Those highest of men have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons and arguments, with many hundred proofs and skilfulness. And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth ; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness incon-

ceivably many thousands of *kotils* of beings." (SDP, p. 49)

Buddha never claimed to have *founded* anything but simply to have *found out* what the Buddhas of the ages past had found out and what Buddhas in the ages to come shall be finding out.

Buddhism, if the word be taken to mean only the essential core of what the Buddha himself had taught, is no creed, no institutionalized religion, but the Way eternal and universal trod by the Enlightened of all the ages. The real mission of the Buddha, as he himself has stated it, was not to propound doctrines or to formulate any system of metaphysics or theological dogmatics but to point out the Way to the highest ethico spiritual stature. Memorable are his words :

I am the Tathagata, O ye gods and men! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one ; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore ; being free, I make free ; being comforted, I comfort ; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom, I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men ! Hear the law. I am he who indicates the path ; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. (SDP, p. 120)

The, Path, the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyam atthangikam maggam*), is the quintessential core of Buddha's teachings. The whole emphasis of the Buddha was on perfection in this Path, elevating man to the highest spiritual stature he is capable of, to Buddhahood, the Highest Enlightenment.

To preach nothing short of the Highest Enlightenment was the lofty mission of the Buddha. To quote his own words :

The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge.

He has but one aim, indeed, no second ; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle...I would be guilty of envy, should I, after reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish anyone in the inferior vehicle. That would not beseem me. (SDP, pp. 46-47)

Let not the message of the Enlightened One, never more needed than at the present times, go unheeded :

*na hi verena verani sammantidha kudacanam
averena hi sammanti esa dhammo sanantano*

Never does hatred cease by hatred but by love alone ; this is the Law Eternal.

—Dhammapada, verse 5

Communist World in 1970

The following abstract of events in the Communist World in 1970 as made out by Janathan Steele is taken from the *Guardian Weekly*.

"For the Communist world 1970 was the Year of Comradely Forgiveness. It was a period in which old enemies began to be reconciled again. In Europe the Soviet Union recognised that West German 'revanchism' was a figment of 'Pravda's' imagination and that Herr Brandt's approaches to the East were worth taking seriously. In August the two countries signed a treaty renouncing the use of force in their mutual dealings.

"On the Eastern, or rather South-Eastern, front Sino-Soviet relations showed a marked improvement. In 1969 there were bloody clashes in repeated frontier incidents, but 1970 was a year for talking. It was crowned in the autumn by an exchange of ambassadors between Moscow and Peking and the signing of a new trade pact. Within the Warsaw pact the outstanding differences between Rumania (which in 1968 condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and the Soviet Union narrowed perceptibly. Two years

after the treaty became due for renewal the Soviet Union finally swallowed its pique and sent Mr. Kosygin to Bucharest in July to sign a new twenty-year friendship pact. In return Rumania sent a small contingent to the autumn manoeuvres of the Warsaw Pact in East Germany, the first time it has joined allied exercises for many years.

"The new spirit of reconciliation even reached down to perverse little Albania which began to repair its relations with neighbouring Yugoslavia. But it must be remembered, of course, that this kissing and making up referred only to inter-Government relations. The party differences within the Communist world remained as wide as ever. The Albanians continued to brand the Yugoslavs as revisionists and what better proof, they asked, than Mr. Robert McNamara's visit as head of the World Bank to help prop up the Yugoslav economy with new loans ?

"The Russians continued to accuse Mao of being an 'anti-Marxist' whose thought has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism'. The Rumanian leader, President Ceausescu, barely two days after the signing of the friendship pact with Moscow, called for a free debate within the world Communist movement to bring Marxism-Leninism into line with new social and economic trends.

'Strengthening the movements' unity can only be achieved on a new basis, in which the autonomy and independence of each party is fully ensured as well as its right to draw up its general policy in conformity with the concrete conditions prevailing in the country" the Rumanian President said. This is "National Communism" in its most obvious form, the culmination of a decade, the 1960s which saw "international communism" collapse totally as a useful concept.

"The invasion of Czechoslovakia was meant to halt the movement, but did the opposite.

Except, that is, in Czechoslovakia itself, and then presumably only for a few years. 1970 saw a further restoration of Soviet control. The Czechoslovak communist party went on with its purge, which included the expulsion of the former party leader Mr. Dubcek. By the time the purge finished in September, roughly one out of every five members had resigned or been expelled. Non-party people were also questioned about their political beliefs, and many lost their jobs. Yet in marked contrast to 1956 in Hungary it was done without putting political leaders on trial. A number of leading intellectuals who had been charged earlier in the year found the trial abandoned—much to the annoyance of the party's hard liners and Stalinists, who tried to pressurise Dr. Husak into a tougher policy. "By the year's end there was some tentative evidence that the worst might now be over in Czechoslovakia. If so, the country might then embark

on something like the slow uphill path which has now made Hungary into the most relaxed (a relative term of course) country in Eastern Europe. The Hungarian party held its tenth congress in November. It was marked by new efforts to foster decentralisation and self-criticism inside the party.

"But the most dramatic and definite reconciliation of all in 1970 remains the flowering of Bonn's Ostpolitik, and the treaties signed with the Soviet Union and Poland. Only two years after claiming West German infiltration in Czechoslovakia as one pretext for the invasion, the Kremlin was making friends with Willy Brandt and inviting West Germany to lend Russia capital and technological know-how.....some of the.....hurdles of European cooperation have been surmounted.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Food and Man by Miriam E. Lowenberg ; E. Neige Todhunter ; Eva D. Wilson ; Moira C. Feehey and Jane R. Savage. Published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc. New York and reprinted in India by Wiley Eastern Private Limited, J41 South Extension I, New Delhi 49, Royal Qto 342 ; X illustrated, art paper cover, price Rs. 4.50. The authors have made an extensive and thorough study of nutrition and food habits of human beings and have produced a remarkable treatise of great importance to humanity. Hunger has played a great part in Man's history. The present position shows that some nations spend a very high per-

centage of their income on food, while others the affluent and generously fed nations spend a much smaller portion of their incomes on food. India tops the list of food buyers with nearly 80% expenditure on food and Canada comes lowest with about 23%. Among European nations the highest expenditure on food is found in Portugal, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and France. Americans are the most lavish in eating. They eat 6000 varieties of food. But they spend only 26% of their individual incomes on food. The national percentage was 13%. The book can be

recommended to all students of social sciences.

Some health books by Dr. S. J. Singh being of the new nature cure series of booklets published by him from the Nature Cure Council of Medical Research, 51-52 Gwynne Road, Lucknow-1. The booklets are "The Potato Cures"; "Combating colds, coughs, catarrh and sinus trouble"; "Abolishing Rheumatism, Gout and Arthritis"; "Natural Treatment of Piles and Varicose Veins"; "Putting off the Old Man and Putting on the New"; "Banana for Health"; "Getting Rid of Heart Disease"; and "An Apple a Day". The books are priced reasonably and provide many useful health suggestions.

Unforgettable Lessons of History : Being a collection of articles by Soviet Generals of the War of 1941-45 Published by Novostis Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, USSR. The Generals are Marshals Grechko, Zhukov, Moskalenko, Zacharov, Yepishev and Shtemenko.

The Sources of a Vicious Course by Otto Braun published by Mercantile Publishers, 4-5/B, Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, Price Re 1/- The book contains the memoirs of the German Communist Otto Braun who stayed in China from 1932 to 1939.

The Economic Implications of the Union Budget, 1970-71 by Prof. Russi Jal Taraporevala, published by the Forum of Free Enterprise, Sohrab House, 235 Dr. D. N. Road, Bombay-1.

Also published by the same organisation is another booklet **The Anatomy of Waste and Inefficiency in Engineering Construction** based on a speech delivered by W. X. Mascarcuhas, Chief Engineer of a State.

The Reorganised Planning Commission by H. K. Paranjape published by The Indian Institute of Public Administration, Indra-

prastha Estate, New Delhi. It is a study in the implementation of administrative reforms.

Published by the same organisation is another booklet **Centre-State Relations in Planning** by H. K. Paranjape. Prof. Paranjape prepared this paper initially for the National Convention on Centre-State Relations and it deals with an important issue.

P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer : by K. Chandrasekharan, published by the Director Publications Division, Government of India in their Builders of Modern India Series. Crown Oct. pp 158+X Illustrated one plate, paper board binding, price Rs. 2.75. The writer knew Sir Sivaswami Aiyer quite intimately. His father was a great friend of Sir Sivaswami. This short biography therefore is not only of sound documentary value; but has a certain literary appeal which one does not meet with very often in books of this type. It can be recommended to readers who like to know more about the great sons of India of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Modern India and World Fellowship : By Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Vice-chancellor, Patna University. Being the Kamala Lecturer for 1967, University of Calcutta, delivered in 1969. Published by Macmillan Co. Ltd. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London. Demy Oct. pp 104+6 Paper Board, Art Jacket Price Rs. 12.00. Dr. Datta is a reputed scholar and his Kamala Lectures are an exposition of India's Internationalism and efforts at creating fellowship between different races and nationalities. Dr. Datta states and proves by documentation how universalism has been inherent in Indian civilization and culture. India preached the gospel of love and universal brotherhood through the **Upanishads** and teachings of the Buddha. Later many foreign travellers visited India (Arabs and Chinese) and carried India's message to humanity to the outside

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world. Even after Europeans started visiting India, Hindu philosophy attracted the attention of Western savants and many Sanskrit treatises were translated into German, French and English. Even during relatively modern times many great European scholars have visited India. Dr. Datta names among others Prof. Sylvain Levi, Dr. M. Winternitz and Dr. Sten Konow. Those who visited foreign lands from India were also remarkable for their cultural achievements. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was the greatest among such persons. Dr. Datta's lectures are well worth preserving in book form and would be enlightening to all students of the cultural history of India.

Guru Nanak : A collection of essays on Guru Nanak by different writers with a foreword by Smt. Indira Gandhi and an introduction by Sri Satya Narayan Sinha. Published by Publications Division Government of India pp 224+XVIII, one colour plate, paper cover price Rs. 4.00. Apart from the introduction there are 19 essays by well known persons. Dr. Zakir Husain, the late President of India delivered a speech on Guru Nanak on the 14th April 1969 of which the text is incorporated in this book. Other essays of special interest are "Guru Nanak's concept of God by Dr. Jodh Singh," contribution of Guru Nanak to Saint-Literature "by Shri Parasurama Chaturvedi "Guru Nanak and Indian sadhana' by Shri Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar and "Guru

Nanak—a social Revolutionary" by Shri Ujjal Singh, governor of Tamil Nadu.

Gipsies Forgotten Children of India : by Bhikshu Chaman Lal with a foreword by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India Demy Oct. pp.216+XVI illustrated by many plates, art paper cover, price Rs. 5.00. It is a very interesting and well written book. Shri Chaman Lal writes from personal enquiry and investigation and the book has great documentary value. As India is considered to be the home of Gipsies it is a subject in which all Indian's should be particularly interested.

Political Socialization and Student Activism in Indonesia : By Prof. Stephen A. Douglas published by University of Illinois Press Urbana, Chigago, USA, Royal Qrto pp 234, VIII, Map, cloth bound Price \$7.95. The book gives a clear analysis of the part played by Indonesian students in abolishing communism and establishing a "new order" and would provide interesting reading to those who wish to understand the student movement of Indonesia. The students of Indonesia appear to possess more practical common sense than students normally do in other countries. Prof. Douglas provides some very interesting statistics to illustrate the conclusions he arrives at. The student problem is very serious in India and this book will indicate lines which our administrators should follow for a solution of the problem.



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CONTENTS FOR MARCH 1971

Whole No. 771

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 161 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 169 |
| The Problems of Union of the States of India—Prabuddha N. Chatterjee | ... | ... | ... | 178 |
| Social and Economic Aspects of Bhuvanesvara—Adris Banerji | ... | ... | ... | 184 |
| Economic Philosophy of Rabindranath—Dr. A. K. Sur | ... | ... | ... | 189 |
| Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia—The Uncompromising Socialist—N. Kamraju Pantulu | ... | ... | ... | 192 |
| Place of Judiciary in the Indian Constitution—M. Saleem Kidwai | ... | ... | ... | 195 |
| Romanticism : Problems and Difficulties—D. D. Agiawal | ... | ... | ... | 202 |
| The Problem of Peace in West Asia—Dr. Y. S. Mehta | ... | ... | ... | 205 |
| C. Y. Chintamani A Selfless Patriot—N. Rajamani | ... | ... | ... | 207 |
| P. C. Sorcar—The Maharajah of Magic—P. Thankappan Nair | ... | ... | ... | 210 |
| Poetry of the age of confusion : Dinkar's Hare Ko Harinam—Subhas Chandra Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 215 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 218 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 221 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 228 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 233 |

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NOTES

Murder of a National Leader

The assassination of the Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Kumar Bosu has raised a vital question to all Bengalis. Are we going to be ruled by killers who have no shame, no pity nor any human considerations ; but have such a firm belief in the efficacy of murders as a political weapon that they go about with knives in their hand looking for helpless victims of any age or any standing in the social political life of the nation ? Can murderers be fair and just rulers of any country ? Can they set up lawful governments of any type anywhere when they settle all differences of opinion, all opposition by slitting open the throats of those who question their wisdom and authority, or are in opposition to them in politics.

The answer is that Bengalis cannot and will not agree to tolerate this murder cult. We cannot have youngmen indoctrinated into the ways of predators. We know that some mature minds are behind the development of a mental condition in our youngmen and women in which they think slaughtering

innocent persons mercilessly is an approved method of achieving political power. In ancient and medieval times dynasties fought dynasties or political groups carried on war against each other in order to gain ascendancy in the field of rulership. But they did not follow a cloak and dagger policy and try to achieve political objectives by organised murders. Even during revolutions no one advocated assassinations as a method of winning in a political fight. Liquidations or purges have been merciless and have caused the death of numerous persons : but those killings were carried out with some semblance legality and lawful procedure. The obscenity and the shamelessness of pouncing upon unsuspecting opponents, exploding bombs and stabbing them to death have nothing comparable in revolutionary warfare or in the official carrying out of mass capital punishment. What is now going on in West Bengal is glorification of the lowest crimes that can be imagined. And people who are preaching this hideous cult to our youth are going unpunished. One may be excused if one thought that the Governor of West Bengal

is in a position to know who these preachers are and that he is largely responsible for the present state of affairs in so far as he is not putting these aiders and abettors of murders behind the bars. Some even suggest that he is positively sympathetic towards these instigators of crime. The Governor is the ruler of West Bengal and he is responsible for the safety and security of the people of the State. If he cannot control the knife wielding and bomb throwing murderers who roam the streets of Calcutta freely and do what they like without anyone doing anything to stop them, he should resign and leave the *gaddi* that he is occupying in the name of the President of India. If he feels sympathy for the preceptors of assassins, he should, first of all, give up the post of Governor. If a political party adopts a policy, either openly or in secret, which induces the youthful members of the party to commit murders, those responsible for the adoption and propagation of such a policy should be imprisoned immediately. If the police officers dealing with such matters say they are not sure of the identity of the persons who teach people to commit murders, such police officers should be replaced without any delay.

Hemanta Kumar Bosu was a seventy six year old politician who had been a legislator for more than a quarter of a century. He has been a bachelor who had devoted his life to the cause of the people. He was a close associate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and was the chairman of the All India Forward Bloc organisation. At the time when he was struck down by "ideologically" inspired assassins, he was moving about without police protection, attending public meetings connected with his candidature for the ensuing elections. He refused to have any body-guards as he thought that would be an expression of fear. He said he had gone

through his fairly long life without feeling frightened and he did not wish to change his mental outlook. Hemanta Kumar Bosu had no enemies for the reason that he had always been honest, straight forward, just and fair even where his worst critics and opponents were concerned. He was eminently free from meanness and malice. The persons who so ferociously attacked and killed this loveable old political worker were definitely employed by some utterly low and criminally minded gang leaders who had a hypnotic hold over their youthful followers. These masters of inhuman anti-social activities mesmerise their youthful admirers by convincing and high sounding misinterpretations of the sayings of well known political philosophers. The immature youths believe whatever these confidence creating criminals say and agree to commit the most heinous of crimes in the belief that by these despicable acts they will help to make the world a better place to live in and human society more perfect. But the fake ideals that are preached to these youthful disciples of the political criminals poison their mental outlook. They begin to suffer from what may be described as a form of artificially induced lunacy. All these youngmen and women must be rescued from the clutches of the criminals who masquerade as political thinkers. Unless this is done the shadow of death will continue to darken the landscape of Bengal and a psychological pestilence will destroy the sanity of the youth of the state.

Elections, Democracy and National Progress

Elections for choosing members of legislatures by voting is a recognised method of setting up and operating democratic forms of government in modern political societies. Those countries which have adopted democratic constitutions and manage their political affairs by free, fair and popularly approved

methods of election, believe that democracy assures the people the greatest good of the greatest number as also the maximum enjoyment of freedom by all nationals. It should be noted here that not all countries which claim to have democratic forms of government are true democracies. There are some countries with single party dictatorial forms of government which also call themselves democracies but are in reality just plain and simple authoritarian states. Elections in these countries are just for show. The single political party, which is a ruling minority, tell the people to vote for a person or persons selected in advance by the leaders of the coterie. We are not discussing the put up jobs falsely called elections in these fake democracies of a dictatorship pattern. The democracies which have free and fair elections usually have at least two political parties and sometimes more. These parties indulge in mutual criticism, expound their own political beliefs and try to prove to the people that their ideas and ideals of government will prove to be the most beneficial for the people of the country. And the purpose of the nation's progress and its civilisation will be best served if their nominees were returned to the legislatures. The aim of a true democracy therefore is to refine, vitalise and develop the country's civilisation and to lend to the nation's culture a rarer ethical excellence in order to make the people purer and superior in their intellectual outlook and behaviour. Sound political parties fundamentally try and aspire to achieve these and similar objectives.

But unfortunately political parties in most democratic countries do not often have any such ideals. They try to make their propaganda appear attractive to the people by promises of better living conditions, more gainful employment, cheaper beer or tobacco and similar advantages of a grossly material

sort. In some developing countries like India, the promises are worse in point of vagueness and obvious ambiguity. They say they will make the rich poorer and the poor richer, give the voter what does not rightfully belong to them, make everybody happy and prosperous; without mentioning any methods or dimensions. In a country where the average annual per capita income is 400 hundred rupees, a perfectly equal distribution of wealth would give every Indian an annual income of Rs. 400 only. That should be taken as a threat and not as a promise by all who earn more than Rs. 35/- per month. At least such equality will make life very ascetic and abstemious for all ministers and members of parliament who now get allowances far in excess of that highly equitable average.

Some political leaders think that Indians must accept Chinese or Russian domination in order to achieve political perfection! Others flounder in a vortex of words and concepts without any reference to realities. We hear about monopolists, concentration of capital, exploitation of the masses and so forth; forgetting that our country has very little of the resources which, when misused, can develop into a positive menace to the people of the country. With about one percent of the population industrially employed we surely spend our time making mountains of moehills when we suggest industrial wage revisions as panaceas for all social evils. We are one of the highest taxed countries of the world and we have social legislation at par with most industrially advanced countries. Our problems are of compulsory education, fuller employment, linking up of villages by roads etc. etc. But these do not appeal to the megalomaniac romanticism of our look of our politicians. They want to make a song and dance over things which do not exist or are in a faintly flickering condition. It is a sort of mental disease to look at or think of things after

considerable psychological magnification. Very ordinary men are presented as supermen, common 2 inch by 4 inch incidents are glorified and given grand imaginary proportions.

Politicians live by exaggeration. But a nation cannot do so. Life's problems are dangerous realities. They must be handled accordingly. Where people are fed constantly on sythetic grandeur realities tend to be diluted down to negligible strength. That creates a false sense of security in people. We have been independent for two *yugas*. We intentionally use the Sanskrit term for a period of twelve years, so that we may remind ourselves of India's glorious past. Let us remember at times of forming new parliaments that ancient and medieval India produced the great shastras and the epics. That India was intellectually great; great also in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, literature, philosophy, logic and in all things which required clear thinking; clarity and precision in work, inspiration and superior skill. We should remember the Rishis, Vyasadeva, Valmiki, the Jaina Tirthankaras, Goutama the Buddha, the Emperor Asoka, Kalidasa, Nagaijuna, Varahamihira and numerous other creative thinkers and constructive workers of great eminence. There were thousands of superbly talented men of wonderous ability where there are not even two dozens now.

We have learnt to worship men of other nations and to forget, or even to despise, our own people. Pride of heritage gives a nation that implicit confidence in its future which carries it through difficulties with a sure-footedness which cannot be borrowed from China, Russia, England or the United States of America. We therefore need leaders who have knowledge of and faith in our heritage. They are the people who can show us the path of future glory. Borrowed feathers may be all right for duping the unintelligent. They

are not good enough when it comes to a question of true achievement.

We do not however advocate a form of ancestor worship; for that cannot lead us to any assured contacts with the lines of work to be followed by a modern nation. We cannot solve our problems of aviation by meditating on the glories of the *Puspaka* of Shri Ramachandra. Only the heart finds strength in thoughts of past greatness. The brain has to look for inspiration within its own store house of knowledge and by use of its powers of ever new syntheses. But present day outlook avoids studying the past; because it is gone and is no more. It also avoids any intensive study of modern science and technology; because it demands hard work deep analytical reasoning and concentration. In fact the modern outlook is somewhat easy going, addicted to clever intellectual manipulations and dependent upon the general all round ignorance of lesser men. It is necessary that we recover that habit of going to the root of things; to an intensive study of details and a repeated checking up of data which we must collect assiduously and with a whole hearted thoroughness. We may emulate the Japanese and the Germans. Our past will give us faith in our ability. Purposefulness will point to us the way to the successful culmination of our ventures. Politics expresses the social will of a nation. There should be a clear cut, straight forward and honest approach to the nations problems in our politics. Hoodwinking, confidence tricks, false promises and unfair practices should be scrupulously avoided. Politics moreover is the foundation of all laws. Politicians therefore have a special responsibility for maintaining and strengthening the laws of the land. Political work defeats its own purpose when it is carried out by breach of the law. All political workers have to remember this at all times.

Pensions for Industrial Worker

Recently President V. V. Giri passed an ordinance by which he instituted a pension scheme for about three million working class people who contribute a certain specified minimum percentage of their earnings to the already existing National Provident Fund Scheme. A worker who becomes entitled to a pension under this new scheme will enjoy certain social security measures with his dependants. Thus if he died before earning the pension his family members would get certain widows' and orphans' benefits ; such as a monthly allowance of Rs. 40/- to Rs. 150/- along with a lump sum payment of Rs. 1000/-. The Government of India would be paying 1 1/6% of the worker's earnings which will be added to that part of the worker's and the employer's contribution that will be accumulated for pensions in this fund. It is a good scheme in so far as thirty lakh workers out of numerous million working class people will be given a much desired social security under its provisions. But the Government of India would have to put in 7 crore and 60 lakh rupees annually into this fund which will benefit an infinitesimal minority among the workers of India. These workers are by no means the people who most need social security. It is also not clear why this scheme had to be introduced so suddenly by an ordinance. One reason might have been that it was found necessary to make a gesture to show the Government's feeling of urgency relating to social security measures. And there was the question of the nation's ability to pay for such measures.

Had the matter been discussed fully and properly it might have been discovered that the particular workers chosen for social security benefits were by no means the people who most needed the same. There are workers in India who earn less than two rupees a day

for not more than two hundred days in a year. There are many who do not earn even that much. We have quite a few million workers who live under trees or on the foot-paths of city streets. There are millions of destitutes who live by begging. There are others, quite as numerous who earn their living through crime. In the circumstances the nation might not have selected three million workers for a special benefit, knowing that these workers perhaps regularly earn more than three hundred rupees per month or more.

However if Government go in for such measures more extensively the question of funds will come uppermost. We can say with confidence that state assistance will have to be increased from 7.6 crores to 76 crores and thereafter to 760 crores per annum, before we know where we are in the sphere of granting social security to all Indians irrespective of their occupations, earnings, possessions and the rest of all that. We have no knowledge of the governments intentions ; but we have some idea of their limitations in actual ability to do things.

A Civilisation of Tolerance

Indian civilisation is based on the ideal of enlightened tolerance. We know the differences that separate us and yet we believe in non-interference with one another and try to live in peace. For we know there is a common humanity that binds us together and enables us to discover our fundamental unity in diversity. We are not weak in our defence of the particular beliefs and principles which give us our distinctive character community wise ; but we know how to live and let live—we have known it for millenia—and that is why the Indian civilisation has not broken up.

The British did not have a very stiff and difficult task to establish what they called Pax Britannica in this ancient land, where,

inspite of periodical outbreak of hostilities between groups and coteries, toleration of differences had been the normal state of affairs. Asoka established an empire which rested on ethical principles, Akbar could override even Muslim fanaticism to unite Hindus with them ; and all such attempts at establishing fellowship and brotherhood at all periods of our history found in this psychological background of tolerance a powerful aid to overcoming antagonisms of every kind.

Our constitution after independence also reflects this attitude of mind, this willingness to live peacefully with others who have different ways of life, harbour beliefs which we do not share with them and preferences of a totally different sort. The fact that Indian minorities have enjoyed a fair deal in this country, while minorities in other lands have been persecuted and subjected to inhuman oppression go to show that India remained true to her faith in the common humanity of all Indians. In India members of minority communities have occupied the highest offices that the constitution had created which is something that has not happened in other countries.

But we are finding it very difficult to uphold our time honoured principles in a changing atmosphere in which foreign enemies and their Indian fifth columns are combining to destroy the atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance which has been a powerful factor of political amity in the country. Agents provocateurs and saboteurs are rampant all over the country and differences which were not considered important enough to be used for purposes of political agitation, are now being used as sticks to beat one another. Language, state boundaries, location of industries, mineral deposits, commercial and economic advantages—anything that comes to the mind of seekers after *causus belli*, is

being used to put forward demands and claims with a view to destroy the nation's unity. The broader considerations of national integration are being thrown overboard by those who are out to create an anarchical situation. They are being financed by India's enemies in a brazen manner. It is a grave national crisis and all Indians must close their ranks to overcome and control its growth.

Socialism, Social Reform and Social Security

Whosoever does not proclaim his faith in and willingness to adhere to a political system of a socialistic type is not necessarily a person who does not believe in social welfare, in doing good to the less fortunate members of society and in practising self-denial for the greatest good of the greatest number. There may be very ardent public benefactors who do not believe in setting up any kind socialism of the political sort. The greatest well wishers of humanity have not been the so-called socialists ; many have been kings, wealthy persons of property, industrial and commercial lords and similar persons. If one looks for the makers of great endowments for setting up hospitals, orphanages, schools, colleges, dharmashalas etc. one finds numerous non-socialists who have been the donors. People who had spent their fortunes in having trees planted on the road side for creating cool halting places for pedestrians, for having wells and tanks dug to provide drinking water to the public, for building temples, for poor feeding, arranging for *hats* and fares (*melas*) ; one will not find any declared socialists anywhere. Politically boosted and publicised socialism was not heard of when the Buddhist *Shresthi's* gave away their fortunes for the Buddha, for ethical considerations and for the good of the community (*sangha*). The great Christian monasteries were all built by donors who realised that the monks and the

nuns were the servants of the people and devoted their lives to help the poor, the sick, the ignorant, the orphans and the spiritually impoverished.

So that when Sm. Indira Gandhi announces "Garibi Hatao" (remove poverty) from her highly placed political platform she merely repeats what generations of well wishers of humanity have gone hoarse over by preaching their social philosophy. Poverty has not been removed inspite of all the words uttered by the great personalities from the Buddha down to Mahatma Gandhi. The only countries from which poverty and want have been largely removed are the non-socialistic and industrially well developed countries like Sweden, Switzerland, Britain, Denmark, Holland, West Germany, Japan, Canada and Australia. Socialistic Russia has great wealth but it is not used for the removal of human want. It is mostly used for creating a powerful and grand setting for the socialistic government of the USSR. Socialistic China has not yet been able to amass all that wealth. The Chinese therefore have a thinner time compared to most other nations. We Indians have no wealth and what capital we could borrow from the wealthy nations was ill used by the Jawaharlal Nehru camp of economic planners for setting up economically unsound industries and for social benefit measures which failed to enrich society. This left the country with millions of unemployed, half-employed and others who earned mere subsistence wages. Removal of poverty will require the employment of a hundred million persons at wages higher than Rs. 25/- per day, let us say. Has Mrs. Gandhi arranged to employ any one with that objective before her?

Employment is the begining of social security. Without employment one does not

obtain any share in the total national dividend through lawful earnings and is, therefore cut out of active participation in the economic life of the community. The earnings that come to workers are not usually large enough to provide very many important requirements that the workers and their dependents should get as their human needs. Education, medical treatment, money assistance when earnings fall short or totally cease due to illness of the workers, also when women workers cannot work for reasons connected with maternity. Similar financial help has to be given to widows, orphans, injured persons and to people who are too old to work. Wages and salaries are too meagre for the majority of working class people to fulfil all such extraordinary requirements which circumstances give rise to, and civilised societies arrange to grant security to the ordinary earning members of the nation from these extraordinary needs out of funds raised by taxation and incomes derived from state monopolies like railways, postal and telegraphic services and other profit yielding ventures like national airlines, transport systems etc. etc.

Where there is not much employment nor enough revenues due to general poverty, there can be no properly functioning socialistic set up. India is a country which suffers from unemployment very intensively. Most of the people do no productive work and such of them as have any gainful employment earn very little in wages and salaries. The government's revenues are inadequate and the state cannot arrange for the social security of the people. More production, employment and prosperity are what we need very urgently. The cry of socialism in an ill organised and under developed society is untimely and has little hope of any advantageous culmination.

The Efficacy of Stoppages of Normal Activities

Ways of expressing feelings collectively can become stereotyped as do individual spiritual or moral reactions which we notice all the time in hundreds of thousands of people going to the Sagar or the Kumbh Mela or in individual early morning recitals of religious verses. In the political sphere we find very commonly calls for Bundhs or stoppages of work or the normal activities of life in order to express public disapproval of something or other. This has become a habit with the leaders of political parties whose calls for Bundhs are very willingly obeyed by numerous people to whom a Bundh means an extra holiday. No school, college and office, no travelling in overcrowded public vehicles and no attending to normal duties. All chauffeurs take a day's full-pay leave, servants do not come to do household work; but everybody eats and passes the period of stoppage restfully and without suffering any great inconvenience or pain of any kind.

But we should try to assess the real usefulness of these *hartals* or *bundhs* as cures for any of the evils to discourage and condemn which these stoppages of work are called. How do these stoppages put the evil doers in a position of disadvantage and difficulty in which they will fear to commit such evil deeds again with impunity. We do not find that hartals in anyway discourage murderers or bus burners to perpetrate their anti-social acts on the public. We feel that they have a quiet laugh when they find how helpless and incapable the political leaders are to punish or pressurise them. What is required to make criminals regret their crimes or to feel frighte-

ned to repeat their vile and obnoxious acts is not a *bundh* or *hartal*, but a much more virile and active gesture of popular disapproval. A hartal is something like passive resistance or satyagraha and can hardly succeed in rousing shame or repentance in minds hardened by crime. When the British shot down unarmed people Gandhiji fasted; but that did not bring about a change of heart and of outlook in the imperial overlords. But when Netaji Subhas won over the very mercenaries who had been loyal to the British for generations, by infusing patriotic fervour in them and made them fight the British, it was only then that the British changed their view point. Moral persuasion works only with the morally conscious and sensitive types of persons. Where coarseness of action has toughened the heart, ethics or logic cut no ice. The public have a fair knowledge of what groups and coteries produce these lawless defiers of the rules of social ethics. The public therefore must combine to put such pressure on these gangs as would make them feel that they are not going to rule society by rowdism and by acts of terrorisation. If that does not succeed then these men should be subjected to non-cooperation of a kind that will be felt by them. No jobs, no business, no donations, no hospitality no support whatsoever of even one's family members—if these men continue to act tyrannically in order to impose their will on the public. And whoever collaborates with them should also be subjected to this type of boycotting. All these people live by exacting money, food, accommodation and general support from the people of the localities where they live. Such contributions must be stopped.

CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

If you ever wish to go to Balarampur, I shall tell you the route. You know where five roads meet at Shyambazar? It is there that you have to catch your bus. All buses do not go to Balarampur. But you will find the conductors yelling —Itinda Ghat, Itinda Ghat—.

There are others calling out—Barasat, Basirhat, Taki—

But go up a little farther and you will come to a number of buses in a cluster near the kerb. There also you will see a large crowd of persons ; men women, hawkers,

Mr. Bimal Mitra is one of the best known novelists of Bengal. He has written about fifty novels, many of which are “best sellers”. Some have been used by cinema producers very successfully. This particular novel was published during the Gandhi centenary year and was respectfully dedicated to the Mahatma. Some of the Bengali words have been retained in this translation as these are commonly understood by the English speaking people of India. We are however giving the meanings of these words nevertheless as found necessary.

Gunge—A corn market ; Babu—a respectful suffix attached to the names of men ; Arat—a wholesale stores for the purchase and sale of goods in bulk ; Pathshala—a school ; Tol—a centre for Sanskrit studies ; Kavyatirtha—a degree granted for proficiency in Sanskrit literature ; Shastras—the sacred

porters and piles of luggage. You will see Bolorampor written in misspelt English upon the head board of the Bus. A mere look will convince you that it was for Balarampur. The tickets cost twelve annas for each passenger. And for twelve annas they will reach you right up to the market place of Balarampur. This is known to all as Balarampur Gunge. Mathur Shaw's large shop is right in the fore-front of the Gunge. That old sign-board is still fixed there over the entrance. The lettering is large and colourful and it reads “Balarampur Variety Stores,

books of the Hindus ; Srimadbhagavadgita—A holy book containing the teachings of Krishna the incarnation of God (of Vishnu, one of the holy trinity of the Hindus); Mahabharat—one of the Epics of Sanskrit literature divided in 18 parts of which Vanaparva is one ; Ram, Ram—in counting, persons devoted to Ram begin counting by pronouncing his name instead of saying “one”. Cowrie shells—Were used as money at one time. They are used for counting and keeping accounts too ; Kayastha—the second caste of the Hindus : Vaid—also a caste of the Hindus to which belonged those who practised medicine ; Kavyalankar—Nyaya-lankar—higher degrees granted for Sanskrit studies in literature and philosophy ; Chakkotti—Bengali spoken version of the name Chakravarty ; Kasi—the name of that portion of the city of Benares which is considered to be holy. (see also page 177.)

Pro. Mathur Saha. Balarampur." In that shop you can find everything beginning with soap, oil, lentils down to pan leaves, betel nuts, catechu and so forth. Even hurricane lanterns, torchlights, hinges and nails are all there.

And the Ichhamati is just there. The river is quite wide at that place. The ferry-boats are there to take one across from one side to the other. If you use the ferry, you might feel frightened. Fear of the boat sinking. The boatmen row the boat over with sixty-seventy passengers. Not only the passengers but also their bags and baggage. Many of them buy things from Mathur Shaw's Variety Stores on this side and go across to sell the same on a retail basis to the people over there.

Well, if you arrive there by the ten thirty bus, you will hear the Balarampur High School bell ringing out its ding-dong time signal, correct to the nearest second. Not even a minute's difference is permitted. Gour Bhattacharjee is very particular about punctuality. Then you go on eastward following the road on the Gunge front. It is a wide brick soled road. There are houses with gardens on both sides. After passing five houses, look to your left. You will see a large area surrounded by a high wall. And there is a huge gate forged out of steel rods and flats on the road on which the walled area has one corner. There is a large board on the gate and on the board is written "Balarampur High School".

The old gardener Janardan stands just by the gate. Janardan will open the gate as soon as he sees you.

He will ask,—Where are you coming from?

You will say,—I am coming from the publishers—

—You want to get your books included in the school's list of text books?

Janardan will know what you have come for by looking at the bundle of books that you will be carrying. He has been a gardener there since donkey's years. He has been seeing the publisher's canvassers year after year. They come with piles of books. Then when the year's booklists are printed and given out one sees them no longer. They do not come near the place for at least a year.

You will naturally feel surprised and ask—How do you know all this?—

Janardan will smile faintly.

He will say—You asked to see the Head Master. Bhabaranian Babu is the Head Master; but he does not deal with all this. All that is looked after by our Gour Pandit Mashai—

—Gour Pandit-Mashai? Who is he?

Janardan will say—Oh, you are then new at this game,—he is all in all in this school. You have not heard Gour Pandit-Mashai's name? Well, then there is no hope for your books getting into our lists. This school is his school you know.

Well, Janardan had not lied. Janardan belonged to the period when the Balarampur High School was initially established. At that time Balarampur had no schools or Pathshalas. It was Gour Bhattacharjee-Mashai who called in Janardan one day and gave him a job.

Janardan remembers all that. One day he met Bhattacharjee-Mashai on the road and bowed down to touch his feet in a respectful pranam.

—Oh hello you? Who are you?—

—Sir, I am Janardan—

—Oh! Well, how are you my boy?—

Janardan said,—But sir, how can I be well?

—Why my boy, why are you not well? What is the matter with you?

Janardan said,—I have lost the job at Mr. Shaw's wholesale shop.

Bhattacharjee-Mashai stopped speaking as if dumb-founded and then said,—Lost your job? Why have you? What was your fault my boy?

—Well sir, there was nothing wrong with me. The times are bad. Business is dull and not likely to look up; that's why I lost my job.

These are ancient history of Balarampur. The Balarampur of those days was not at all like this. No buses plied on the roads. There were no electric lights as there are now. The tar-mac roads had not yet been built. Even to-day Balarampur is only a rural habitation. In those days it was crudely rustic. No schools, nor even an old-style Pathshala. Nobody knew Sanskrit, nor did anyone want to learn Sanskrit. They wanted to learn English, geography or history. Only Sanskrit studies were not in any demand.

Gour Bhattacharjee asked—Would you work properly Janardan?

Janardan responded very eagerly and said—Have you any information about a job? Get it for me Pandit Mashai—it will be a great help. Any job—any pay. Just a roof over my head; I want nothing more—

Since then Janardan was employed at this Balarampur High School. The school was not yet established—it was only an idea slowly taking material shape. Such a big village, so many shops and an impressive market place; with crowds of people coming and going; it would be very suitable for a primary school or even a Pathshala.

Janardan asked—When will the school be started Pandit-Mashai?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said,—It will, it will, very soon—as soon as I get a suitable plot of land I shall start the Pathshala.

It took two years to find that suitable plot of land! Who would, after all, make a gift of

land. One may have plenty of land, but that does not mean that the owners of land will feel any desire to donate landed property. Ancestral inheritance was a windfall which one would like to keep a tight hold upon and to enjoy personally. Who would like to practise charity by giving away what has been obtained without any personal effort?

Mathur Shaw had amassed a fortune by running his wholesale stores business in the market place. Cash transactions, almost all. Counting rupees and small change had hardened the skin on all the five fingers of his hands.

He said—Who are you?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was rather young then. He could not be kept down. He worked from morning till night to collect money. You may say he was begging from everybody.

He said—My name is Gourapada Bhattacharjee; Kavyatirtha for academic merit. I stay in Balarampur. On the south side.

—How long have you been in Balarampur?

—I have come here about a year ago.

—What is your profession here?

—Teaching students.

—Where is your original home?

Mathur Shaw Mashai gathered much information. Mathur Shaw was quite old even then. He found out how much Gour earned, the number of his family members, sons and daughters and all the rest of it.

He said—If you start a Pathshala, how will you meet your household expenses?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—My Pathshala will not lack students sir. And you are all here, important and respectable persons. If you show your sympathy unstintingly, the Pathshala will be a sure success.

Then he halted a few moments and said—I am the son of a Brahmin. I am used to

fasting. If necessary I shall eat only one meal a day.

Mathur Shaw Mashai laughed and said—Well, you are a learned Brahmin, you may fast ; but what about the Brahmin lady, will she also fast ? And why should she ? You must consider her side of the arrangement too.

Gour Pandit said Shaw Mashai, the Shastras say Matkarmakrutparamo Madbhakta Sangabarjita.....that is he who works for God, works for the Almighty, he who is free from all desire, bears no enmity towards anybody, he alone will be able to see me--

Shaw Mashai understood nothing. But it sounded good and out of the ordinary.

He eagerly asked him to sit down next to him. He said - you sit here. I am quite bovine in my stupidity, I feel happy if I get money, I do money lending, I understand nothing of Sanskrit or such like matters. Please explain the meaning to me.

Gour Pandit Mashai was pleased to get such a good listener. He said, -you see, Mr. Shaw, you and I, all of us, we are all enchanted by our illusions. We say my household, my work, my master, we say all that don't we ? We do not realise that we are nothing but mere instruments. All that happens is caused by God. He is the worker, He is the source, He is everything

Even then Mathur Shaw understood nothing. He said—what does it mean Please explain very carefully and let me understand—

Gour Pandit said — I like to explain and expound, Mr. Shaw, but I find no audience, that is my sorrow, people do not understand Sanskrit. Now listen --

So Gour Pandit began to interpret *brimadbhagavadgeeta*. While buyers of oil, salt, spices, rice, lentils and so on, waited and listened to a middle aged man recite

Sanskrit at great speed and explain the meaning of what he recited. And Mathur Shaw, the owner of the shop sat facing him exuding spiritual bliss and devotion.

Some one asked the salesman—Who is he, Gorachand ? Gorachand manipulated the scales and replied— he is a Pandit—

—What is his name ? A new comer to Balarampur, isn't he ?

- He has hired a house in the south area, wants to start a Pathshala.

And Gour Pandit was proceeding non-stop with his Sanskrit verses and with their interpretation—*Nirbairah Sarbabhuteshu Yah Sa Mameti Pandavah*. That is, men are only instruments, he who offers all his intellectual and everyday efforts to God and works like a servant for the pleasure of the Almighty, he is "matkarmakrit". You understand Mr. Shaw, the Shastras say you have to be "Sangabarjita" that is you must give up all desire and attachment ;—for instance if I start a Pathshala here I must be devoid of all attachment. I must not think that the Pathshala will be my source of income and a means of livelihood... then.....

Gour Pandit was forgetting that he had to go home for his midday meal. Janardan was sitting near him. He said—Pandit Mashai, it is very late, you should get up.....

Gour Pandit was steeped in philosophical meanings. He got annoyed at this disturbance and said—you shut up ! You are an ignorant and you cannot appreciate anything—

So saying he continued with his annotative discourse—*Sarbabhuteshu Yah Sa Mameti Pandavah*. That is—

Mathur Shaw had seen many men but never another like this one. His business was long standing. Many men have come and gone as buyers since the inception of the Balarampur Variety Stores. Many have deceived him and he also had deceived many. But he

looked at this new arrival with quite different eyes.

He suddenly interrupted in the middle of words and said—Pandit Mashai, it is very late, have you had your food ?

—Food ? Eating ?

The interruption displeased the teacher. He said—No, no, eating can be postponed for the time being. I have found an experienced man like you, the Shastras say ‘Sarabhhutatma-bhutatma.....

Suddenly somebody came in and faced Mr. Shaw. Seeing him Mr. Shaw said, “How are you Gobinda Babu, come in, come in.”

Gobinda Babu sat down. He said,—no, I must not sit down;—I required some mustard oil, will have to be sent to the house, one tin—

He was getting up to go.

But Mathur Shaw Mashai called him from behind. He said—Oh, Gobinda Babu you have not met this gentleman, he is.....

Gour Bhattacharjee stood up. He greeted Gobinda Babu with folded hands and introduced himself. Mathur Shaw said,—he is the Chairman of the District Board Gobinda Chandra Chakravarty.....

Mathur Shaw also explained what Gour Pandit was trying to do. He said—He wants to start a Pathshala in Balarampur. He is a learned man. Wants me to give the land.

Gobinda Chakravarty was a busy man. Chairman of the District Board. He said, very good indeed. Why not come and see me some time ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai visited and spoke to almost everybody at that time in this manner. All that happened in the dim past. Balarampur was not at all like this in those days. Gour Pandit was also quite young at that time. The land was given by Mathur

Shaw Mashai. He took a great fancy to the Pandit. That big school which you see now, was situated then in a plot of about two and half acres full of jungle willows, wild yam bushes and weeds. A few Mango, Jambuberry and coconut trees in the milieu of a ditch full of dirty water ! Snakes and vermin. One day he made a deed of gift in favour of the school for the entire plot.

When you go inside, you will see a large open space in which the boys play. As you pass that you will notice an old man walking fast towards the gate. His Punjabi shirt has half sleeves, his dhoti is short in width and he has slippers on of an ancient design named after the great nineteenth century Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He has a folded cotton wrap thrown over his shoulders. A pocket watch is hung round his neck.

—Janardan, Janardan, shut the gate, shut the gate.—Janardan also has grown old. As soon as he hears the Pandit Mashai, he immediately shuts the gate. And a number of boys who were trying to come in get locked out.

—Here, why are you late ? Don't you know the school starts at ten thirty ?

—Here, you ? And you ?

They all stand with a sheepish look on their faces.

—Tell me, why are you late ? You ? And you ?

One of them ventured to stutter—My mother is ill and could not cook the rice—

—All right, you come inside.

Janardan opened the gate slightly and he crept in.

—And you ?

—I had to go to the barn Sir to take the cooked rice for my father—

Eventually Gour Pandit allowed everyone to come in. But they were warned, all of them, so that none would come late again.

But it was different and difficult with Anilesh. Anilesh Chatterjee.

—Even you are late, Anilesh ?

Then he said to Janardan—open, open the gate Janardan—

Janardan opened the gate. Anilesh walked in shamefully with ungainly steps and went straight towards the school building. He behaved as if his safety lay in hiding himself.

Gour Pandit was following him. As soon as he came closer he said—If you all begin to come late Anilesh, then whom will the students emulate ? From whom would they learn ? Who will show them the correct way of behaviour ?

Anilesh was really ashamed. He stood motionlessly and said—Pandit Mashai, you will not understand our problems—

—I will not understand ? What exactly do you mean ?

—No, Pandit Mashai, it is useless to explain. You belong to another age. We have heard you set up this school and all that. But we are born in this age and we have many problems now ! You know, I had wordy battle with my wife to-day. Let me tell you everything, she did not even cook my food.....

As he spoke, he stopped and then said—You are accusing me, just see who is there, who is going in—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned his face and looked. He saw the Mathematic Teacher Sasadhar Babu slinking in and making for the Office Room from behind the staircase—

—You are displeased with me, why, you do not say anything to Sasadhar Babu ? Tell him what you have to say—

Sasadhar Sarkar had heard all this but he ignored it and went on towards his destination.

But Gour Pandit was not so easy to

avoid. He went straight to Sasadhar and said—Sasadhar, is it ten thirty now ? You are all teachers of long standing—

Oh, stop it—said Sasadhar undaunted—It is enough that I have come at all !

--What is the meaning of that ?

—Meaning ? Have I got to submit an explanation to you ?

—What do you say, Sasadhar ? Is this school mine ; is it not your school too ? Have I built this school for myself ? What makes you speak like that ?

Sasadhar Sarkar said—When you built the school you built it ; you are nobody now. If I have to explain my conduct I shall do so to the Head Master, to the School Committee. Why do you come into this and jabber in an uncalled for fashion. Why don't you stick to your Sanskrit—

Gour Pandit was thunderstruck. He lost all power of articulation. Everything went topsy turvy in a moment. He did not hear nor notice when the bell rang, the classes assembled, the collective recital of Shastric verses was made ; he was insentient to everything.

But even that was only for a short while. Then he thought, why should he take any notice of Sasadhar's ill mannered utterances. Sasadhar was only a man of yesterday. How would he know how he secured this two and half acre plot from Mathur Shaw. What pains he had to take to change the attitude of Gobinda Chakravarty, the Chairman of the District Board. He went from house to house in Balarampur with Gobinda Chakravarty's letter, begging for donations. With that money he put up a tin shed and started his Pathshala. How would these new teachers, Sasadhar Sarkar or Anilesh Chatterjee know anything about all that ? Whose words are upsetting him ? What utter rubbish !

He went to his own room and picked up the Mahabharat from the table. Whenever he feels upset he reads it and his mind clears. He does not feel angry any more.

In the Vanaparba of the Mahabharat Yudhisthira says :

“Naham Karmaphalanweshi Rajputri
Charamyuta
Dadami Deyamityewa Yojc Shasthawa-
mityuta.....”

Oh, Princess I donot engage in action in search of fruit.

I give because giving is necessary I carry out ritualistic duties for duty's sake ; he who seeks fruit in return of religious performance, he is a trader of religion ; religion is stock in trade for him. He is low, he is contemptible.

* * * *

Well, in those days Balarampur had no such wide tar-coated roads, nor any big buildings as there are now. Where the buses stop now was the old Gunge or corn market. The Gunge is still there ; but hardly a Gunge of any size. In those days the porters carried numerous sack loads of paddy from Mathur Shaw's Arat stores and stacked them in the boats on the Ichhamati.

Bidhu Kayal used to have the sacks filled with paddy after weighment. And Shibu Mahato sat on a gunny bag spread on the road counting the bags that were taken out. The porters carried the bags on their heads and put them in the boats. There used to be a heap of cowrie shells on the left hand side of Shibu Mahato. Ram e Ram—two is two—three is three—four is four, four, four—the counting went on this way vocally till a hundred was reached and then a cowrie was transferred from the right to the left hand heap. Counting is utterly obnoxious as it goes. If one is absent minded even for a split second, everything goes wrong.

Leaving the Gunge behind, you go straight on to the south. A beaten track, if one traversed a quarter of a mile over ditches and the totally uneven patches one would come to the south zone of the village. This south zone was the worst part of Balarampur. Dirt everywhere. And a weed and algae laden pond.

Shibani had not understood at first. She was going to the town, a town ! She certainly had some sort of image of a town in her mind.

When she got into the bullock cart at her father-in-law's house in Mobarakpur, she had, unseen by others, folded her hands in prayer to her divine patron too.

Their uncle came to the cart and asked. --you are then going from this village, Gour ?

Gour Bhattacharjee touched his uncle's feet and carried his hands to his own forehead. He said --Yes uncle ; how long should I hang on in this small village ? There is no Pathshala or a Tol here, whom can I teach Sanskrit here ?

--But where have you decided to go ?

Gour Bhattacharjee had replied—to Balarampur--

--Balarampur? Where is that ? What District ? Is it a town ?

--Yes sir, a fully developed town.

--How many Brahmins or Kayasthas live there ?

--Thirty families of Brahmins and about a hundred and fifty houses occupied by Kayastha or Vaidyas. Apart from that, Balarampur is a place where educated people reside. They understand and appreciate merit. Where are any such men in Mobarakpur who understand the inner sense of Sanskrit studies ?

That is so. Uncle had said nothing, nothing more at the time. And what could

he say, anyhow ! His nephew had not said anything that was untrue ! Mobarakpur was no longer in any fully functioning condition. There was land, but not enough settlers. Those who were better class people had already left for towns to seek their fortune in service or business. Only mangoes and jack fruits did not suffice to feed people. And what gain was it here to become a Kavyatirtha at such great pains and expenditure.

—Then you are not coming back here ?

—I shall certainly come back if suitable opportunities take shape. But would they let me come back ? Balarampur also has a dearth of Kavyatirthas. There are no Tols or Pathshalas there. They will accept me very enthusiastically uncle—

—Oh well, I have not many more days. If you do come back you may not see me again. Wherever you happen to be I give you my blessings and wish you happiness.

That was the end.

That was the end of Gour Bhattacharjee's connection with Mobarakpur. But did Gour Bhattacharjee know that he would be in such a fix at Balarampur ? In fact he had a fellow student in his Tol called Kartick. Kartick Chakravarty's home was in Balarampur. This Kartick Chakravarty had gone from Balarampur to Navadwip to study for the Kavyatirtha degree at the Tol.

Kartick had asked—Where do you come from, my friend ?

Gour Bhattacharjee had said—Mobarakpur—

—Where is that ?

Gour Bhattacharjee explained,—It is the birth place of Kirti Kavyalankar, District Nadia, police station Hanskhali—We belong to his preceptor's family.

Kartick had exclaimed—Oh, then we should bow down and touch your feet. For

India had very few such great philosopher-logicians.

Gour Bhattacharjee had expressed sorrow and said—That may be so ; but those conditions and times are no longer there. Nyayalankar's family is extinct. And the preceptor's family members are also not alive. Only myself and my uncle—uncle's sons have turned out good for nothing ; they sit and smoke leaf cigarettes in the village Barwaritala and when they feel like it, they go and try to catch fish from the shallow lakes near by. They feel that fulfils their life's ambition—

—Then why do you not come over to our place.

—Your place ? Where ?

—Balarampur. In the Twenty-Four Parganas—

Kartick Chakravarty had said that such a long time ago. Perhaps out of courtesy only. But the words were not erased from his mind even after he had returned from Navadwip back to Mobarakpur. He had mentioned it a number of times to his uncle in course of conversations. He also discussed the matter with some well-to-do people of the village as a project. But no one showed much interest. Sanskrit ? Kavyatirtha ? What good will it do to us by learning Sanskrit ? It will not help to fill the stomach.

All worthless talk ! If the people belonging to the birthplace of the great and erudite Kirti Kavyalankar speak in that way, then one could hardly feel any affection for that locality.

They all heard one day about his plans. Having heard they exclaimed in surprise—Balarampur ? Where on earth is Balarampur ?

—It is the home country of my fellow student Kartick Chakkotti. We studied together for the Kavyatirtha degree at Navadwip ;

people know how to appreciate merit there, you know, they are not like you all—

Holding on to that slender thread of acquaintance, Gour Bhattacharjee one day got into a bullock cart with his wife and left Mobarakpur. Starting on his journey after repeating the name of his goddess—Durga, Durga—several times. The railway station was about eight miles away over a long dirt track. Entraining there, straight on to Balarampur. But where was Kartick ? Kartick Chakravarty ? He got his Kavyatirtha degree from Navadwip. Son of a Brahmin ? He had just got off the train with his wife at Balarampur.

A man told him on the road outside—Kartick Chokkotti ? Listen ; he does not stay here any longer ! He has left home to settle down at Kasi.

—Then what is one to do ?

It was a shameful situation ! Gour Bhattacharjee beat his hand on his forehead at his own stupidity.

For shame ! One should have written first before coming. It has been an act of great indiscretion to arrive suddenly at an unknown place with family.

And his wife was there with him.

Well, one must admit that the people of Balarampur were very good. They procured a passable shelter for them. Somewhere about the centre of the south area, a two roomed house. With a courtyard in front. A shed at one corner of the courtyard. That was to serve as a kitchen. And there was a pond in front.

Shibani peeped out of a corner of her veil and had a look at the house.

She said—How are we going to live in this ?

Gour Bhattacharjee lost his temper. Said—Why, this is far better than your Mobarakpur.

Shibani said—Water ? What arrangements for drinking water ?

—Why, there is that pond which you can see. Endless supply of water ! Fill your pitchers with water and drink ! There is a slight flavour of slime but that should not stand in your way. Did you have a pond in front of your house at Mobarakpur ? You can drink as much water here as you like—there is no one to stop you —

(To be Continued)

Durga—Consort of god Shiva ; Mashai—the word is added to the names of respected men ; Saha—same as Shaw ; Pandit—A learned man ; Yudhisthira —The eldest of the five Pandava brothers in the Mahabharat.

Translated by—K. Chatterjee

THE PROBLEMS OF UNION OF THE STATES OF INDIA

PRABUDDHA N. CHATTERJEE

Before the British era, India was never a coherent nation. The probability of being such arose only out of the circumstances created under British Rule. During the Mohammedan and the Hindu periods of Indian History there was no concept of Indian nationalism as such. India was essentially a land of numerous peoples ruled over by dynasties; sometimes two or more such communities were held together by an imperial dynasty within an empire on the same lines as in the "Holy Roman Empire".

Then two hundred years ago, from the time of the battle of Plassey, a totally strange race, different in complexion and appearance, in manners, outlook and habits began to acquire gradual dominion over heterogeneous India. About hundred years from now, the process was complete and from that time the different peoples of India were placed in union under the common grind of the same alien overlordship.

Resistance to this overlordship then inevitably pointed to the necessity of a common front against the subjugator. Struggle against a common enemy, when long and sustained, welds peoples in a bond of fellow feeling. When the various Indian peoples fought against a common foreign subjugator, they acquired thereby a community of feeling as comrades-in-arms in a common cause and this has been the chief cementing bond of union in the Republic that was born after the parture of the British. Otherwise the

various peoples of India would be very much the same inter se as the various nationalities of Europe.

Such was the background available for the construction of independent India. After the British had left, several nationalities, each with their distinctive language and national features, were left with a common hope for a combined democratic regime. But a mixed national composition with sharp difference among peoples never suits a democracy. The unitary structure of state was therefore unsuitable in India. A federal structure was called for. Only a federation could reconcile the larger common needs with national or regional differences. A federal system alone could combine central supremacy in regulating larger common interests with decentralisation of powers and provincial home rule in other matters.

In other words, while the nationalities within India willingly surrendered their supremacy to a common Government in matters of general interests, they wanted home-rule or self-government so far as their local or regional interests were concerned. They were quite willing to give up any idea of forming separate independent nation-states of their own but they were not just prepared to surrender their respective national identities. They were quite happy to relegate themselves to the status of sub-nationalities merging into a great nation in the making. But all the same, it remained urgent, at least to start with,

that their distinct status should be formulated and respected in any project of federation.

A good start was given towards pleasing the sentiments of the different nationalities thus to be turned into sub-nationalities when special recognition was given to their several languages in the Constitution of the Federation. Fourteen languages are mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution out of which twelve are those sub-national languages. There can be no doubt that the sameness of language is among the strongest bonds that hold people together. There is little wonder in this because speech is not only an attribute which raises a human being from non-human level but is also invaluable for the conduct of affairs of any association or organisation including the Government itself.

Here, we must distinguish language from mere dialect. There is much misunderstanding on this point. Sameness of dialect is not necessary in making a nationality. Everywhere it is language which created literature in which the highest thoughts of a people are preserved. A dialect does not make a literature. It is unfit to be used in Government communications. A dialect is nothing more than a form, often a crude form, of the same language as used in particular local areas.

Our leaders should have endeavoured from the outset to form a federation with nationalities in India as units. This was the promise—as recorded in the Motilal Nehru Report—given all along by the Congress during the times of struggle against the British domination.

Only three things ought to have counted for a people to qualify as a national unit in such a federation—viability, language and geographical contiguity, in that order. People such as the Telugus, the Malayalees, the

Maharashtrians, the Gujrateres and not least of course,—the Bengalees, speaking languages recognised in the Constitution and living as viable compact communities should have been at the outset given self-determination within the federal frame-work. In other words, our federal units should have been such compact communities as would be able, at least within a reasonable period to support themselves financially—not like Nagaland—timidly conceded by Jawaharlal Nehru, our late Prime Minister,—in perpetual need of Central or Federal subsidy.

The great thing to avoid bad blood was to concede from the start the right of such communities or sub-nationalities to live a life of their own, unhampered by the Centre in matters of regional and sub-national interests.

One possibility however, confronts a federation of nationalities envisaged above viz. that of an attitude of extraterritorial allegiance among isolated groups of people of one nationality sojourning or living in the territories of others, all within the same Federation. In any event, individuals and families of one nationality must visit or live in territories of other nationalities inside the federation and the question is whether they would be justified in turning to their home state or province for succour in case of difficulty. This question assumed prominence during the blood-curdling events in Assam in 1960 and 1961. In distress the Bengalees of Assam, victims of unparalleled persecution, looked to West Bengal for help and shelter. It was said by some critics that this meant that thenceforward when people of other 'states' or provinces residing in Bengal felt themselves in trouble, they would approach their respective home provinces and induce or compel them to intervene in West Bengal affairs. Thus Rajasthan Government would, it was said,

then demand guarantees from the West Bengal Government for the safety of the Marwaris in Calcutta. The Punjab Government would call for explanation from the West Bengal Government for any alleged discrimination against the Punjabi taxi or bus drivers. It was predicted that this extra-territorial mentality would surely break up the country and lead to a civil war. In fact there are no Rajasthani or Panjabi enclaves in Bengal. Non-Bengalees in Bengal are mainly here for money making.

Evidently, the picture was drawn to mislead people. Under the present Constitution the Government of the States cannot, and actually they have never, attempted to intervene directly in the internal affairs of one another. The utmost they have done is to bring pressure of public opinion to bear on the Centre and on the "truant" State in question in order to redress grievances.

So far so good as to action on Government level, but it is no use denying that the mentality of extra-territorial allegiance within India exists among us Indians on a province-wise or on a State-wise basis.

It is sad to reflect that this mentality has been nurtured among our peoples during the years after Independence by the despicable manoeuvring systematically resorted to by some leaders at the very top. They knew perfectly well that provincial nationalism based on linguistic affinity was too real in India to be by-passed. Still they would procrastinate and belittle the popular craving for readjustment of State boundaries—so that the homelands of the various Indian nationalities are properly put on the map of India,—and this very obduracy on their part kept alive feelings of mutual exclusiveness among the national groups.

More criminal on the part of the toprankers

among the leaders in India has been their habit of unfair discrimination between one linguistic group and another. This tended to destroy the atmosphere of congeniality among different Indian peoples. Instances of partiality of a despicable type were not few and aroused bitter jealousies among people of one Indian nationality against another. Vested interests were placated at the cost of that generous sense of content among peoples which would come from fair dealings and which was essential for the promotion of love of the country at large. The oft-repeated call from leaders embedded in power for giving the first place to the interests of India as a whole was patently insincere—a sheer hypocrisy to which people reacted by greater provincialism. "For the Pharisees try to clear only the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess".

If for example, the Bengalees in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam were insulted, tormented, robbed, outraged, ruined and murdered with Government of Assam simply looking on and if the Central Government with all its powers would not interfere, what could the poor victims of persecution do but try to seek refuge in a State where people were close to them in language and shared their own culture and so would understand and sympathise with them and try to help them?

This happened in 1960 and 1961. Actually, it was because of a certain callousness towards the Bengalees in other States, experienced on diverse occasions in the past, that West Bengal Government had to concern itself alone with the fate of the Bengalees in Assam at those times and was just not in a position to refuse the entrance of streams of refugees from the ghastly horrors of Assam. Bengalees would

never cease to contrast Delhi's comparative indifference to their distress in those times with the concern of the Central Government when the Assamese attempted to ill-treat the Marwaris similarly in 1967. Similarly in 1950, when the Bengali refugees from newly created Pakistan were dying in thousands in Assam—this time from starvation and epidemic, the Assamese Government was un-concerned and the miserable refugees had perforce to look to West Bengal for the succour they obtained.

In reality, the protagonists of linguistic states had no ultimate intentions towards centrifugalism ; they had a gradual but eventual emergence of a compact Indian nationhood in mind. Unhesitatingly they advocated surrender by the component units of all powers relating to common interests in the Indian subcontinent absolutely to the Centre. For purposes of co-ordination and symmetry they would not also grudge Central control over even certain matters of regional interests. If necessary they would even go to the length of making the provinces or the "States" almost sinecures in matters of power because they knew that the chief thing was only to please the sense of national pride among the various Indian nationalities by giving them a formal and equal place as units of the federation. They realised that national feeling being a matter of sentiment and pride is satisfied if a respectable status is given to the nationality concerned, though such nationalities may not individually possess any actual power in the federation composed by them. Is not the position of a reigning King or a President a vital one, even if the King or the President has no de facto power to govern ?

If the advocates of "Linguistic States" in the federation of India had their way, they would have adopted conditions to popular

psychology and planned the boundaries of the federating units carefully from the start on nationalistic lines ; the Indian nationalities would then have willingly consented to be relegated into the position of sub-nationalities in order to have the privilege to be integrated in a strong and great nation of Indians which their happy co-existence would evolve into a well-knit perfection—so much so that in God's good time even sub-national differences would wither away in congeniality, mutual trust and goodwill and only a noble super-nation would be left.

But this consummation has been retarded to a great extent by the ruling caucuses at the material times—they vacillated, intrigued, obstructed and delayed the formation of sub-national States on normal lines, played one national group against another—all these to protect or further their own vested interests or from motives of vain personal preferences.

At the time of the departure of the British, people were generous towards each other and jubilant at the end of the age-old bondage. If the existence of the different nationalities of India were given recognition on, for example, a plan indicated by the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution—they would be something like 14 in number—and if boundaries of states were drawn and re-arranged on the basis of the respective habitat of those nationalities, a solid foundation would have been laid for a great federal union. A firm policy would have had to be taken to find out such boundaries with the aid of a careful census under Central surveillance, but the task once accomplished would have been a testimony for ages. It is a deep-seated urge among men to have their national boundaries recognised, and with that urge satisfied along with the promise of being gradually blended into a grand united nation before them, the

Indian nationalities would have made not only stable but exemplary units of a federation.

But the late Jawaharlal Nehru,--and his associates, were devoid of imagination and the faculty of correct judgement. They not only shilly-shallied but obstructed this most beneficent development. Their prejudices and bias coupled with their blundering obduracy worked against the coherent fitting in of the frustrated nationalities who when newly freed were eager to combine under a permanent constitution. They let the psychological moment for building a composite nation pass, their intrigues and delays marring the period of spontaneous cordiality that comes to peoples after liberation. They allowed the anti-social and anti-national vested interests to crystallise, the regional bickerings to grow and fissiparous tendencies to appear in political India. Today there is no dearth of national groups wanting or waiting to break away from the Indian Union. It is thus too late in the day to bewail extra-territoriality now.

If we had leaders of faith and courage—even just of good faith, our India could be made into an indestructible national union of indestructible sub-national states, until of course in a gradual process of evolution, the sub-nationalities themselves voluntarily chose to merge their national identity completely in a greater nationhood. But now this prospect has receded; the sins and blunders of our leaders have been far too many and the enthusiasm for India as a whole has flagged.

A successful federation of Indian Nationalities promised to be a grander spectacle than the United States of America; here several distinct nationalities would have combined equally in a federation to evolve a glorious blend while in America the process has been that of only supplementing the nucleus of

English settlers there with immigrants from the rest of the British Isles and from Europe. India would then have been the advance model of world federation. Unfortunately however, the authorities here thought fit as stated above, to oppose the natural urge of a nationality for recognition being granted to its home-land and instead of scientifically planning the homelands with the aid of carefully prepared language statistics, waited for violent mass upsurges in different parts of the country to be goaded to make "concessions". Our erstwhile fashionable Prime Minister, the late Jawaharlal Nehru was mainly responsible for evolving this policy of parrying mere reason and yielding to threats, riots and rowdisin instead—in short, yielding only to argumentum ad baculum—and much of the vast volume not only of bloodshed but also of bad blood among peoples of different provinces cannot but be attributed to him.

What has happened in our country? Biharees were encouraged by the Centre to resist obstinately any border readjustment in the South-Eastern regions of Bihar, knowing fully well that those regions were inhabited by Bengalees and Oriyas and should in all justice go to West Bengal and Orissa. An impossible agglomeration of nationalities was obstinately persisted with in Hyderabad State for years at the instance of our then ruling Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, till at last public opinion prevailed upon a statutory enquiry commission to recommend the dissolution of that unnatural State. Separation of Andhra from the Tamil country had to be forced by riots and bloodshed after a martyr of the Gandhian creed was callously sacrificed in a slow lingering death, while States of Gujrat and Maharashtra came into being when mass murders by the Police did not suffice to put down popular aspirations.

For the bad blood that they created among the Indian peoples posterity will specially curse the powerful coterie which controlled the destiny of India under the late Jawaharlal Nehru. They might have averted the ill feelings and the clashes between the Tamils and the Telugus, between the Gujratis and the Marathas—they were the men who deliberately kept up conditions of hatred between the Bengalees and the Oriyas on one side and the Biharees on the other. Their treatment of the national question, of popular urges had been maliciously unfair—setting up one nationality against another so much so that even in places where after mass upsurges and much loss of blood—people got their legitimate demands fulfilled, bitter memories of the mean partisanship of the Centre lingered.

The task before India is to outlive the

damages inflicted by Nehru and the circle of people that surrounded him.

Some hopeful indications are there. The problem of sub-national demands in Assam has been solved to a great extent by the creation of Meghalaya, the homeland of the hill people who do not speak Assamiya. NEFA or Arunachal is also being drawn away from the influence of Assam. Tripura and Manipur will be given full State hood. It remains for Kachar of the Surma Valley to be freed from the Asamiya speaking people of Brahmaputra Valley whose majority domination amounts almost to tyranny. If it is joined to Tripura on linguistic principles it will be a fine combination of two Bengali-speaking peoples and an era of contentment and of prosperity will open for both.

Let us see whether the Authorities will take the course of prudence on a firmly laid down policy or follow a policy of drift.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BHUVANESVARA

ADRI BANERJI

Bhuvaneshvara is one of the finest gifts of ancient Orissans, unrivalled even by Sanchi; Khajuraho, Chittorgarh and Girnar, due to varied age, categories of monuments and style. Yet, the existing literature does little justice to the geographical, economic and social contexts, which produced this unique phenomenon. The historians, the archaeologists and art critics have been busy defining the chronology, the style and aesthetics of these monuments. Due to the absence of the missing links or gaps in the series, the origins and development have been far from clarified and the cultural phenomenon remains unclarified except by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi. The lost canon of architecture was edited by N. K. Bose decades ago.

The number of temples at Bhuvaneshvara run easily to triple figures, if every fane that now exists and those which have disappeared are added, which had once stood on its broad smiling bosom, with outcrops of laterite then more abundant, now denuded to meet the growing needs of its inhabitants. In old times, they were needed to make defences and erect beautiful palaces (*prasadas*) of their divinities. Now however, the total amount of the elite do not go beyond forty. Whether the visitor approaches it from the north east, that is Calcutta or from the south that is Madras—Waltair side, one meets with flat alluvial plains, with hills looking blue here and there due to inflection; in the ever receding horizon, full of paddy fields, cut up by broad rivers

which often flood them when in spate. The principal building material for the rich and poor alike was the laterite. In ancient days the greater portion of this area must have been covered by forests, which have now completely disappeared.

The details of the topography are well known. Bhuvaneshvara is a place which has the unique distinction of having monuments from the very dawn of the historical period to the post independence city of New Bhuvaneshvara. At Dhauli, five miles south of Lingaraja temple, we have the immortal edicts of Emperor Asoka, including the special Kalinga edicts. It was this country, the conquest of which ushered in the dusk of Mauryan Imperialism. It has the forepart of an Elephant carved out of virgin rock. I have a fond hope that someday the banks of the Daya, which flows between Bhuvaneshvara and Dhauli, would likely yield stone tools of the old stone age. Next is the fortified town of Sisupalgarh, whose sequence of occupation goes back to the 3rd century B. C. Its identification with Tosali is still a moot point. Then comes the celebrated Jaina monastic caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri. It has the celebrated Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. The earliest established religion of Orissa was undoubtedly Jainism, followed by Buddhism. The style of the reliefs and friezes have all the qualities of the 'Demotic' school, already known to exist from Begram in Afghanistan

to Amaravati in the Krishna valley. They are more mature than Bharhut and Sanchi, remarkable for love of significant forms and devoted to the synoptic method of story telling.

Then follows a 'Dark Age', though Sisupalgarh continued to flourish. External commercial intercourse with the Roman empire either through Arikamedu or the port which is reported to lie buried under the sandunes of Konaraka is indicated. In the 7th or 8th century A. D., after the disappearance of Sasanka, his feudatory house of Sailodbhavas erected the Parasuramesvara temple. Temple building went on unabated during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. When late R. D. Banerji and H. K. Mehta compiled their history of Orissa their plastic activity had not been well defined. But this hiatus has now been filled by Panigrahi¹. Aboriginal in origin (B. Misra—**Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings**, pp.80 ff), they were devotees of Mahayana Buddhism. In many respects they were the Orissan prototypes of Pratiharas and share the same proliferation of monuments. Their contribution in the making of the temple city of Orissa is considerable. Their sculptures like those of Osian, Mandor, Badoli betray a fond admiration of Gupta classicism, marked by an inclination for volume, the factor that distinguishes the works of Cimabue and Giotto.

The Bhaumas were followed by the Somavamsis, in whose time the temple of Bramhesvara and the hypaethral temples at Hirapur were erected. Erection of temples gathered momentum under the Eastern Ganga Kings. The former Kirttivasa, alleged to have been founded by Sasanka, was re-built as the present Lingaraja, Ananta Vasudeva, Meghesvara; the Jagannatha temple at Puri and Konaraka were their other foundations.

The rococo was reached in the time of the Gajapatis, who embraced Neo-Vaishnavism and the Gaudiya type of temples, that is Bengali hut shaped style, appears in Orissa. The oldest of these is the Rasika Raya temple in Mayurabhanja district.

The materials were uniformly laterite, with one or two exceptions, like Muktesvara. During my visit to Bhuvanesvara in 1965 and 1966 I found laterite blocks being used by the lower middle class people for their homes. For sculptures another variety called 'Khudelite' was utilised. The quarries according to the law were state properties. Therefore, their easy and economic utilisation is appreciable. But what about the financial resources behind this mass of erections which must have been immense! What were its sources?

Bhuvanesvara area was famous for its fertility. We may add to it the whole of the Mahanadi valley. But mere land revenue and tributes from feudatory or vassal states do not seem to be sufficient. There are grounds to believe that trade both overland and seaborne were great provenders. The find of newly minted Roman coins by Carlyle in the 19th century in Singhbhum district is an indication of routes followed by **sarthavahas** from Tamralipti or from Dantapura and Kalingapattanam towards Magadha and Suluna. The long seacoasts on which the breakers now thunder from the Bay of Bengal must have had ports and harbours apart from the two already mentioned. The absence of any ruins near Konarak is well known. But N. K. Bose suggested existence of bricks structures below the sandbanks of the place. This has yet to be proved. If they do discover these then there is an instance of small seaport from which small Indian ships could go to South East Asia or ports in Eastern or Southern India like Arikamedu, hugging the coast. The find of coins of Romano Hellenistic types at Sisupal-

garh is another kind of evidence. A source of revenue from this head can be presumed. To this must be added the system of forced labour by slaves and war prisoners. The only expense was possibly for the stone cutters and sculptors, who received these wages in kind or cash. Enlightened despotism had several means to carry out their projects, sanctioned by usage and custom, which are not available to democratic governments. When the truth about the tragedy, that has been enacted behind the Iron curtain in Loh Nor and Tibet to usher in a nuclear age in China, comes out, the world will probably be horrified about the slave labour involved in it.

The total areas of each temple, including the **mandapas**, **ardhamandapas** call for notice except the gigantic Lingaraja and Jagannatha. At Bhuvanesvara, notwithstanding the paens of praise deservedly given by Bishan Svarup, M. M. Gangoly, R. D. Banerji, Stella Kramrisch and others, the area of each is indeed small. Sometime they were extended by multiplication of the porches; even then the total floor area did not provide for vast assemblages. For example at Muktesvara, Vaital Deul, Parsuramesvara, Rajarani etc. Even the Ananta Vasudeva with its two **mandapas**, sandwiched between others, the Lingaraja with its spacious compound filled with minor shrines leaving aside small ones like Chitrakarini, Bramhesvara, Svapnajalesvara etc., do not provide for even minor gatherings on festival days.

Yet, religious discourses like **katha**, reading of the Epics or the Puranas, musical parties (**bhajans**) and ritual dance performances of Devadasis, must have taken place; but possibly they were not open to general mass. Or they witnessed from outside the temple precincts, the spaces which have been built upon. That dance was an essential part of

ritual and contemporary social cycle, is evident from the applied sculptures, full of rhythmic linearism. That almost all the female figures (**Kanyas**), even male figures, as we find from the sculptured grille at Kapilesvara, are in dancing poses is undoubted. In fact, ancient Indian dance and music at its best and in their most elaborate fashion are found in the shrines of Orissa. This is as it should be. Because, throughout the length and breadth of India folk tales, dance and music are lyrically presented through the media of mallets, chisels and paint brushes. The population unlike their modern descendants, dealt with great metaphysical questions in a popular way, instead of stabbing each other on materialistic grounds. And, since sculpture gives concrete forms to the identical moods by which the masses solved mystical problems in their folk poems, passion plays that spring from the heart of the population, not yet spoilt by industrialism, were very popular. Because, a visit to the temple will not be merely a devout mission, but an educative intellectual experience of extreme psychological value. All these, however, lead to one conclusion: that these places of worship were built primarily for the court and few favoured patricians and leaders of sects and orders engaged in esoteric practices. The vast concourse of thousands or millions seem to have been unknown to the architects and engineers, who did not provide for them in their designs like the Christian Cathedrals or cathedral cities of Jains with their vast **chaturmukha** temples.

Bhuvanesvara, it must be underlined, neither marks the commencement nor the end of millenniums-old architectural or plastic activities. Though it dimly indicates possible origins, evolution, development of classic and finally rococo in the valleys of Mahanadi, Rishikulya and Languliya rivers,

It conserves for us specimens of different ages and periods ; something like pedestals and show cases in a museum gallery. In so doing, they have left a mass of evidence to be garnered for evaluating the cultural background and economic structure that gave birth to them.

COIFFURE

As far as social aspects are concerned, let us start with the hair styles on the heads. The art of hair dressing was cultivated by both the sexes. Sculpture and painting being our only sources about ancient India, Bharata's *Natyasastra* clarifies different hair styles in different regions. The Mathura and Gandhara sculptures are rich in information, and if those found on terracotta figurines are added we have an unlimited evidence. Generally the men had their hair tied in a knot at the top of their crown. A tradition which survived at Bhuvaneshvara from C. 7th century A. D. The variety of coiffure in Gupta age is overwhelming, the most favourite being for man to wear them in wiglike fashion. The hair of *dvarapala* of the Sisiresvara temple shows that it was known at Bhuvaneshvara.

It would be worthwhile to pay some attention to the *mukutas* or coronets or chaplets which were a source of great income to Indians from the luxurious habits of patrician ladies of Rome². The sculptures at Bhuvaneshvara fully corroborate their popularity at home. In the dancing grille of Kapilesvara temple three distinct varieties are met with. Two other types are met with in the grille of the same type of the Parasuramesvara temple. Others supply about 30 varieties of *jata* and *Karandda-mukutas*.

The hair was generally parted in the

middle irrespective of sex. *Churna kuntala* was a favourite style. Others were :—

1) The hair was combed back and bound in a knot on the head as already noted. The image of Karttikeya on Parasuramesvara has this *sikha* style. The female figures are distinguished by love for wearing flowers, ornaments and arrangement of the hair. Along with chaplets, tiaras were known.

2) The hair after being combed by women were tied in a neat bun. The *Alasa—Kanya* (the lady looking at the mirror) has it coiled at the back. It is found in the Rajarani temple. Another *Alasa Kanya* of the same type, with one leg up, the lady feeding the child, the female with her second finger on the lower lip, have this style.

3) The hair is bound in a top knot, tied by a band or ends of the hair as we find in the female figure of a *dampati* couple on the Vaitala Deul.

4) The men also shared this particular style.

5) The two female companions of Ganga on the Parasuramesvara temple, have looped and knotted hair at the back of the head combed straight.

6) A female divinity of Vaital Deul has her hair done in spiral form on the crown of her head.

COSTUME

The uniform wearing apparel at Bhuvaneshvara for males were dhoti (loin cloths) and *dupattas* (chadars). The ladies with few exceptions wear *Sari*. The dancers of the grille on Kapilesvara temple, Parasuramesvara temple, the *Dampati* figures on Vaitala Deul, the *Kichakas* (Dwarfs) on either side of the *Kirttimukha* of Muktesvara and Karttikeya of Parasuramesvara wear a short loin cloth (two and half cubits in length)

which used to be called **amochis**, forty years ago in Uttara Pradesh.

The images of Naga and Dvarapalas of the Sisiresvara temple have short pants called **Kachch** or **janghiya**.

The women are found invariably with **Sari**, sometimes plain and sometimes flowered, but no choli or jacket to cover the upper part of their bodies. But the quality of material naturally can not be determined. The lady looking at a Mirror on Rajarani temple wears a short Sari, like Santal women, the hems of the cloth leaving bare the full rounded legs. At Lingaraja temple it comes slightly below the knee.

ORNAMENTS

Amongst the examples of lapidarist's art are found, **Nupura** Mekhala (girdles),

Kankana (bracelets), **Ketaka** or **Churis**, **chakra** and **patra** kundalas, **sismag**, **tika**, **sinthi**, nose pins **Hara**, **Kanthahara**, **Ananta** and **Valayas** etc.

ARMS

Straight Swords, Lances, Bows and Arrows. Writing boards and pen are also seen.

A thorough and exhaustive account of the social economic aspects of Orissa sculptures are likely to fill tomes. Here a brief survey has been attempted, with the hope, that my unfulfilled desire will be taken up by some one younger.

1. *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome 4, Fascules 4, (1957), pp. 275ff.
2. Schioff—*Periplus on Erythrean Sea*, p. 191.



ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH

DR. A. K. SUR

Of the economic philosophy of Rabindranath, less has been published. It is not so well known that as an economic seer Rabindranath towered above most of the economic thinkers of his day. His economic thinking was indeed so rich in truth that if he was not a poet and artist, he would have had certainly his recognition as a great economic prophet of his country. He realized the truth about the poverty and stagnation of his country quite early in his life, when he was deputed by his kins to manage the family zemindari at Silaida and Patisar. He said that while he was there he first came into intimate contact with village life. He wrote: "At that time it seemed to me to be a matter of shame that I carry on the business of zamindari, keeping myself engaged all the while in looking after income and expenditure, thus busying myself with the preoccupation of a businessman. From that time onward I constantly strived to liberate the mind of the rural man so that he can take his own responsibility." He discovered that the soul of India was in the village, and as such if poverty and stagnation were to be driven away from this land of ours, it must come through bettering the destiny of the rural man. Earlier he had experience of a different kind of economic contacts. By inheritance he must have had disgust for the commercial life of the city. His grand-father was the most prominent businessman of his time in Calcutta. The failure of the firm after a brilliant phase of prosperity, must have left the family disillusioned about commercial avocation. But while the family scratched merely the surface of it, the

poet who heard about it, must have pondered deeply and realized the truth of it, which in later times he expressed in his writings. Another family tradition that the poet must have had as a background to work on, was the intense nationalism of his father and his elder brother Jyotirindranath. This too, on later occasions he expressed in his writings.

A realistic economic thinker

That his heart truly ached for the village and the amelioration of the village folks, he expressed in writing many a time during his life. But his true role as a realistic economist becomes clear when he gives out plans for the uplift of the village life. In these writings we discover for the first time a fervent plea for integrated development of economic life. Said he: "The people's welfare is an amalgam of several ingredients. To take one of them by itself cannot do much good. Health, recreation and activity of the body and mind—thrown together in one combination, they make the picture complete." His famous discourse on Swaraj showed how deeply he had thought over the matter of welfare of his fellow beings. He was quite candid about it, and felt no scruple to let even Gandhiji know his mind about the economics of the spinning wheel. "Simply by turning the Charkha, weaving home spun yarn and holding grave discourses, we shall not be able to project the realization of what swaraj means." "If swaraj comes to us in the semblance of mere home-spun yarn it would, likewise be intolerable. Conceivably, a man of Mahatma Gandhi's calibre, comman-

ding immense faith in his individual greatness, could succeed for a time in making some of our people accept the uninspiring prospect—to obey him is an end in itself. To me, however, it seems that such a state of mind is not helpful for attaining swaraj.” “Poverty may be somewhat mitigated if all our countrymen begin to spin thread: that will not mean the attainment of swaraj though. So what? The increase of national wealth is surely no small thing for a poverty-haunted land. It would mean a great deal if our cultivators who let their time go waste engaged themselves in productive work. The lucrative use of the surplus time is of prime importance.” Again he said: “One of the hurdles of swaraj will be removed when our cultivators employ their leisure in productive occupation. Our leaders will have to think out ways and means by which that spare time may be used to the best advantage. And it is not obvious that such an advantage is best secured in the line of cultivation itself?” “To till the soil is for him the line of least strain.”

Basis of Tagore's economic philosophy

Tagore's economic philosophy rested on his belief in the value of self-determination. “If the people of even one Indian village make the village their own re-creation, the first long step towards the solving of the problem would have been taken.” “Behind the abject poverty of our country is the fact that we keep ourselves segregated, trying to bear all our heavy burdens by ourselves. In Europe when the steam engine came, many handicraft workers were thrown out of employment—how could the bare hands of individuals challenge the machine? But the people of Europe think for another in a crisis—where civilization is a powerful force, fellow feeling must be intense. The realization began to grow that combined efforts of the

people could be their strength and their capital.” That is why all his life Tagore was an earnest advocate of co-operation and co-operative system. He made it clear that if the productivity of the cultivators is to be increased, then this is to be achieved with the help of machines. Machines cost money, and for individual farmers it would be hard to find it. But if fifty farmers combine to do farming on co-operative principles, then the combined resources of all would help them to buy the necessary machine. Said he: “This combination of many people to earn a living is known in Europe as the co-operative system. It is by this system that our country can be rescued from its age-long poverty and stagnation.”

Interaction of towns and villages

Tagore did not, of course, minimize the importance of towns and cities. “In their natural state—that is, when the community does not incline too much to one side—the village and the town have harmonious interactions. From the one flow food and health and fellow-feeling. From the other return gifts of wealth, knowledge and energy.” But he deplored the present state of things, in which the city has become supreme and the village a slave. “All opportunities, all advantages, all that is needed for the enjoyment of life pile up in the city; the village simply slaves to provide food and just manages somehow to exist.” “All civilization is now a parasite of wealth. It is not merely the earning of money, the worship of money is dominant. The false gods destroy the goodness in man. Never before was man such a great enemy of man; for nothing can be more cruel, more iniquitous than this gold hunger.” So did it lead to the destruction of the city-centred civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome.

Labour power—the real capital

Said he : It is by collecting in their own hands the working capacity of many people that the rich attain their position. The capital is the combined labour power of many people and it has taken concrete shape in wealth. That labour power is the real capital the power inherent in every worker. If they can say, "We shall combine our strength", their real capital will be in their own hands. Those who lack the capacity to unite must of necessity suffer. They can gain no permanent benefit by abusing others or by robbing them. We must, therefore, try to combine all our labour power and thereby gain economic benefits to be shared by all. That is the co-operative principle. It is this principle which has made man great in knowledge and given a moral basis, to his conduct of practical affairs. Where it is lacking, there is suffering, malice, falsity, barbarity and strife." It is not the rich but the poor who must rescue society from the crushing weight of great wealth. The building of an entrance to the heavily barred economic field must lie in their hands. The weakness of the poor has so long kept civilization weak and incomplete ; they must set this right by the conquest of power." But when Tagore spoke of the conquest of power he did not mean conquest by the non-economic weapon of 'force'. Said he : "I do not believe that inequality in

wealth can ever be completely removed by force. The disparity inherent in man is sure to assert itself. As in the world of nature so in the world of man complete uniformity paralyzes initiative and makes the intellect idle. But excessive unevenness is equally bad, since it greatly hinders the development of social contact amongst people by the creation of distance between them." He pointed out that "every man is entitled to adequate wages and leisure. To have only the barest means of living is an insult. The dignity of civilized living rests today on a chosen few, maintained by the unwilling labour of many. Vast masses of people deprived of education, health and the means of enjoyment, are doomed to exist as dullards." He, therefore urged that "the masses must now develop their own inherent strength—that will be of more permanent worth." Again and again he reminded his countrymen that this development of inherent strength must come through self-determination and mutual aid. "If the Indian economy is based once more on co-operation, the villages which are the nurseries of our civilization will be vitalized and the whole country will gain a new life." His earnest prayer was that "the liberation of wealth, its redistribution be carried on in this country to the fullest extent, so that, through the united efforts of all the people, the goddess of food and plenty be firmly enthroned for all time to come."

DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA—THE UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST

N. KAMARAJU PANIULU

With the passing away of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia at the premature age of fifty-seven on twelfth October, 1967, about three years ago, India lost one of its passionate fighters against every form of injustice ; a great intellect who brought to the socialist movement, a freedom from obsessive dicta of other leaders' doctrines ; an uncompromising socialist who kept his flame of idealism burning bright and refused to be hired by the attractions of office to swerve from his ideals ; a many faceted personality with almost encyclopaedic dimensions of intellect ; an uncompromising individualist and a democrat who was intolerant of the inertia of the Indian society in which change was long over due ; a Samson pulling out the pillars of an edifice that was housing corruption, inefficiency, and social stagnation ; a true servant of the masses who dedicated his whole life to the common man's cause, to the cause of the backward classes, the down trodden underdog of society, equality of women and to the Indian socialist movement. The socialist movement in the country has lost a dynamic leader who tirelessly worked for social transformation of the country and for socialism. The left democratic forces have been deprived of a crusader. His death had created a great void among the ranks of the opposition leadership in the country.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was an uncompromising fighter against injustice and exploitation and a true friend of the poor, and the oppressed, a rebel who wanted to destroy an unjust socio-economic order so that a new

and just order could be ushered in its place. Dr. Lohia never wished for any earthly possessions for himself. Acharya Kripalani rightly pointed out whole paying glowing tributes to Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia that—"after independence the fervour of many a former revolutionary had cooled off and they had engaged themselves in making fortunes for themselves. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia remained a revolutionary to the last." He was never after pelf or power. He rebelled against all sorts of political and social injustice wherever he went, let it be U. S. A. or Goa. His strength and hold on the people lay in his total effacement of selfishness. India was deprived of one of its few national leaders with a clear vision and guiding hand in the crucial era of socialistic transformation ; a colourful personality and a tireless crusader for justice, for the poor, a true democrat who brought the message of socialism to the peasants. Dr. Lohia believed that the emancipation of India meant emancipation of the peasantry and the clue to this emancipation lay in socialism. To him democracy was not only a pillar of society, but a way of life and a posture of the spirit too. He asked in one of his talks, the young socialists of Benares Hindu University in 1946 "How democratic you are will be proved by your attitude towards your servant. Are you prepared to show him the same courtesy which he is entitled to as a human being and which you show to a man of position?" Undoubtedly a democracy of this type is not only social, but moral too.

Dr. Lohia had his own ideas on a number

of national and international problems of his times which were very often described as perverse, fanatical, unrealistic, dogmatic and and quixotic etc. by his political adversaries, but a majority of them proved to be true and practical after his death. Dr. Lohia believed that from the U. S. A. to Indonesia and all liberated colonies of Africa should constitute a single block and give a jolt to the whole thinking world and this block should work independently and decide its own future course of action on conducting an acid test of each crucial question on the basis of merit. Dr. Lohia had also suggested a mutual security pact among the South East Asian States and economic co-operation among them. Dr. Lohia had also pleaded the need of co-operation between India and Pakistan. He believed that geographic, economic and military compulsions have made these two countries mutually dependent. Dr. Lohia believed that a lasting solution to all the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan was possible only through the establishment of a confederation between these two States. Commenting on the United Nations organisation and the status of the member nations Dr. Lohia said that he did not like the policy of giving different status to different nations. He pointed out that "the peace of the world will be secured only when there is equality between all nations and within each nation." Dr. Lohia believed that the wealthy nations have a great responsibility towards the poor nations and they must help the latter in their battle against poverty. Dr. Lohia as early as 1948 urged India to organise a third camp of countries which did not belong to any block. He was the first Indian leader to visit Yugoslavia after Tito broke with Stalin.

It was largely due to his untiring efforts that the Nepali National Congress was formed at a conference in Calcutta towards the end

of January 1947, with the twin objectives of the removal of the Rana regime and the establishment of democracy. Under Dr. Lohia's leadership the congress socialist party took the initiative and helped the Nepali National Congress to launch a civil disobedience movement in 1951, which led ultimately to the release of all the arrested workers.

Dr. Lohia was the author and the pathfinder of a number of movements in India namely Angreji Hatao, Land Army (Bhu Sena) Liberation of Goa etc. He participated in a number of movements, with an almost unique and unrivalled gusto. Dr. Lohia was a great champion of the cause of equality of women. The episode narrated by prof. Mrs. Usha Mehta of Bombay University deserves reiteration in this connection. "When asked about the difference between his four pillared State and the Rama Rajya as conceived by Gandhiji, Dr. Lohia replied that he would like to call his ideal State, Sita-Rama Rajya instead of Ramarajya to stress the pride of place women would get in such a State."

Dr. Lohia was not only a theoretician of the socialist party, but a leader of the socialist movement, a parliamentarian of rare ability, and an agitator par excellence. A man of unusual courage, an agile general, a disciplined soldier and a champion of the cause of world parliament. The qualities of self respect and self reliance, a spirit of adventure, toleration and sympathy, discipline and devotion to duty, highest esteem for Mahatma Gandhiji's Satya and Ahimsa, wedded at the same time to the concept of revolution in thought, word and deed. Outspoken, tender hearted but relentless, freedom loving, and at the same time despotic, fresh and provocative. Freshness of approach, novelty of thought, seemed to have combined in the enigmatic, ever vigilant and relentless rebel Dr. Lohia.

We hear almost everyday, nay, very minute

the tall talk of socialism, equality, and social justice, of the ruling congress party leaders, while in reality capitalism, inequality and social injustice are growing apace in the country. Dr. Lohia wondered how Bhoodan and Gramdan were going to succeed when the entire movement was financed by the propertied classes. In his view, India's pretending to play the role of a big power was just a gambit unless it first put its own house in order. The term equality was understood and sought to be applied by him not merely in the national but in the international context. Though he was often compared to an irate and an undisciplined school boy, very often he worked as a disciplined soldier and duty conscious leader. An oft repeated charge against Dr. Lohia is that he held parliament in scant respect and tried to bring down its dignity. He described Indian politics as an ubiquitous bag of fraud. Dr. Lohia

criticized the foreign policy of the Government of India as merely expedient rather than based on any principles ; and it was neither purposeful nor had it been able to secure any possible benefit to the country. It is indeed an experience to study the multifaceted and controversial personality of Dr. Lohia. The task before us is to understand and elucidate his views on life, history, society, and culture of mankind and enrich the socialist movement, and reallocate the emphasis on the principles of politics and socialism, now that he is no more on the scene. The socialists of India should engage themselves to their plans of action in right earnest, if at all they care anything for their departed leader. The best way to pay homage to this great patriot and socialist leader lies in an all out effort to raise the standard of living of the common masses, particularly that of the backward and depressed classes.



PLACE OF JUDICIARY IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

Introductory

Placed among the three great institutions of democracy, the Indian Judiciary has been assigned an important role in the Indian Constitution the keynote of which is justice—social, economic and political. The makers of the Indian Constitution realised that without a free, strong and impartial judiciary, the democratic system could not function smoothly and successfully. Thus, they conferred upon the Supreme Court very wide and extensive powers and made it in a way the most powerful in the world having the largest jurisdiction. The constitution has vested the Supreme Court with powers and functions of a Federal Court, of a final Appellate court, of a protector of fundamental rights, and of an Advisory Body in a very unique manner. Keeping in view these formidable and impressive powers the framers of the constitution prescribed very high minimum qualifications for the appointments of judges.¹

Composition

The constitution provides that :

“There shall be a Supreme Court of India consisting of a Chief Justice of India and, until Parliament by law prescribes a large number, of not more than seven other judges.”²

The number of judges has been increased from time to time by parliamentary legislation. It was raised to ten in 1956, and then to thirteen in 1960.³ The court now consists of fourteen justices including the Chief Justice and 13 other judges. Provision is also made for appointment of ad hoc judges at any time when the quorum of the judges is not

complete for holding or continuing any session of the court.⁴

According to Clause 11 of Article 124 :

“Every judge of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President by warrant and seal after consultation with such of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the states as the President may deem necessary for the purpose and shall hold office until he attains the age of sixty five years.”⁵

Provided that in the case of appointment of a judge other than the Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of India shall always be consulted. By and large the Indian Constitution has adopted the British method for the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court.

Qualifications

The makers of the Indian Constitution prescribed high minimum qualifications for the judges, in order to eliminate politics in the appointment and to enhance the competence of the judges of the highest court in land. Clause 111 lays down the following qualifications of a Supreme Court judge :

- “(a) has been for at least five years a Judge of a High Court or of two or more courts in succession ; or
- (b) has been at least ten years an advocate of a High Court or two or more such courts in successions ; or
- c) is, in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist.”⁶

Tenure

Unlike Britain and United States, the Indian Constitution provides that judges once

appointed shall hold office until they attain the age of sixty five years. A judge may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the President.

Removal

A judge of the Supreme Court may be removed by an order of the President on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity. But the President's power is exercisable only after an address of each House of Parliament to that effect supported by a majority of 2/3 of the members of that House present and voting, which, again must be a majority of the total membership of the House.⁷

Salaries Etc.

The constitution has fixed the salaries of the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice is paid Rs. 5000 P. M. and other judges 4500 P. M. Besides this they are entitled to such privileges and allowances as may from time to time be determined by Parliament.

Functions of the Supreme Court

The jurisdiction of the court can be divided into three categories—i.e. original, appellate and advisory.

Original Jurisdiction:-- Article 131 defines the exclusive and original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. According to this the court, shall have original jurisdiction in any dispute—

- “(a) between the Union Government and one or more states : or
- (b) between the Union Government and any state or states on one side and one or more states on the other ; or
- (c) between two or more states.”⁸

The dispute must involve any question on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends. Provided that the said jurisdiction shall not extend to a dispute to which any state is a party, if the dispute arise out of

any provision of a treaty, agreement, covenant, agreement or any other similar instrument which provides that the said jurisdiction shall not extend to such a dispute. It may be noted that the original jurisdiction under this article, covers disputes between the legal persons and not private persons. Unlike the American Supreme Court, the Indian Supreme Court has no original jurisdiction in cases affecting ambassadors and public ministers.

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under the article is subject to other provisions of the Constitution. Besides the limitations imposed by the proviso to Article 131, Parliament may according to Article 262 by law provide for the adjudication of any dispute or complaint with respect to the use, distribution or control of the waters of, or in any inter-state river or river valley.⁹ Again notwithstanding anything in the constitution Parliament may by law provide that neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall exercise jurisdiction in respect of any such dispute or complaint.

Thus, the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is limited. It is not a court of ordinary original jurisdiction in all matters and between all parties. In order to invoke the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court the two conditions must be satisfied,—(a) as to parties and (b) as to the nature of the dispute. If these two conditions are not satisfied a suit can not be brought before the Supreme Court simply on the ground that there is no other court in the land which can try the question raised by the suit.¹⁰ Needless to say, the Supreme Court in its original jurisdiction serves the purpose of a true federal court.

Appellate Jurisdiction:— The appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is very wide and covers cases which may be broadly put into these categories: constitutional, civil, criminal and special,

Article 132 provides for appeals in cases involving a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution. The word 'involve' implies a considerable degree of necessity and the word 'substantial' here means a question regarding which there is a difference of opinion and which has not been finally settled by judicial decisions. Such an appeal lies to the Supreme Court if the High Court certifies to this effect but the Supreme Court may itself grant a special leave if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the constitution.

This Article thus ensures that though a High Court may pronounce upon the validity of an Act or decide any other question involving the interpretation of the constitution, in all such cases the decision of the High Court shall not be final and that the final authority must rest with the Supreme Court.¹¹

In civil matters, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgement of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the amount or the value of the subject matter in the case is not less than 20 thousand rupees or that the case is a fit one for appeal to the Supreme Court irrespective of the amount.¹²

In criminal matters, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court from a High Court if the High Court (1) has, on appeal, reversed an order of acquittal of an accused person and sentenced him to death ; or (2) has withdrawn any case from a subordinate court and has sentenced an accused person to death ; or (3) has certified that the case is fit for appeal to the Supreme Court.¹³

In addition to appeals in constitutional, civil and criminal cases, the Supreme Court has discretionary appellate jurisdiction. It may, in its discretion, grant special leave to appeal to it from any court or tribunal excluding, however, military courts or tribunals.

The constitution further empowers Parliament to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in respect of appeals in criminal matters. In spite of huge discretionary powers the Supreme Court has declared in unequivocal terms that special leave to appeal will be granted in exceptional cases only, and that too in cases where grave and substantial injustice has been done by disregard to the forms of legal process or violation of the principles of natural justice.

Advisory Jurisdiction:— The Ad Hoc Committee on the Supreme Court, while admitting that there had been considerable difference of opinion among jurists and political leaders as to the expediency of placing on the Supreme Court an obligation to advise the President on difficult questions of law, had recommended the advisory jurisdiction.

Article 143 provides that if at any time it appears to the President that a question of law or fact has arisen or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the court upon it, he may refer the question for consideration and the court may report to the President its opinion thereon. But the President is not bound to act in accordance with the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court. However, it appears neither desirable nor feasible to ignore the valuable opinion of the highest court of the land on any such question. The following questions have so far been referred to the Supreme Court for opinion: (a) Delhi Laws Act 1912 in 1951 ; (b) Kerala Education Bill, 1957 in 1958 ; (c) Indo-Pak Agreement on Berubari Union, 1958 in 1960 and (d) Conflict of powers and jurisdiction between the Legislature and the Judiciary in the Uttar Pradesh in 1964.

Though it is not obligatory upon the court to give an opinion, it will be unwilling to

decline a reference except for good reasons.¹⁴ The Chief utility of such opinion is to enable the Government to secure an authoritative opinion as to the validity of the measure before initiating in the legislature.

Court of Record:— The Supreme Court is a court of record and has all the powers of such a court including the power to punish for its contempt.¹⁵

Review of Judgements:— According to Article 137, subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament or any rules made under Article 145, the Supreme Court shall have power to review any judgement pronounced or order made by it.¹⁶

Power to issue certain writs:— As a protector of fundamental rights the Supreme Court has the power to issue writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari for the enforcement of these rights.¹⁷

Binding force of the Court's decisions: The constitution lays down that the law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India.¹⁸

Further, according to Article 142 the Supreme Court in the exercise of its jurisdiction may pass such decree or make such order as is necessary for doing complete justice in any cause or matter pending before it, and any decree so passed or order so made shall be enforceable throughout the territory of India in such manner as prescribed by Parliament and, until such provision in that behalf is made, in such manner as the President may by order prescribe. The Supreme Court has also the power to make any order for the purpose of securing the attendance of any person, the discovery or production of any document or the investigation or punishment of any contempt of itself.

Article 144 provides that all authorities, civil, criminal and judicial, in the territory

of India shall act in aid of the Supreme Court.

The constitution further provides that the existing powers and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court may be increased by the Parliament by legislation¹⁹.

An analysis of the constitutional provisions, relating to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court reveals that the Supreme Court has been given all the jurisdiction, then exercised by the Federal Court and the Privy Council. The constitution has vested the Supreme Court with powers and functions of a Federal Court, of a final Appellate Court, of a protector and guardian of fundamental rights, and of an Advisory Board in a very unique manner.

C R I T I C I S M

The provisions of the constitution are satisfactory as far as they go but not fully commensurate with the high responsibilities entrusted to the judiciary. One may along with Dr. M. V. Pylee argue that the necessary qualifications eliminate politics in the appointment of judges and are intended to enhance the competence of those appointed as the judges of the highest court in land. But there is plenty of force in the argument that the words 'distinguished jurists' and 'in the opinion of the President' leave a loophole for discretionary appointments.

It should be noted that mere presence at the Bar, no matter what the duration may be and no matter what the professional competence of a person may be, should not be regarded a sufficient qualification for appointment as judges of the Supreme Court.

(Although there has been no case where a politician was absorbed in the distinguished office of a judge; but this eventuality can not be ruled out that the judges without requisite experience in the Bench, Advocates

without requisite experience in the Bar and a politician may be appointed as a judge if the President forgets for a moment the dictates of his conscience for political expediency, to state that the individual in question is an eminent jurist).

Therefore, steps must be taken to ensure that such persons do not find entry into the judiciary at any future stage. The constitution can be suitably amended to exclude the possibility of any such appointment. What is necessary in this connection is not that a judge has integrity but that his integrity is beyond suspicion.

Tenure of Office

Although the constitution provides direct appointment of distinguished jurists and advocates as judges of the Supreme Court, yet in practice, the appointments have been made from among the judges of the High Court, "retired or about to retire." It is said, this method ensures some judicial experience and some capacity to form a sound judgement and to express with clarity. But does this method of selection also ensure that the Indian judiciary would match if not surpass, the record of American Supreme Court judges in regard to legal knowledge and skill and independence. One wonders whether this method of recruitment coupled with short tenure has something to do with the timidity of approach we often find in judicial pronouncements and the failure of judiciary to give proper and due consideration to the spirit of the constitution.

It is important to note that the judges of the Supreme Court retire at the age of sixty five years. This is in sharp contrast to the practice in the U. K. and the United States. There they are appointed for life time but they can retire, if they choose, at the age of 70. This enables their country to utilise their experience which they have gathered at the

expense of the nation. This long tenure which the judges of the American Supreme Court have had, has been to a certain extent responsible for giving consistency to its work, and for the judges to give a tone and direction to its role as the guardian of the constitution²⁰.

On the other hand in India, the higher judiciary is often manned by men who are close to, if not virtually on the verge of retirement. Naturally, they look to the Government for favours after retirement. Would it not be advisable to follow the practice obtaining in the United States ?

Various Considerations governing the appointment of the higher judiciary

Regarding appointments to the Supreme Court it is found that merit has not been the only criterion or basis. The members of the Law Commission have made the following observations :

"It is obvious that the selection of judges constituting a court of such a pivotal importance to the progress of the nation must be a responsibility to be exercised with great care. The court must consist of judges who taken as a body are, as lawyers and men of vision, superior to the body of judges manning the High Courts." Such a result can be achieved and maintained only by the exercise of courage, vision and imagination in the selection of judges with the eye solely to their efficiency and capacity.

Can we say that such a course has been followed ? It is widely felt that communal and regional considerations have prevailed in making the selection of the judges. The idea seems to have gained ground that component states of India should have, as it were, representation on the court. Though we call ourselves a secular state,

idea of communal representation which were viciously planted in our body politic by the British, have not entirely lost their influence. What perhaps is still more to be regretted is the general impression that now and again executive influence exerted from the highest quarters has been responsible for some appointments to the Bench. It is undoubtedly true that the best talent among the judges of the High Courts has not always found its way to the Supreme Court. This has prevented the court from being looked upon by the subordinate courts and the public generally with the respect and reverence to which it is by its status entitled²¹.

Course of removal

The constitution provides that a judge of the Supreme Court shall not be removed from his office, except by an order of the President passed after an address by each House of the Parliament supported by a majority of total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two thirds of that House present and voting has been presented to the President in the same session for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity.

Nevertheless, the two chambers of the Indian Parliament may represent the same party complexion and once a Government has also a majority in the council of states and decides to remove a judge from the Bench by proving his misbehaviour or incapacity through inspired investigation, the constitution grants no security of tenure to the judiciary. To remedy this defect, it would be appropriate to amend this provision by requiring at least 3/4 majority of total strength of each House favouring such a proposal.

Salary and Economic Security

^{CIVIL} The emoluments fixed by the Indian Constitution are not sufficiently attractive. In

fact, they are much less generous to secure to the nation the services of some of the most distinguished members of the Bar. One fails to understand how and why the Law Commission reported against any increase in the salaries of the judges.

After Retirement

It is not unoften that the judges of the Supreme Court after their retirement are appointed as members of various tribunals and commissions. One fails to understand that whereas the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission and the Auditor General of India are, after retirement, barred from further employment, the judges are not. It does not seem, as the Law Commission observed, that the judges should look forward to any other governmental employment after their retirement, we are clearly of the view that this practice has tendency to affect the independence of the judges and should be discontinued.

Parliament's power to change the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court

The original jurisdiction of the American Supreme Court can be changed only by an amendment to the constitution, which can not be valid unless 3/4 of the states ratify. In India, the Supreme Court for jurisdiction is dependent upon the Parliament alone. Here the jurisdiction of the court can be changed only by an amendment to the constitution, which the Union Parliament independently of the states can effectively make ; ratification by the legislatures of at least half of the states is necessary for this amendment. The constitution should be amended so that no change can be possible in the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court unless a Bill is passed by the Union Parliament by a majority of total membership of both the chambers and 2/3 of the members of each of the chambers present and voting, and is ratified by at least half of the states.

Suggestions

To restore to the higher judiciary its proper status and to attract the best talent to the Bench, it becomes essential that the constitutional provisions relating to its tenure, emoluments and service be modified along the following lines :—

(I) There should be no age of retirement. The judges should hold office during good behaviour and their tenure should be subject to physical fitness.

(II) On attaining the age of seventy years, they should have the option to retire on full salary.

(III) The strength of the Supreme Court should be raised to obviate the necessity of ad-hoc appointments.

(IV) The selection should be made strictly on the merit basis. No communal and regional consideration.

(V) Instead of present 2/3 majority in both the Houses, 3/4 majority of total membership should be required for the removal of a judge.

(VI) In order to exclude the possibility of an incompetent or undeserving person being appointed as judge, the words “distinguished jurist” and “in the opinion of the President” should be deleted from the constitution.

(VII) The fixed emoluments of the judges should be raised and be made sufficiently attractive to secure the services of most distinguished members of the Bar.

(VIII) After retirement, the judges should not be offered any governmental assignment.

(IX) There should be a positive ban on their entry, to Politics in order to ensure that they do not have any inclination to help a political party while in office.

(X) The delay in justice may be avoided if the procedure for the trial is simplified.

(XI) Finally, it must be pointed out that unless free legal advice is made available to the poor, justice can not be secured to them. Thus, the representation by a lawyer should be made available at Government expense to the poor and needy persons.

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1. William O. Douglas, *From Marshall to Mukharjee, Studies in American and Indian Constitutional Law*, p.332.
 2. Article 124 (1).
 3. The Supreme Court (Number of Judges) Act, 1956-60.
 4. Article 127.
 5. Article 124 (2).
 6. Article 124 (3).
 7. Article 124 (4).
 8. Article 131.
 9. Subs by the Constitution (seventh Amendment) Act 1956, S. 5. for the original proviso.
 10. *Rangarh V. Province of Bihar*, AIR 1966 FC 55.
 11. Basu, D. D. *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p.427.
 12. Article 133.
 13. Article 134.
 14. *Re Allocation of Lands and Buildings*, AIR 1943, FC 13.
 15. Article 129.
 16. Article 137.
 17. Article 139.
 18. Article 141.
 19. Article 138 and 140.
 20. Robert Jackson, *The Supreme Court in American System of Government*, p.55.
 21. Law Commission, *Fourteenth Report*, pp.33-34.

ROMANTICISM : PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

D. D. AGRAWAL

There is perhaps no other word in England's critical vocabulary which is so frequently used and widely misused, so laboriously studied and discussed, so carefully analysed and logically misunderstood than the word 'Romantic'. It means different things to different minds and has different connotations even to the people of the same age and understanding. It may have one meaning to one person at one time but a totally opposite meaning to the same person at another time and, strange as it may appear, one may be right both the times. Also, what one considers as Romantic in the beginning may turn out to be anti-Romantic in the final analysis. This is indeed an insurmountable difficulty one faces as one attempts to study Romanticism. In such a situation, the reader is either so disheartened that he gives up the study of the word completely or so enraged that, metaphorically speaking, he handles the word aggressively in the spirit of a master punishing a refractory child. He may also come out with a definition of his own and in saying what it is he may only be saying as to what it ought to be.

Time and again the student is told that Keats is a Romantic poet and the 'Ode On a Grecian Urn' is a Romantic poem. Time and again, he is told that the Romantic and the Classical are paradoxical qualities having no simultaneous existence in the same age, much less in the same poet and never in the same poem. The conventional contention is that Keats is a Romantic poet but then there is also a measure of truth in the statement that he is a Classical poet and that this Ode is a specimen of classical poetry. To say,

therefore, that Romantic poetry is only half true. Hence no attempt to define the Romantic poetry as the offspring of reaction to classical poetry will ever be completely true. The two qualities often exist side by side. The polarities often meet.

There is another difficulty one faces as one attempts to study the Romantic poetry. We may sometimes find in a Romantic poem qualities which may be antagonistic to the professed qualities of the Romantic literature. Wordsworth, for example, is a Romantic poet but there are qualities in him that are anti-Romantic. Melancholy, we are told, is one of the tests of the Romantic poetry but we find on examination that he is essentially a poet of joy. Joy counterbalances the sense of melancholy in him and dissolves it to a very great extent. Wordsworth is yet a Romantic poet.

There are various other difficulties in the study of the Romantic poetry. When does the Romantic literature start? We may ask this question, for example, and find ourselves fumbling for a suitable answer. We find no answer except that opinion is divided on this issue. Grierson,¹ for example, suggests, that the Romantic literature seems to start from the tragedies of Euripides and the Dialogues of Plato. He claims Plato to be the first great Romantic. He contends that it is to Plato that the some Romantics have turned to find a philosophical expression for their moods. In his conception of the human mind and the importance he attaches to its proper development, Coleridge is a follower of Plato. The interfusion of philosophy and poetry that we find in Wordsworth and Shelley

the year 1798 forms not only the beginning of the Romantic poetry but also determines its nature and temperament. We must, note that there must have been a kind of Romantic poetry before Wordsworth, and there indeed was but the poetry of Romance proper exhales from Wordsworth who was first to realize the need to liberate poetry from the bondage of classical rules and first to give this realization a bold practical shape.

The movement we call Romantic proceeds from him and he is the pioneer of it. He writes in a style he purposefully believes in and has the courage to say that the other style is not good. His Prefaces are specimen of his condemnation of the Neo-classical poetry. His poetry is the example of the determination and hope with which he initiated the new form and incorporated into it the new content. Hence his position is unique and unprecedented. To suggest that Romanticism starts from Christianity is taking the matter too far. It is true that in rejecting the flesh and elevating the spirit Christianity comes before Wordsworth. But Romanticism does not reject the flesh totally ; it considers it a passage to spiritual reality. Flesh in Romanticism is not so much rejected as transformed. The sensuousness of Keats is only a thin margin between the flesh and the spirit. He has a physical perception of eternity. Christianity rejects the flesh hypothetically. To associate it with Romanticism is not to understand its nature. Romanticism springs from Wordsworth and not from St. Paul.

These are some difficulties we face as we prepare to study Romanticism. These difficulties are created by those who fail to see the simple difference between Romanticism Instinctive and Romanticism Historical. Instinctive Romanticism is an attitude of mind.

It is that special way in which one reacts to the objects that charm and experiences that startle and fascinate. It is present in everybody, everywhere. It flares up as one sees a lightning in the sky or appreciates a thundering cloud. It resides in the sense of wonder and curiosity in every human heart. Instinctively, every poet is a Romantic poet. Instinctively there lies concealed in the heart even of a diehard classicist something of a Romantic poet. It is to instinctive Romanticism that Walter Pater refers when he says that Romanticism is "rather a spirit which shows itself at all times in various degrees..... than the peculiarity of a time or school."

But this discussion is of infinitesimal value in a study of the history and development of Romanticism. Historical and not instinctive Romanticism is our subject. Our observations and comments, as also considerations and conclusions, should be based on historical and not instinctive Romanticism. Hence, when we speak of Romanticism as flowering from Wordsworth, or of Wordsworth as the leader of Romanticism, or of Keats and Shelley as the poets of the Romantic Revival, we mean Historical and not Instinctive Romanticism. We must, therefore, remember that when we speak of Romantic poetry, or Romantic Age in literature, we have in our mind a particular period of literary composition and a particular galaxy of poets writing in it. And that period, broadly speaking, begins with the poetry of Wordsworth and ends with the year 1832 by which time almost all the Romantic poets die and Wordsworth, who lives upto 1850, does not write much afterwards.

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1. Background of English literature: Grierson (Chapter on Romantic and Classical).
 2. The Romantic Imagination: The opening sentence.
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THE PROBLEM OF PEACE IN WEST ASIA

Dr. Y. S. MEHTA

No nation in human history has suffered as much as the people of Israel. Jewish community was nationally humiliated, socially crippled and made economically bankrupt when it became the target of Hitler during the Second World War. After a great human consideration the Jewish community received a national home, for which they aspired for years together. It was a happy day for them that the United Nations Assembly voted on 29th November, 1947 the partition of Palestine. The country had been recognised by most of the nations of the world and she has a proud place in the United Nations. Even Soviet Russia, as early as 17th May, 1948 granted de jure recognition to that country.

In spite of all this the unabated feud is continuing between her and neighbouring Arab states, though owing to the unsparing efforts of the United Nations there had been ceasefire and momentary peace. Israel is violently interested in its survival. They have occupied some neighbouring territory by war. It was a chance that Israel could timely know the preparations of the Arabs, in particular of the U. A. R., for launching an attack on her.

It is from her offensive posture that some Arab countries are realising the facts and that is why Saudi Arabia, one of the Arab countries has put forth a proposal for the peaceful settlement of a dispute in U. N. O. Israelis however, feel that Saudi Arabia is guided by her own economic considerations and forgets the fact that never in the history of mankind has an agreement taken place, where the victorious nation has to lose everything and the losing nation has everything to gain. They feel

Aquaba is with them, due to sheer force of power. They can not give it up, because it is their connecting way with the rest of the world.

As regards the occupied territory, Saudi Arabian delegate wants that Israel leaves the annexed territory but Israel is not prepared to accept any terms of the Arabs unless and until she is recognised by all the Arab countries and Suez Canal is kept open for navigation to her. Then and then alone Israel feels she can think of terms of a settlement.

As regards our country's attitude India stands for peaceful co-existence. Our policy has not been fluctuating between sympathy for Arabs and aversion for Jews, but we are guided by human considerations for the toiling millions, who have been made refugees in their own mother land. On the other hand it is most unfortunate that the mighty nations of the world are guided by selfish considerations.

West-Asia is rich in oil. It has its strategic significance. It is a meeting point for east and west and therefore, imperialist powers feel that if they can control the Middle East they can control the whole of Asia. The Arabs were puzzled right from the times of the Balfour declaration by the British Government. British Government informed the Arabs as early as February, 1918 that its support to Jews went only so far as it is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political. The Jews accepted the partition plan in the hope that once a Jewish state was established, the rest of Palestine would also be occupied.

The Arabs on the other hand rejected it and asserted their right to the whole of the Palestine area. The Jews own large industries in the United States, where there has always been a wealthy and influential Jewish community. It is unfortunate that due to Jewish influence in U. S. A., American administration is not adopting a right attitude in relations to this problem. On the other hand it has boosted her morale, to fight against the Arabs. A small nation can not take courage to fight against bigger neighbouring nations, who have surrounded her. It is the power of some other nations which has promoted her to resort to aggression and develop such a resolute determination that it can flout the resolution of the United Nations with impunity.

The sad and sudden demise of Abdul Gannel Nassar, the President of the Arab

Republic has shocked the Arab world. Israel may take advantage of this position of helplessness of the Arabs. Therefore, in the interest of world peace and security and to ensure the promotion of economic and social advancement of its people, India has to recommend peaceful co-existence. Indian Government has to do all possible things to accommodate Israel for its navigation in Aquaba as well as in Suez provided it vacates its aggression of Arab territory. Saudi Arabia's resolution is a compromise and may appear as humiliation to Arab emotionalism and its resurgence; and also a set back to Israel which is proud of winning the six day war. However, we have to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind. Therefore, Saudi Arabia's resolution should be tried with suitable adjustments to restore peace in West-Asia.



C. Y. CHINTAMANI A SELFLESS PATRIOT

N. RAJAMANI

Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani, throughout his life remained a staunch and selfless patriot, with an unflinching adherence to his cherished ideas and ideals, even under severe stresses and strains. Though he was a politician yet his character was void of opportunistic elements. Moreover, he possessed a keen intellect and an extraordinary memory, which enabled him to bring out forgotten facts and figures with immaculate accuracy.

He was a doyen among Indian journalists and always fought for the freedom of the fourth estate. He earnestly wished that the civil liberties should be protected at all costs. On the whole he was a man, who fought for his country's freedom from within his own frame work of strongly laid out principles and faith.

Youthful Editor

C. Y. Chintamani was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was born in a poor Brahman family of Vizianagaram on 11-4-1880. As he was poor, he could not hope for a better education and a comfortable living. His early bitter experiences in life guided him through a settled course, from which he never faltered throughout his life. From a tender age he possessed a flair for writing and he could express his thoughts in a fine and flowing style. When this quality of his bloomed fully, its radiance attracted many admirers. Soon a way was opened for this budding journalist and he became the Editor for a weekly from Vizianagaram in 1898, only at the age of 18. Thereupon his social and political activities began to blossom and gave him an ever increasing popularity.

From 1901-'09 he began his travels through Madras, Allahabad and Amroati in the capacity of a journalist and Assistant Secretary to the Indian Industrial Conference. Finally he decided to settle at Allahabad, where he earned the friendship of the eminent Indian politician, Madan Mohan Malaviya. Their association led to the launching of the *Leader* and Chintamani took control of its reins. When the Chief Editor of this paper spent his youthful energy in expressing his thoughts relating to politics, he soon found himself in the arena of a busy social and political life.

Political Career

Chintamani was a great admirer of the congress and he enthusiastically followed its fight, for the freedom of our nation. But since he was a writer, he could not blindly follow the paths of others. His ability to analyse and assess the situations made him a great critic of certain well-known Indian politicians and their policies. Apart from possessing the ability to write, he was also a gifted orator. When this was noted, he was soon elected to preside over the U. P. Social Conference, the U. P. Industrial Conference and the U. P. Political Conference. When he made his mark as a politician he was elected to the U. P. Legislative Council, of which he was a member from 1916-'23 and again from 1927-'36.

The first distinct turning point in Chintamani's political career came when the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were in the making. The introduction of the Reforms gave the signal for the split in the Congress ranks. When the Joint Report of the Scheme was published in June 1911, the older section

of the Congress expressed its view that though the scheme contained certain defects regarding its proposals relating to the Central Government yet in the best interests of the country the scheme should be supported. But when the special session of the Congress held at Bombay, passed the resolution stating that the scheme was 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and unconstitutional', it compelled the supporters of the reforms to formulate their own views under their Liberal Party banner. Chintamani took an active part in working out the programme of the Liberal Party. However when the Government of India Act was introduced in the House of Commons, the Liberals noticed that the Bill was not in "Conformity with India's wishes and India's requirements". Hence they wanted an amendment to the Bill and Chintamani joined the Liberal Deputation to England in connection with the scheme. In the Report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on India he said "Better submit to the present unconstitutional government rather than to more reactionary and further more unconstitutional government of the future." Chintamani's work in the deputation was highly commended by his contemporaries.

In December 1920 when the ministries were formed in the Provinces, under the Montford scheme, Chintamani joined Pandit Jagat Narain in the U. P. Ministry, as the Education Minister. For twenty-eight months he showed his calibre in the field of educational reforms. In his manifesto to the elections of Jhansi, his constituency, he said "Secondary Education is the pivot of the whole system and no well considered expenditure to provide extended facilities and to raise its standard will fail to react upon the condition and progress of the people." Hence when the actual opportunity came to put his thoughts into action he utilised it to the best

possible extent. Secondary Education had its serious defects. It failed to pay much attention for the improvement of the mental calibre of the students. With the result the immature minds were unable to adapt themselves to the rigorous university life. The Calcutta University Commission gave serious thought to the problem and reached the conclusion that the secondary education should be separated from the University education and should be made a self-contained unit. Chintamani fully endorsed the Commission's recommendations and implemented them. Owing to his tireless efforts a Bill for separate Board of High School and Intermediate Education was moved in U. P. which increased the facilities of education and opened the door of education to the poorer sections of the society. Thus Chintamani did not cease to work for the human welfare.

The Montford scheme worked smoothly as long as Montagu was at the helm of affairs. But his exit from India spelt the death knell of the progressive movement. Like the Governors of other Provinces, the U. P. Governor tried to assert his authority over the internal policies of the Province. In sheer exasperation at the Governor's interference with the official machinery Chintamani along with his other colleagues, tendered his resignation.

After a serious illness he joined the 'Leader' in 1924, as its chief Editor. He pursued his firm principles through his convincing articles. The 'Leader' became one of the leading news papers of the nation and it acted as the mouth-piece of the Liberal Party, of which Chintamani remained the General Secretary for at least six years. But his love for the nation always stood above all his thoughts and this made him to enter the U. P. Legislative Council in 1927. He remained as a member till 1936.

As a man of independent views and principles Chintamani had no liking for the Gandhian principles of non-violence and non-cooperation. Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri observed that "He is, if anything, an example of independence of judgement and I do not know of a single person whom he will consent to obey, even though that person may be a Maha-Mahatma." Chintamani's dislike for Gandhian methods sprang from his belief that it would be utterly impossible to make the people always to adhere to the philosophy of Satyagraha. He once commented to Gandhi "You (Mr. Gandhi) alone will retain the *Satya* ; all your disciples desire the *Agraha*." This feeling of Chintamani should not be taken to infer that he was pro-British in character. It will be better to stress here that he, like any of the patriots likes to see the end of the alien rule over India. But he did not like the Gandhian method of non-violence, which he thought would certainly result in lawlessness. At the same time when the government tried to cow down the movement with a strong hand he criticised the Government's repressive measures to suppress the movement.

In the same way he had a distinct dislike for Gandhi's scheme of national education, which formed the plank of Gandhi's non-cooperation. He expressed his views under the caption "Independent Education". "Our education cannot be improved by cutting off connection with the government and sitting under the grove of mango trees. Besides the government being the most powerful agency that a country possesses all new schemes rely for their success on government support." When, during the second non-cooperation movement the Press Ordinances were passed by the government, some important papers ceased their publication. Chintamani joined the deputation of A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Tushar Kanti Ghosh to wait upon the Viceroy

Sir George Cunningham. He made a deep impression as a spokesman of civil liberties.

When the Government of India Act of 1935 was introduced, Chintamani came out with a vehement criticism of the Act. He said, "I venture to describe the Government of India Act of 1935 as the Anti-India Act. I feel when I recall and reflect upon all that Government of India did, has done, and is doing and all that it refused and is refusing to do in respect of fiscal and commercial policy, I feel with some bitterness that the Government of India in these matters may not incorrectly or unjustly be described as the Government against India."

During the war Chintamani expressed his disapproval over the Congress attitude of hesitancy and indecision towards the war. He was of the belief that for the safeguard of democracy and international morality the Congress would consider it a binding duty to support the Britishers. At the same time he did not fail to press the claim for dominion status and rapid Indianisation of the army.

In recognition of his contribution to education the Allahabad and Benares Universities honoured him with doctorates and the Lucknow and Mysore Universities invited him to deliver the convocation Addresses. For his services he was knighted in 1939.

Chintamani was a patriot with an independent mind and fearless spirit. He was stamped a liberal on account of the fact that he firmly believed in the basic principles of liberalism. He fought through his words and deeds for safeguarding the civil liberties. He was a journalist, who did not rest for a minute in protecting the freedom of the press.

He quoted Herbert Spencer's maxim in his 'Indian Politics since the Mutiny'. "If public approbation comes, well and good ; if it does not come, also well and good, though not nearly so well and good." He lived upto his maxim till his death on 1.7.1941.

P. C. SORCAR—THE MAHARAJAH OF MAGIC

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

The Maharajah of Magic—that is how Protul Chandra Sorcar, 'the greatest magician the world has ever produced in recent times—will be remembered for elevating legender-main from the labyrinths to the art of INDRAJAL. He raised the art of prestidigitatation to the pinnacle of perfection. The Western world is indebted to this wizard for resuscitating this dying Oriental art from the quagmire of myth and legend to the loftiest heights.

The repertoire of this prince among the prestidigitators included such famous items as the sawing through the lady, blind-folded reading of any language or sign and cycling through the most crowded and congested streets of the Western world, cutting the tongue of one of his assistants, waters of India etc. Has the art of magic which he perfected to such dizzy heights of science and technology died with Protul Sorcar?

No Indian or foreign wizard had bagged so many coveted awards and honours and earned the attention of the gentlemen of the Fourth Estate in the East and the West, as did Protul Chandra Sorcar. He travelled all over the globe as India's cultural ambassador regaling the people with his mastery over sorcery. In fact Sorcar was a world citizen, at home with different cultures and in distant climes.

No one was better qualified to perform the arduous duty of a cultural ambassador of India than Protul Sorcar for magic is an art which knows no language barriers. "The

difference between East and West completely disappears when we come to magic. Magic has brought East and West together. There is no geographical barriers in magic. People of Bombay or Boston, New York or Nagasaki are all equally amazed when they witness the miracle of sawing through a lady. Singers, comedians, theatrical actors and lecturers have their language problems—they become limited to those who understand their language, but magic (being mainly visual) appeals to all nations equally... Thanks to the universality of the Art of Magic, through which the East and the West have met in one common goal of brotherhood, friendship and mutual understanding", says the maestro.

Sorcar was once asked by a journalist what made him take up magic as a profession. Pat came the reply: "What a question? I was born in a family of seven generations of magicians. It is in my blood, old boy". "Magic is my passion, I breathe magic—I dream magic—I work magic," he added on another occasion.

Born on February 23, 1913 at Tangail in Mymensingh district, now in East Pakistan, Protul took to magic as a duck to water. His father Bhagavan Chandra Sorcar did not wish his son to become a *jaduwallah*. Caught in the act of practising a trick, Protul was profusely caned by Bhagavan Chandra. His filial affection knew no bounds and later on he applied an ointment to heal the wounds

of caning. Young Protul had often wondered whether he would ever be able to fly in a plane during those days of penury. "Strange it seems now, the plane is almost a second home to me, having to keep a busy schedule throughout the world", he once told a journalist. His father wanted Protul to become an engineer. Unfortunately, Protul could not oblige the old man, but his eldest son was made an engineer in fulfilment of the wish of Bhagavan Chandra. "I could not have become an engineer. I was born into an atmosphere of magic. I breathed magic from the day I was born. How could I have become anything but a magician?" he asks.

After passing the Matriculation Examination in the First Division, Protul graduated in 1933 with honours in Mathematics from the Ananda Mohan College at Mymensingh. He took to painting as a hobby which stood him in good stead in designing his own sets. The road from Mymensingh to Calcutta was not so easy as people have imagined. What young Protul did at first was restoration of the glory of ancient Indrajal and thus popularisation of magic and creation of an atmosphere for it at home and abroad.

What is Indrajal? The answer is given by the magician himself. "Indrajal is an art—an art that entertains the eye and the mind through suspense. It flourished in the royal courts of India. King Vikramaditya, Raja Bhoja, Queen Bhanumati, for instance, practised it. Further back, we find it mentioned in the epics, in the Tantra Shastras, in the Atharva Veda. Its masters kept it a secret. It was handed over from preceptor to pupil, father to son in greatest secrecy. This too much secrecy killed magic in India. I want to lift it back to the status of an art it enjoyed for centuries in ancient India."

Sorcar interpreted the basic principles of magic through a series of articles and

books in English, Bengali and Hindi. He had written about 20 books in English and Bengali. "Sorcar on Magic", "Magic for you", "Hindoo Magic", "More magic for you", "100 magics you can do" etc. are in English and "Indrajal: Magic", "Hypnotism", "Mesmerism", "Chheleder Magic", "Sahaj Magic", "Magic Siksha" "Deshey Deshey", etc. in Bengali.

Sorcar's writings are unique in the annals of magic literature. "That it will perpetuate the name of the foremost Indian illusionist of history is less important than the fact that it advances a great art and the cause of Indian culture", commented an American magic historian. He had made tall claims for Indian magic in his writings and the Western world was sceptical about it. He demonstrated the wealth of Indian magic in 1934 in Burma, Siam, Singapore and China.

Sorcar was introduced to the Japanese audience in 1937 by the father of Indian Freedom Movement in the East—Rash Behari Bose. The land of the Rising Sun which gave him the first break also was where the legendary magician breathed his last on January 6, 1971. Sorcar did accomplish what was considered impossible before he passed away. In fact he wanted to retire from giving performances at the age of 60 and concentrate on research on magic for which the Government of Orissa had gifted him a plot of land at Bhubaneswar. Protul Chandra Sorcar has already trained his son Prodip (P. C. Sorcar, Jr.) to follow him in the profession, though he is yet to show the world his showmanship. No doubt, Prodip is a chip of the old block and has in fact shown his mettle by coming out of a sealed box which was sunk in the Hooghly. There is no doubt that Prodip will take over the magic wand from his father. Protul was able to put India

on the world map of magic and take the magic of the East in all its mystery to the West. What was the cause of Sorcar's popularity?

Not only was Sorcar a master magician, but he was also an incomparable illusionist and shrewd showman. He was a psychologist and knew exactly what the public, whether in the East or the West, wanted. "Sorcar was able to demonstrate the advances made in Psychology as well as advances in magic as an entertainment", confirms an authority. He was not a mean advertiser, a powerful publicist and an astute businessman in this respect. He was a dynamic showman and a master in public relations. He was thoroughly versed in the strategies of publicity and stagecraft.

Sorcar was fully conscious of the fact that magic was after all a visual art and grandeur was what was needed. He created opulent sets, beautiful costumes, big time lighting effects, and best of all, wonders, mysteries, illusions, and deceptions from every country, every age, every period. He had a huge library of magical books at his "Indrajai" (Calcutta residence) where he spent hours in research work. He had his complete production centre at his residence where he built the most intricate illusions and painted the most magnificent sceneries. Truckloads of materials accompanied him anywhere he went and he brought back cartloads of trophies. Years of hard work, minute attention to detail, constant striving after improvement and devotion to the craft went in for the creation of INDRAJAL. Though most of us are familiar with his repertoire of magic, it is necessary to say a few words about sawing through the lady.

Sawing through the lady is the most intriguing item that has caught the fascination of the West. An electric saw is fitted

to an operating table. A beautiful girl is brought for sawing. To drive home the fact that the saw is really sharp, Sorcar presses a switch and places a block of wood near its sharp blade which sends clouds of shavings over the heads of the audience. The girl is then hypnotised and laid on the table. The girl is then cut into two pieces by the whizzing saw and the trunk and torso are exhibited separately to the audience who tensely hold their breath. Dressed in the same beautiful dress the girl emerges from nowhere onto the stage holding a bouquet of flowers in her hands to the astonishment and deafening applause of the spectators. Sorcar's sawing through the lady has been several times televised and millions have enjoyed it. Of course some of the ladies have fainted in the hall and not infrequently enquiries poured in to find out the fate of the lady sawed through.

Blindfolded reading of any language or sign was Sorcar's another favourite item. The members of the audience are invited to write anything on a blackboard. He is heavily blindfolded by a thick black handkerchief over which another thick coating of flour-dough is applied. The magician reads the signs, symbols and words with his X-Ray eyes. He pointed out if anyone committed a mistake in writing the sign or symbol. He was a linguist; knew more than thirty languages.

Sorcar rode on cycles through the most overcrowded cities of the world. Place de l'Opera, Paris; Esplanade; Chowringhee, Calcutta; Times Square; New York; London and other cities when the traffic was at its peak. He made the skeletons dance to his tune, performed the Indian Rope trick, produced pigeons and what not from nowhere, also ravishing beauties mysteriously during the show. He made motor cars full of passen-

gers vanish and then drove them onto the stage. Girls floated in the air and disappeared mysteriously. He poured the water of India on and on. He supplied milk through conical newspaper containers to his audience of which they seldom could drink a drop. He added to his stock-in-trade a number of new items every now and then. His Sputnik Rocket illusion, Festival in Calcutta, and his U. N. number are in point. Another number which he used to perform, but lately discontinued, was the cutting off the tongue of one of his assistants who was much too talkative. He invited the members of the medical profession to witness this hypnotic feat. The heart and pulse of the subject stopped completely when the tongue was cut out. His broomstick number was captivating. A newspaper boy on crutches was produced on the stage and Sorcar took off his supports by substituting a broomstick. He made the boy dance to the rhythm of hula hoop to the fun of the audience. Finally the boy left the stage with his real crutches.

Magic, according to Sorcar, should not only delight but also provide food for thought. He was doing his best towards this end. "Much more than what I have done for Indrajal needs to be done. This art as it was performed in ancient India is yet to be fully discovered. We have only surmises and conjectures now. We must have something more definite. That means research, intensive research", the magician confesses.

Left to himself, Protul Chandra Sorcar was the most genial and charming personality in real life. He was easy to get on with and had a lively sense of humour. He was able to get laughs out of the most difficult situations during his shows as in real life. Near Ballygunge Station in Calcutta by the side of his "Indrajal", there is a small teashop run

by one Rashbehari Babu. On one occasion I was sipping a cup of tea. The magician came there and asked Rashbehari Babu for a fish cutlet. He ate it. He asked for two more, to be packed and took out a ten-rupee note from the pocket of his vest. He handed over the note to Rashbehari Babu and walked away to the door, and asked. "Rashbeharida, haven't I paid you a ten-rupee note?" Rashbehari Babu answered: "Yes, you did give me". The magician asked the teashop-wallah to check it again. He opened his drawer, and lo, the ten-rupee note was not there. Rashbehari Babu told the magician. "Protulda, you did not give me the note". The magician told Rashbehari Babu: "You told me just now I paid you the ten-rupee note. What nonsense: You say now that I have not paid you". With a broad smile on his chin, he handed over the note to the poor teashop owner. There are hundred and one such instances I know personally, or narrated to me by people who knew him from his Tangail days. He taught a clerk of the Regional Transport Authority a good lesson. The clerk had an itching palm and was hesitating to register Sorcar's new car without his usual 'fee'. This annoyed the mystifier. Within the twinkling of an eye, the day's collection; which amounted to thousands of rupees; vanished from the clerk's drawers and while the man's sweat flowed like a river, the cash reappeared. In fact the chap did not know it was Sorcar who had come personally for the registration of the car. Just after Sorcar's marriage with Basanti, his mother-in-law brought a choice dish of delicacies for her son-in-law. "There is nothing there", he told her point blank and lo, when the cover was removed; there was nothing. Yes, he showed a trick to his mother-in-law. "There are tricks of all trades, but my trade is full of tricks", he told her.

Sorcar's greatest service to India was that he upheld Indian culture everywhere he went. He did not imitate the Westerners. The western magic, according to him, is mechanical and manipulative whereas Indian magic is primarily psychological. He was an Indian first and last and was proud of his heritage. He donned the dress of the Maharajah in order to proclaim this to the world. In his gold tissue coat, jewelled turban, and Vidyasagar shoes (i.e. turned up toes) Sorcar was really a prince. Once a journalist had the impertinence to ask him, "Mr. Sorcar, you are not of royal blood. Why do you wear the princely clothes?" Sharp came the reply: "Am I not the prince of magic?" Sorcar was not jealous of others. He did not mind others imitating him. His advice to them was to imitate and improve, if possible.

A prophet is without honours. Sorcar was showered with top honours in Magic. The Americans hailed him as the World's Greatest Magician, though he did not make that claim on account of his modesty. The Germans awarded him the Royal Medallion and the Golden Laurel. He was an honorary member of the leading Magic Clubs of the world. He bagged the "Sphinx" Gold award (equivalent to Nobel Prize in magic) twice from New York. At home, he was awarded Padma Shri in 1964. He had a red-carpet welcome anywhere in the world. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was the President of the All India Magic Circle, Calcutta and member of the Rotary Club. Sorcar was perhaps the only magician who fooled the generations anywhere and everywhere and any time and all the time.



POETRY OF THE AGE OF CONFUSION : DINKAR'S HARE KO HARINAM

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

Ramdhari Siuha Dinkar is among the most well-known poets in Hindi. Indeed a measure of his popularity is given by the fact that he was already become a household name. In Bihar, with the exception of Kedarnath Mishra Prabhat, no other poet is held in such a high esteem as Dinkar. The publication of any new book of verse by Dinkar is naturally an event of considerable literary importance.

After long six years Dinkar has broken his poetical silence by coming out with one hundred and two poems in the volume *Hare Ko Harinam* (Published by Udayachal, Rajendranagar, Patna-16). It is difficult to classify the book since it contains poems on different themes and contradictory views on the same theme. Perhaps it is more appropriate to call this volume a new question of Dinkar—a question which he addresses to himself as much as he addresses to others. Like every question, Dinkar's question also arises out of his grave dissatisfaction with what is, and his craving for having something better. If Dinkar has not succeeded in showing a way out of the very great complexity of the present situation it is not very remarkable. What indeed is remarkable is the acute dissatisfaction of a person like Dinkar who has an important position in the existing scheme of things. It is in the dissatisfaction of a person like Dinkar that a true measure of the failure of the current system is to be seen : It has not only failed to provide jobs to the unemployed educated but has not also succeeded in satisfying the queries of the older generation which had identified itself with the system.

There is an irony underlying the title of

the volume which suggests that only a defeated person takes the name of Hari (God). Dinkar can by no stretch of imagination be considered to be a defeated man. Unlike many poets of distinction who may have attained literary eminence but failed to gain material self-sufficiency, Dinkar, besides being a very popular and famous poet, has occupied high positions in public life and in government. Even now he is occupying a high government position. His frustration can not be the frustration of the unsuccessful. The personal element in Dinkar's frustration cannot be very great. His frustration is more largely a projection of the frustration of the nation. It is in this identification with the nation that Dinkar's significance lies.

Dinkar's dilemma is best expressed in the poem "Padma". When he shuts himself in to write poems his granddaughter knocks at his door. Dinkar asks what is more important: Is it what he is seeking in imagination or is it the baby who from outside is lovingly calling him? This dilemma has confronted many writers and scientists in this century who have often resolved it by concluding that it was their duty to leave aside their poetry, science and other cultural pursuits in order to be able to respond more directly to the call of humanity. It is this impossibility to shut out the cries of the agonized humanity that has turned many writers and scientists into political agitators.

It is this awareness of the world outside the haven of the poet that leads Dinkar again and again to talk of the fire inside human beings finding expression. A highly conscious poet like Dinkar cannot indulge in the delusion that characterizes the work of many

smaller poets. Dinkar is very conscious of his creeping old age which he wants to fight to the end "with my back on the last wall of youth." ("Budhapa" *Ageing*). Dinkar's consciousness of his capacity and his full determination to use it are best reflected in the poem "Pavak" (Fire) where he conveys his resolve to defy the will of the oppressor to kill him in such a manner that the poet's fire does not come out. Dinkar says that the darkness of death he would light up with the light of his own fire. In many more poems Dinkar exudes this self-confidence arising out of the knowledge that there are men "who can walk on the earth without touching the ground and who can stand in fire and yet not be burned." ("Impossible").

But it is not long before he relapses into a mood of defeat. "Defeat is the fate of man, victory is but an accident," he says in the poem "Defeat". In another poem he says "Vanquished on all fronts I sing the song of defeat" ("Road to knowledge"). In this mood he becomes despondent of the value of knowledge and seeks to indulge in inaction. "To forget all knowledge and become an unthinking child is man's true pursuit." ("Puru-shartha"—Manly pursuits). He even goes to the extent of swearing to say "You would not die if you stop thinking." (Ibid) It is this type of thinking that can give rise to dictatorship and military rule. It is the expression of an utterly confused state of mind—the same state of mind which seeks social revolution by arming the vested interests with greater authority. If democracy has not been strengthened because of the failure of those in power, the confused critics say, democracy should be killed and power be centralized further through the abrogation of the constitution and the imposition of the Presidential system of Government. The need to-day is not to stop thinking but to think harder by raising questions not asked so far.

But this pessimism is not true. Dinkar who also says, "Doubts are window which allow intellect to travel beyond limits." He asks people to learn doubting which, if once considered a sin, "we love now." So long as one is permitted to doubt, to discover anew the virtue enveloped by darkness, even pessimism cannot be allowed to hold an absolute sway. Therefore inaction is not what the poet recommends. To the contrary. He writes that everybody must endeavour to produce results by way of self-expression. As a fruit is the self-expression of a mango tree, so is poetry of the poet. And, by implication the action of every man. Poetry is the significance of the poet, the condition of his existence. If it ceases, the poet becomes a burden on the earth. ("A Mango Tree"). He reminds us that man's prowess is seen when he walks on thorns. "He emits light only when he himself burns in fire." ("Radium")

Nevertheless the element of self-contradiction is evident even from the most inadequate and incomplete discussion. It is seen in his ambivalent attitude to woman. In one poem he seems to say that woman is more obnoxious than poverty. Poverty and woman have their imprint on all the poets. But poverty may not yet be so painful. "But a woman? Whether it is Tulsī or Tolstoy—he fares the same before a woman." ("Poverty and Woman"). Fortunately this is not his only, or even his true, view of woman. For in another poem he goes straight to an opposite view to say, sensibly enough, that if one woman has behaved like a snake it does not warrant denouncing all other women. Woman, far from being a curse, "is the glow of the lamp of creation," "the expression of the vitality of the nation." To the poet, "To think of the form of woman is to fill up the mind with fragrance. To get a glimpse of a woman's mind is to gain a view of heaven." ("Woman").

Sometimes the poet chooses to be didactic as is to be found in the poems "Sabhyata" (Civilization) and "Purushartha" (Manly Pursuits) which are less than being poetry. Even as philosophy "Purushartha" is questionable, historically untrue. It is a travesty of history to suggest that "Man was soft so long as environment was hard. Man's self was less aggressive when man's knowledge was smaller." ("Purushartha"). Obviously the poet is confusing the destructive capacity given by science to man with man's innate aggressiveness. When man becomes aggressive now-a-days he can bring about much greater destruction than he could before. But is man more aggressive now? Dinkar evidently suffers from the same unhistorical view which crippled Gandhian thought—of considering the past better than the present. This is a very wrong view and needs to be refuted by all means. Undoubtedly glorification of the past like a utopia, connotes a criticism of the *status quo*. But whereas a utopia prompts persons to action, a blind adulation of the past tends to push persons to inaction.

But Dinkar is essentially a dynamic, forward-looking poet. The function of poetry, as he sees it, is to fill up the void outside by bringing out the images roaming in the mind—to create something by churning the mental faculties. ("Poetry and Self-realization"). Dinkar is a daring poet who can challenge the sun and say "The strength I derive now comes not from you, but from the darkness, from the lamentations in the pit where your rays cannot reach." ("The Sun")

It is no longer the national or the political leader who gives him strength but the common masses whom the national leader could never reach. He despises those who "to fly in the sky feel no urge" and do not "flinch from clinging to the earth." He has raised the pertinent question "While eating how many do get the real taste of the bread?"

What is the mantra he recommends for the defeated? Not surrender, to be sure. "Do not give up the song of fearlessness", he says. "The storm of the bad days is the clarion call of some one whose grace is reflected in the merry noises of the morn." Therefore, although "sleep is the happiness of the night" and "awakening, danger of the morn"; Dinkar urges us to see the beautiful nature riding on the rays of the morning sun. This dynamism is what makes his poems all so timely and worthwhile.

My knowledge of Hindi is extremely poor. My ability to translate poems into English is still poorer. Nevertheless if I have dared to offer a few poems of Dinkar in translation, it is entirely out of a desire to share my pleasure in going through this volume with our non-Hindi knowing readers. If it prompts an abler hand to undertake the work of translating Dinkar's poems in English my efforts would be amply rewarded. For translation into English is one means by which we can hope to fight the insidious propaganda that is being constantly carried on by the denigrators of this country (Which unfortunately include quite a few affluent Indians in key positions) running down its literature and culture.

IN SACRED MEMORY

(21)

SITA DEVI

The boys were really enjoying their meal—it was a pleasure, watching them. The poet informed everyone that the night-school authorities had carried away his entire stock of old newspapers. My father mentioned the letter from the Parsee youth and the poet remarked that he received innumerable such strange letters. “If I could gather them all in a book, it would be a remarkable book indeed. Of course, I would have had to ask their permission—but, most probably, the poor fellows wouldn’t have refused”, he said. He also told us about the numerous poems sent to him from Madras, for publication in the *Modern Review*. Rabindranath laughed aloud and said, “These, Sir, are so remarkable that they are bound to increase your number of subscribers.” A Menon from Travancore had wanted to know what happened finally, to Giribala, heroine of ‘*Manbhanjan*’. And he had also asked the poet whether he objected to his naming his new-born daughter Giribala. Turning to my father he said, “I was thinking of referring him to you, as I don’t know anything about copyrights on names.”

We heard about the little girls who were his friends. They all wrote to him and expected long letters from him but were furious if he did not follow their instructions. The poet hadn’t an easy time answering their letters.

Rachel, the tiny daughter of the painter Rothenstein, had written him a letter saying that, though her calf was only two months old, it was a most wonderful calf. It was

both big and beautiful. The other news she gave was that Betty did not catch caterpillars any more. Rabindranath said, “Now, tell me—how do I answer that letter? I would have had so much more to say if she had asked for my opinion, say, about Home Rule. But ‘Betty does not catch caterpillars any more’—what should my reply be to that? Santa, please think out a solution for me.”

Santa, of course, could not find out an answer. The best letter was from an American-Indian girl. She had read one of his essays and had cut out his photograph from some newspaper. The little girl would be very happy if Rabindranath visited her country. She was quite sure that East Indians and West Indians came from the same racial stock. She liked Indians very much and wished to marry a Hindu. Finally, she had given a detailed description of herself—probably, to make the matchmaker’s job a bit easier. She ended her letter thus—“but don’t think it is a love letter to you.” The letter caused a lot of amusement and Rabindranath said, “Her letter expressed no such sentiment—nor did I get any such idea—but she has cautioned me all the same. No harm, if she did write me a love letter, I should think.”

The night-school boys had finished their food and were now amusing themselves by having friendly fights with each other. Rabindranath left for home and the school teachers sat down to eat. My mother served their food. Finishing our meal in a hurry we

went for our evening walk. The boys were putting up a 'circus performance' that evening. They had the usual cloth fencing and were shouting out their programme with the beating of a tin drum. We had started out quite early but the show had already begun. There were two types of tickets—one was the ordinary and the other was for the 'box'. The 'box' had only two seats. Rabindranath sat on one of them and the empty one was for father, we were told. The boys were the only performers—there were no animals about. The two who got the most applause were Dwijen Mukhopadhyay and Runi, the tiny nephew of Santosh babu. Clowns are a 'must' in a circus. Jatin Kar and his companion were responsible for these acts. They named it 'Maja Ke Khel' and though the children enjoyed it tremendously, we were not as enthusiastic. There was a circus band and some firing of blank cartridges. The poet left before the show had ended and we saw him standing in his front verandah when we returned home. Hearing our voices in the dark, he said, "Well, Sita, how did you like 'Maja Ke Khel'?"

Our New Year's Day finally came to an end.

Early the next morning we received an invitation. Mrs. Sudhakanto Rai Chowdhury came to invite us to her son's Namakaran and Annaprasan ceremonies. As the others were still in bed, I had to receive her. Rabindranath was to officiate as the acharya there. I hurried the others up so that all of us were ready in time to reach Sudhakanto babu's house quite early. Everybody was busy and the cooking went on at a remarkable speed. The infant was bathed and dressed in clothes dyed in turmeric powder. He protested in the usual way and refused to wear anything. The front porch of the teachers' quarters was decorated with alpana, mango-

leaves and painted urns filled with water. Rabindranath and Kshitimohanbabu conducted the service. The poet also fed the child his first meal of rice and named him Saumyakanto.

The poet was leaving for Calcutta by the afternoon train. He left early so that he could pack his luggage. The summer heat in Santiniketan, particularly in the month of Baisakh, is terrible—only those who have experienced it would understand. The food was still not ready and I did not wish to return home in that hot sun. We walked towards the poet's house, wishing to bid him farewell, as it would not be convenient later. The staircase was fiery hot but we climbed it and found Rabindranath packing his books. Seeing us, he smiled and said, "So, you have come to say good bye?"

He stood and gathered his books together, so we stood beside him and chatted. We were amused to hear him say that Mr. Andrews was always restless and could never stay in one place too long. Rabindranath himself was not known to stay in a place for too long either. He praised the education system for women in Australia and asked me, "Why don't you go there and specialise in some subject? Do you wish to be a lady-doctor?" I humbly expressed my unwillingness.

Suddenly he asked, "Well, is the heat bearable here?" I said, "We have survived the Allahabad summer—which is much worse. This isn't so bad." The poet said, "It is not just the heat. A kind of desolation grips this place in the summer. The fields stretch endlessly before you in shimmering haze—there is no one about and everything is so still and silent. Even the sky above seems febrile and abandoned—the mood is altogether desolate. I don't really mind it, you know. The heat has never bothered me, so I don't

suffer during the summer. It always seems to affect you more, if you talk about it." He began to discuss his foreign-tour and travels and remarked, "I am wondering what I can leave with you as a legacy. Why not take my wicker seats? You can sit on them and chatter away." Finally, however, he did not give those away. Looking around his sparsely-furnished room, he noticed a pair of gaily-decorated hanging shelves, made of wire and rope. "These are very feminine," he said, "I don't have any spices or other ingredients to store in them - you might find them useful." He took them down for us. They were beautifully made and we used them for so many years, until they broke into shreds. He teasingly remarked, "If my ship sinks after a submarine attack -do remember that I left you gifts, howsoever insignificant!" He always teased us this way. Those who were fortunate enough to come near him,

could never possibly forget him—did he not realise that?

We started to go now, knowing that there were many waiting downstairs, to bid him goodbye. Rabindranath said, "The more I get ready for the journey, the more I feel that I shall not be going this time. I feel like staying back, but again wish to set forth. There is a certain magic, a charm, about this quiet, these open fields that seems to pull me and say, "This is so much better." But I shall have to tear through this magic veil." His eyes seemed to look beyond time and space, on to a further distance. He forced himself back again to return to us and said, "If I don't go, I shall rent a house near the Gauga -say, near Chandernagore -and may be, write a few poems. If you come to see me, I shall read them to you." It was time for our leave-taking realised. We bowed down and touched his feet and went downstairs with heavy hearts.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



SMRITI AND BISMIRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

10

Mazar-I-Shareef.

We halted for two days at Mazar-I-Shareef to take rest and make final preparations for the journey to the Soviet land. Here many friends, associates and acquaintances of the Maulana came and met him. This put him in very good cheer. We had a good look round the town and the famous carpet and Karakul markets. This was in addition to the visit to the world-renowned Mazar which has given the name to the town. When we went there, we disturbed the hundreds of pigeons, which were living and breeding safely there. They got frightened by the sudden invasion of so many persons, which was unusual in out-season. They flew around for a while but finding that we did not attempt any mischief, settled back in their abodes. When some grains were scattered, they flew down, ate them and in happiness gave a demonstration of their song and dance with spread out plumes. I knew the Hindus do not kill pigeons which take shelter in temples and I was rather agreeably surprised that Muslims also follow the same practice as the Hindus to the pigeons taking shelter in religious places. Maulana and some others said their prayers there devoutly.

There was an office of the Trade Commissioner of Soviet Russia in the town and we went there on invitation for tea and met a few Russians both men and women, who were office staff and spoke Persian quite fluently. They were dressed in Russian village style, not in European style and they mixed freely with the local people.

We had a little economic problem. The Indian people who came to see the Maulana usually stayed on for the meals, whether we invited them or not. It increased the bill for food, ten or twelve such people joined us in every meal and almost out-numbered us. It was discussed amongst ourselves but there was no remedy. Fortunately it was for two days only. The worst part of it was that many of them were not politicals at all.

Marketing.....

In the market, we did quite a lot of marketing, specially Dr. Noor. Md, who had enough money of his own. Karakuli Caps were bought by almost every one. I also bought one Persian Carpet, my bed size, which cost about Rs. 50/- there, about half of the Indian price. I also bought one Postin (skin). It is a skin of a whole sheep, tanned with all fleece but turned inside out. These are very warm due to the wool inside but it smells a little. I bought it inspite of the objection of most of the young friends in the party. But it gave me great service and comfort when I had to sleep in the open on the banks of the Oxus. All these marketing was because of the fear of no marketing being possible in Soviet land. We were not quite aware of the New Economic Policy, briefly called NEP.

Anyhow, two days passed well and we started again towards the Soviet land. By this time the apprehension of being interned, not to speak of being liquidated was completely off from the mind of even the most apprehensive. On the otherhand most of us were happy for being shown a shorter way, which

took us three or four days less, but also enabled us to follow the course of the Kabul river up to the very source and see the magnificent sight of miles and miles of multicoloured marble stone hills in their pristine glory. It was hazardous no doubt, but I had gone out, not for safe existence, but was game for all kinds of adventures. I had the pleasure of climbing the snow-covered Taskarnon peak of Hindukush, which was hardly as high as half of Mt. Gouri Shankar, supposed to be the abode of Sankar (Shiava) and his wife, Gomri which was called Mt. Everest by Europeans.

The border, where we were to cross the river Oxus was at Patakesar only two days journey for the caravans from Mazar-I-Sharif. I learn that a beautiful metalled road has since been constructed from Patakesar to Kabul, with the financial and technical help of Soviet Russia. Now by Bus it may be two days journey from Kabul to Patakesar (or Termez) the inland post on the other side of Oxus in Soviet Russia. By car it may be only one day or less.

Balk or Bactria

Our next and last stop in Afghanistan was at a Caravan Sarai in a very desolate and desert like place. We were told that somewhere there was the famous city called Bactria, which was known as the Queen of all cities about 2000 B. C., built by the Aryans. Zarathustra or Zoroaster the great religious leader was born there and flourished and spread his religion far and wide more than a thousand years before Christ was born. Throughout the middle East, his teachings are even now considered with great interest by the people and there are a few millions, specially amongst the Parsees, who still follow the religion propounded by him. He was indeed the pioneer in those ancient days. Greco-Bactrian civilization continued for a thousand years. Then

Buddhism and lastly Islam, about 1400 years from today. Nothing remains of Balk or Bactria, the Queen of all cities in those days, except a very few ruins of old monument.....

We halted for the night in the old Caravan Sarai near the queen of Cities. It was like the one in which I had lived the first night in Afghanistan near Dacca. The next afternoon we reached Patakesar, a river port on the Oxus, opposite the famous inland port of Termez of Soviet Russia in Bukhara.

We were all elated that we had at last almost reached Soviet Land, which we could see indistinctly across the broad Oxus. Only the river stood between us. Before the Aryans came across the Indus and the Ganges, the river Oxus played a very big role in the history and progress of the Aryans. They were primarily agriculturists and naturally loved to colonise on the bank of rivers. Before the Oxus it was the Volga. Waiting and plodding through the mountains and jungles of Afghanistan, with fear in our hearts, we were at last through our arduous journey.

Emotional Parting.

The parting was really pathetic and full of emotion. The mule owners were paid off, with Baksish, including the price of the Mule that was killed by a fall from the peak of the Hindukush.

They were with us for only about three weeks, but in this short space of time we earned their affection, for our treatment, specially the Maulana's treatment of them was very friendly indeed.

Then was the turn of the four personal attendants of the Maulana Dr. Noor MD. Ahmad Hossain and Jaffar Hossain. The four horses were presented, one to each of them for looking after the animals. They were elated with this gift. They looked at the gift horses not in the proverbial why but in great

delight. The information of this undreamt of reward was kept a well guarded secret up to the very last. In addition, they were presented with most of the utensils, we were using on the way. This was also a substantial gift. Each of the four got about Rs. 1000/- Kabuli or Rs. 600/- Indian in cash and more in kind. But they were all weeping when they put our luggage and bedding etc. on the open Ferry Boat. This was their last service to us. They feelingly embraced all of us including myself, though I had known them only casually before I started on the journey. All of them assured that whenever we returned, they would come to serve their old masters. This weeping farewell moved me also very deeply.

I remembered the day I had left India and entered Afghanistan. My feelings were somewhat similar as on that day. I was most jubilant. But on this day I had just a little hesitation about what I might find in Soviet Russia. It may be disillusionment as it was in Afghanistan later on. But the prospect of going to Pastures new, drove away the hesitation and I was as jubilant as the other companions. For the Maulana, it was a great hope and he almost felt like released from imprisonment.

On the boat we had another round of embracing and the final farewell. The boat left the Afghan shore and started on Oars to cross the Oxus, but our men stood on the bank, waving their hands, and handkerchiefs as long as they could see us and we were also waving back. The horses also seemed to understand what was happening. The masters patted them farewell before getting on the ferry boat. They neighed and seemed to express their feelings at this parting. The boat sped across in full view of the men and horses which gradually became dimmer; and the Maulana and some others were wiping

their tears. I am less emotional, but felt at heart the pathos, though I did not show much outward sign.

Adieu Afghanistan

When we crossed the middle of the Oxus we were out of Afghanistan and were in Soviet Union, according to International Rules and Customs. The river Oxus there was much broader than the Ganges in Calcutta. When we could not see the men and horses on the Afghan shore, our minds turned towards the occupants of the ferry. They were mostly traders from Bukhara and there were also two Russian women of middle age, employed at the Russian Trade Consulate in Mazar-I-Sharief. We had met them there two days back. They spoke Persian well and also a little English. We learnt that they were going home on 2/3 months leave after one whole year in Afghanistan. After crossing half of the river, we were technically in Soviet Russia but none felt like it till we reached the shore and the ferry was anchored and we touched mother earth in Soviet Land. The ferry anchored at a place, which was marshy land full of *hogla* weeds, where the feet would sink in the clay 3/4 inches. The actual Port was about 3 hundred yards from the water's edge where the ferry anchored. The Port shifted from place to place as the river water receded or advanced, according to the season. In summer the river is in full spate and the ferry anchored in the Port, where there is a small colony and also brick built shops, offices etc., which were a rarity in Afghanistan. The other occupants left the ferry boat one by one and made their way with their light luggage themselves over the planks, placed on the marshy bank. The Maulana was so happy that he almost jumped out of the ferry, to touch the Soviet land with his feet. It was deliverance for him. I was only half or a quarter as enthusiastic as the Moulana. The

first great handicap on alighting was that there were no porters there and we had to take the luggage to the shore ourselves. All our bedding and luggages big and small boxes or Chamandans were quite a load. The Servants who were handling the luggage, even making our beds, etc. were all on the other side of the Oxus, with the old civilization. The younger comrades, had to do this hard job and I too lent my hand ungrudgingly. The first lessons we learnt in Soviet Land was self-help and Dignity of Labour. Our first impressions on reaching Soviet soil, was positively disappointing. The New Economic Policy was already in full operation.

Ahmad Hossain, was apologetic for the failure of our reception and Jaffar Hossain went with him to the shore, to find out what happened and to make arrangements for porters etc., and also for a house or hotel for our stay. The Maulana, went to the shore with one or two others, to enjoy walking on Soviet Soil. Dr. Noor Md. had a colic pain and had to be left behind and I stayed with him as his companion. All the rest left one by one, with apologies to Dr. Noor Md. and me, and assuring they would be back soon. While crossing the Oxus, the sun was setting and the glowing rays of the setting sun made the water of the Oxus literally red and we entered Red Russia across, the Red Oxus, but when we were at Termez, it was dark and Dr. Noor Md. and myself were left on the desolate shore with only one or two of the boat men as our companions. The worst of it was that Dr. Noor Md. felt worse with his colic pain and started groaning. He advised me to take medicine and hypodermic syringe from his suit case and give him an injection. I hesitated a little but did as advised. I was my first and up to date the last injection, I had given to anybody. Before injecting I asked him three times, whether the medicine

and the dose were correct. Being sure, I acted as the doctor advised. Fortunately, for Dr. Noor Md, he had relief very soon. It was a great relief to me also. After about an hour or so, which seemed an eternity, Jaffar Hossain, came with a few porters and they carried the luggage to a place, where 2 small rooms had been hired for our temporary stay. Maulana was already there. Dr. Noor Md. managed to walk limping and leaning on the shoulders of Jaffar Hossain and myself.

Adieu, Afghanistan

When the Ferry Boat, containing about 50 persons, crossed the imaginary mid-line and we were in the Soviet Land (rather Soviet Waters) my thoughts were back in Afghanistan. For Maulana Obaidulla and his own group, it was a very great disappointment. He had stayed in Kabul for nearly 8 years, planning big things for a grand assault on British Imperialism in India. The plan to bring German Arms from Germany and Turkish Arms had failed, and the prospect of further attempts on that line also collapsed due to the collapse of the Kaiser; but the victory of the Proletarian Revolution, in Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, raised new hopes in the agile brain of Maulana Obaidulla.

In the Victory of Amanullah in the fight for Independence in 1919, in which Maulana and his colleagues actively participated, fresh vistas of not only continuing but also of deepening and extending the anti-British struggle opened up. It brightened up very greatly when through the agency of Ahmad Hossain, connections were established with Lenin and the Soviet Union and also through M. N. Roy who was specially instructed to explore all possibilities in this direction. Already some money, though rather in small quantities started coming, but the possibilities of getting huge quantities of arms and money

opened up and the Maulana's fertile brain and indefatigable energies were directed for this end.

It was at this time that his whole grandiose scheme was torpedoed by Amanulla, under pressure of the British. The Maulana was naturally sorely disappointed. But irrepressible optimist as he was, he decided to go to Russia, to explore all the possibilities of fighting the British with Soviet help. His plan was to stay on the Soviet side of the Oxus in Bukhara or Termez and direct the operations against the British after making all arrangements with the Soviets, by high level talks in Moscow. His contacts with India through the fiery freedom fighter Wahabis on the Frontier, were deep and enduring and he planned to get their help ungrudgingly and even enthusiastically.

The Moulana was irrepressible. Though his operations would be much handicapped, if he did not stay in Afghanistan, yet he thought he could carry on from Soviet land, if enough resources and money were available. As far as men were concerned, he had enough in India and Afghanistan. He also thought perhaps, the Provisional Government of India could also function better from Tokyo or Bukhara, instead of from Kabul. Frustrations did not frustrate him. I could read his thoughts in the twilight with Oxus waters draped in the red rays of the setting Sun, when both Afghanistan and Soviets were becoming indistinct from the mid-stream.

For Ahmed Hossain, also it was great tactical defeat to be ousted from Afghanistan. His only hope was, if Moulana could come to a big deal in Moscow. Maulana was rather unwilling to leave his strategic position in Kabul, even for high level talks in Moscow, but now he was compelled to do so, as the alternative was to be interned in Kabul once more under Ameer Amanulla, as it was once

before under Ameer Habibulla, father of Ameer Amanulla. It might have been liquidation also as Moulana had apprehended not without reasons.

For the rest also it was a disappointment to leave Kabul though it was a new venture. It was worth attempting, though they had been quite happy and comfortable in Kabul, and would not go unnecessarily for an unsettled life.

For me, I was happy to leave for the Soviets. My plan to smuggle arms to India, on a big scale from Kabul had not succeeded and I did not also make much serious attempts as a much more grandiose scheme, to work as an important executive of the new explosive and ordinance factory in Kabul had been in sight. When this hope was gone, I was restive and glad to leave for a new venture. My only regret was that I could not have an extensive tour in Afghanistan, Bamian, Balkh, Herat, Kandahar and specially Gazni, with which India's fate had a rather sad and much regrettable connection. These were however very minor considerations. I was therefore perhaps the happiest of the group. Others had spent in Kabul long eight years through stress and strain. For me it was about 8 months only and I had the best of both the worlds in Kabul. But as it was not the purpose, for which I had gone to Kabul, I was naturally happy, when much better prospects of pursuing my prime object, namely smuggling arms to India came to me suddenly, without asking or trying for it. In this state of mind there was very little talk amongst ourselves, and we bade adieu to Afghanistan.

Ancient Land with Modern Ways.

Afghanistan is now being described by the Afghans as an ancient land with modern ways, in the pictorial history of Afghanistan published by the ministry of planning of the Royal government of Afghanistan. It is no exaggera-

tion. Remains of stone age civilization are found in Northern Afghanistan in Aug Kaprak, Dadil etc, experts, claim that these are of 50,000 years before Christ was born.

Aryans came and settled as early as 3000 B. C. in Northern Afghanistan in Bakhtar and the towns Mazar-I-Sharcef, Quatagan, Badakshan, Maimua etc. These claim continued history from those prehistoric days. The Aryans continued to advance from Afghanistan to the West to Persia, to the South and East beyond Hindukush to India.

A powerful kingdom of Aryans was formed about 2000 B. C. in Bukdhi or Baktria (or Balkh of today).

Here flourished Zarathustra (or Zoroaster) about 1000 B. C. during the reign of Gusthuspa. Zoroaster was a religious reformer famous in those days at the dawn of ancient Aryan civilization. His teachings spread in Balkh and the whole of Afghanistan and beyond.

Alexander came about 700 years afterwards and after 4 years of bitter struggle, conquered and occupied a major part of Afghanistan which was called Aryana then.

For two hundred years the Hellenic rulers, starting with Deodotus ruled in Balkh, but the advancing Cythians forced the last Hellenic king, Helleacles, to shift to Kapisa (Kapichi) South of Hindukush near Kabul and he organised a new kingdom there.

After another two hundred years Kajula Kadphises laid the foundation of Kushan Dynasty in Northern Afghanistan. About 50 years after Christ was born. Kaniskha, the Great, the third Kushan King, extended his sway far beyond the Oxus and far beyond the Indus, deep into India. Art and literature flourished. Bakhtari language which form the basis of modern languages of Afghanistan was also much developed in those days. The down fall of Kushans came in 300 years follow-

ed by the rise of Kaidasis or Little Kushans, They were followed by Yaphalites in about 100 years.

Buddhism was in the effulgence of its glory and from Kapichi (Kapasi) Buddhism spread to China and beyond to Vancouver and even to Mexico.

Towards the end of the ninth century the Muslim kingdom of Aryana was formed and was named Khorasan. Towards the end of tenth and beginning of 11th century Sultan Mahmud of Gazni, annexed Persia, most of India (including present day West Pakistan) and part of trans-Oxonia also. Since then the invasion of Mogol hordes, Under Chenchhis Khan, Tamur Lane, of Nadir and Baber etc., are parts of modern and medieval history.

Thus Afghanistan has been the cross-roads of many civilisations.

It was also the ancient trade route between Russia in the North and the Indian Peninsula in the South, China etc in the East and Iran, Middle East and Europe in the West. It was also the usual route through which culture from different countries flowed backwards and forwards. Marcopolo, Iban Batuta and Huent-tsang are notable examples of the carriers of civilisation from country to country.

Switzerland of Asia.

Afghanistan is land logged and has no access to the Seas and hence, after achieving independence from the British in 1919, it has been the policy of its rulers to develop Afghanistan as the Switzerland of Asia. That country also has no access to the sea and is surrounded by France, Germany and Italy. There are other similarities also. Both are small countries of 250,000 and 150,000 Sq. miles respectively most parts of which are mountaineous. The population of both are about one crore and half a crore respectively.

In spite of all the wishes and efforts, Afghanistan has not been able to progress

much in the direction of becoming comparable to Switzerland which is one of the most advanced and developed countries of Europe.

Absence of railways, in North, South, East or West is the greatest handicap. There was an attempt to start building railways fifty years back, but it did not extend more than five miles from Kabul to Darul Aman, the projected New capital. With the conquest of Kabul by Bachha-e-Sakao in 1930, all dreams and plans were set at nought and neither the railways nor Darul Aman, progressed much.

Under the present Ameer Zahir Sha, and Prime Minister Dand a Five year Plan is in operation and all round progress is noticeable, which could not be dreamt even, in

1922, when we left Afghanistan. Russia and U. S. A. have helped to build a modern air port in Kabul and Kandahar respectively. Metalled bus and truck roads have been constructed by both these countries in different regions. Germany is helping to build a University and France, a literary centre and a museum.

So, instead of Afghanistan, developing from the Camel and Horse age to Railway Age, it is actually going one stage further to automobile age, if not to air age itself, through Aryana, the Afghan Airline, in which I have travelled and which is quite up-to-date even with expert and efficient Air Hostesses, who are comparable to their European counterparts.



Current Affairs

Pakistan's Mental Condition.

The hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane and its subsequent destruction by two proteges of the Pakistan Government, naturally bring up in the public mind the question of the psychological back ground of the dastardly outrage. All criminal conduct of a political type have their origin in the mental condition of the community which breeds the offenders. Pakistan began its political self-expression even before its birth in August 1947, through murders, riots and sporadic crimes. To this was added their customary practice of brazenly denying their complicity with all crimes which they committed. Thus when the Pakistan Army discarded its uniform, put on the clothes of tribal Pathans and tried to occupy Kashmir, the Pakistanis kept up their denial of having any hand in the attacks, the rapes, plunder and arson their army-men committed in Kashmir territory for long months. Eventually, however they were forced to admit what they had done. The 1965 war too was woven into lies of a great variety. The Pakistanis deny their own crimes as a matter of course and do not feel any shame when forced to admit what they have done. When the Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs was killed by a Pakistani truck driver in the Karachi Air port the Pakistanis tried to explain away the murder as an accident. This of course did not wash. Now the destruction of the high-jacked Indian plane in Lahore Air Port has become a part of Kashmir's War of Independence though why that war was fought in Lahore with the assistance of the Pakistan government was not explained by the shameless lie.

Pakistan has all along supplied arms to Indian terrorists in Nagaland, Mizo country and elsewhere. A large fifth column has been maintained in India by Pakistan, whose work is to create inter-communal tension and to instigate riots. We do not know how the Pakistan government hope to prove that their arms supplies to and their training centres for rebel Nagas are something utterly Islamic. The people are not even Muslims. Lack of Principles makes criminality easy. But, sooner or later, retribution comes. What has now happened in East Pakistan in the elections will have its repercussions on the great political bluff that Pakistan represented in the society of states.

The hi-jacking of the Indian plane was arranged by the Pakistanis. When the plane landed in Lahore the hi-jackers were feted and made much of by the Pakistan government men quite openly. The hi-jackers did not carry quantities of high explosives with them ; but these were supplied to them at Lahore to enable them to destroy the plane. If the hi-jackers were freedom fighters seeking political asylum in Pakistan, why were they allowed to stay in the plane after they arrived in Pakistan ? Why were they permitted to dictate to Pakistan government men as to their continued occupation of the plane ? Political refugees can not and do not order about government servants of the asylum granting country in regard to any matters connected with their stay in the host country. These two hi-jackers continued to occupy the plane and did not hand it over to the Pakistan authorities as they should have necessarily done had they been genuine seekers after

political asylum. Pakistan government, therefore, connived at all that these criminals did after they arrived in Lahore Air Port. Pakistan, therefore, was responsible for the destruction of the plane, by aiding and abetting the hi-jackers in their crime.

What goes on in USSR

There are many national, racial and culturally distinct communities in the USSR. Some of these communities have not yet been integrated into the greater political body known as the USSR, inspite of all efforts and arrangements for indoctrination, brain washing, punitive measures and all the rest of the political pressurisation that Moscow carries out to slowly wipe out the distinctive characteristics of the peoples, who at one time were subjects of Czarist imperialism, and are now kept within the USSR, not exclusively through love, friendship and common adherence to political ideals which the communist party leaders provide for all who belong to this super state. There are many disbelievers among the non-Russian communities. Ukraine, for instance set up a terrific resistance. Thousands were killed, deported and imprisoned in order to enforce the will of the single-party of the Moscow communists on the rest of the communities of the USSR. Apart from Ukraine, there are Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Georgia and several so-called autonomous Soviet socialist republics. The Russians of course outnumber all other nationalities and impose their domination over all others. In 1959 there were 114.1 m. Russians, 37.3 m. Ukrainians, 7 m. Belorussians, 6 m. Uzbeks, 5 m. Tartars, 3.6 m. Kazakhs. 2.9 Azarbaijanians, 2.8m Armenians, 2.7 m Georgians, 2.3 m Lithuanians, 2.3 m. Jews, 2.2 m. Moldavians, 1.6 m. Germans, 1.5 m.

Chuvashes, 1.4 m. Latvians, 1.4 m. Jadzhiks, 1.4 m. Poles, 1.3 m. Mordovians, 1 m. Turkmenians and some Bashkirs, Estonians and Kirgiz. The Russians have much more than an absolute majority and they know that the USSR are their empire. Those who defy the Communist Party leaders of the Kremlin are reported to spend their lives in concentration camps.

Apart from these subjugated nations of the communist empire there are other states which are not members of the USSR but have their own independent political organisations. But they cannot carry out any political or economic reforms of their own choice. Hungary tried to do so and was forced to toe the line by the Russians with a ferocity which was in no way softer than what the soldiers of the Czars could have displayed. Czechoslovakia was rapped on the knuckles in a merciless fashion when she tried to introduce a little individuality in her social-economic organisation. East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and others wait and watch the growth and development of Russian might. The hard core Russian attitude is similar to the Chinese variety of party tyranny. While the Russians remain true to their bigotry they will be friends of the Chinese, at least in spirit.

Railway Trains Run As They Can

Railway trains in India are seldom on time and those who travel by the railways can not make any finely cut time schedules. This certainly causes great losses to the public and should be remedied, if that is at all possible. A very potent cause of delays is alarm-chain pulling by passengers. Chains are pulled and trains stopped by irresponsible passengers to get off the trains at chosen places. They also pull chains outside the stations to avoid production of tickets which many passengers habitually do not procure. The railways therefore are considering the disconnecting of alarm

chains. This will have dangerous consequences, as passengers, at times require to stop the trains for reasons which are genuinely alarming. Fires occur at times, robbers enter compartments, molestations of women take place, children fall out, passengers fail to get in and out of carriages in time and stay hanging on to doors or windows precariously and other emergencies develop which demand immediate stopping of the trains. So that abolition of the alarm signal mechanism is not a very happy solution of the problem of misuse of the system. Some other preventive mechanism should be introduced by which miscreants may be prevented from gaining any advantage by stopping the trains. An electrical device to lock all doors when the chain is pulled may prevent the chain pullers from getting out of the coaches after the train stops. A red light may be automatically switched on outside the doors of the coach from which the signal has been sent by pulling the chain. This will assist the guard to locate the chain pullers quickly. Telephones may be introduced too for finding out why the chain has been pulled, before stopping the train.

Other reasons for the late running of trains can be found in the easy going out-look of the railway employees who operate signals, handle line-clear passes, render station service to the trains coming and going. A punctual running bonus may be introduced to reward the timely running of trains. Imprisonment for the offence of chain pulling without a just reason, may be introduced too. As things are now the total loss of train time per day all over India must run into thousands of train hours. And no one is doing much about it either.

Socialism of the Wrong¹Sort

Socialism which aims at the most gainful use of social resources, namely labour power, natural resources, capital instruments and aids; and distributes the national product in a

manner which assures the greatest good of the greatest number ; is the right sort of socialism. Dr. Niranjan Dhar, writing in *Swarajya*, says "The so-called socialism of our Prime Minister is essentially negative in character. It aims not so much at improving the lot of the common people as indulging in the politics of piracy. She thus does not strive for increasing the production of the country but strikes at the big industrial houses. She has faith more in a higher taxation rate than in higher production rate. The result is a crippled economy which in its turn means less revenue and more unemployment". The idea behind this is a short cut in economic reasoning. If any one is growing more affluent he must be exploiting those who are not growing rich. One does not stop to think when following this easy way to economic conclusions, whether the richer persons are more productive and the poorer relatively idle and unproductive. A mere examination economic life of the millions who produce nothing in India should convince the Prime Minister that these millions should be given work of a productive nature which cannot be arranged just by taxing those who are doing productive work, at a prohibitively high rate. There are many things that must be done for the fuller economic development of the country. These are road building for linking up the hundreds of thousands of villages which are now without road connection with other villages, towns and rail heads. Then there are railways that must be built, electrification that must be done, dwelling houses which should be constructed, labour intensive industries to be set up in the rural areas, intensive cultivation work, development of fisheries, poultry farms, dairies, piggeries etc. etc. As more men and women find gainful employment the demand for consumer goods will increase ; and that will inevitably lead to economic progress. Whether

that will be socialism or just a fair and just social organisation, should not give a headache to clear thinking persons. Political heads ache when propaganda fails. The Prime Minister pins her faith on the word "socialism" which appears to be a vague and general description of no clearly stated economic system but only of a line of propaganda aiming at economic justice achieved haphazardly without any definite plans or principles.

Britain sells Arms to South Africa

The Prime Minister of Great Britain has decided to sell arms to South Africa. This will add considerably to the military potential of South Africa in so far as Britain has highly developed industrial resources which will help the production of military equipment for South Africa. If Britain does not supply

certain arms to South Africa these will never be available to that country as South Africa would hardly be able to produce those arms by their own effort. So Britain is helping to strengthen the military might of the land of racialism and apartheid. Naturally this is not liked at all by the African nations. They feel that without this military aid from Britain South Africa would never be able to stand up against the combined strength of the African countries. This Arms sale therefore might break-up the commonwealth. What is significant is that Britain may lose more in trade by antagonising the African States than gain by her sale of Arms to South Africa. But Mr. Heath suffers from a special variety of cussedness which he likes to call "minding his own business" or sticking to his principles. The world calls it crude cussedness nevertheless.

We have received a letter from the Vidyasagar Bhavan Samrakshan Samiti which is being reproduced below. Needless to say we consider the aims and objects of the proposed organisation nationally important and necessary. We would appeal to the general public to render all assistance to the Vidyasagar House Preservation Society.

—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW

The Editor, Modern Review

Calcutta

Dear Sir,

It is presumed that you have read through the reports which appeared in different newspapers that Vidyasagar Bhavan Samrakshan Samiti in a memorandum to the Governor of W.B. Shri S. S. Dhavan, made an appeal to him to perpetuate the memory of Vidyasagar by preserving the house in Calcutta, where he lived for the last fifteen years of his life.

Vidyasagar built this house at Badurbagan (36 Vidyasagar St. Cal-6) in the year 1876, and here he set up a library which became famous for its rare collection of books.

In its memorandum the Samiti has appealed that this house should be acquired and converted into 'Vidyasagar Bhavan' where his library may be preserved and a research institute may be set up.

On behalf of the 'Samiti' I would request you to give us your full co-operation and voice our demand through the pages of your esteemed journal.

Yours faithfully

Santosh Kumar Adhikari

Secretary

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Conditions in the Coal-Fields

The Coal Fields are a hot bed of lawlessness and general insecurity, as will be seen from the following news item reproduced from the *Coal Field Tribune* :

Asansol, December, 15. The mysterious murder of Shri P. K. Roy has created a great consternation amongst the Mining Engineers.

Shri Roy who was the Superintendent of the collieries of Ms. Equitable Coal Co. was stabbed to death on December 9 on his way from his office to his nearby Bungalow at Methani Colliery in the evening by some unknown assailants. He was rushed to Sanctoria hospital where he was declared dead.

Indian Mine Managers' Association was rudely shocked at this murder. Shri B. M. Prasad, its President and Shri J. C. Ojha, its Hony. General Secretary condemned this brutal murder. They said that Mining Industry would be paralysed if no effective measures were taken to ensure safety of managerial staff.

Many Mining Engineers attended the funeral of Mr. Roy at the Dishergarh Ghat on December 10.

Coal Board Neglected by Government

The Coal Board of the West Bengal Coal fields appear to be totally neglected by the Government. Mining being a Central Government reserve and West Bengal being the favourite State of the Delhi Government ; one does not have to look for a cause of this penurious management of a highly profitable department of Central administration :

Coal Board, as it stands today, required, complete re-orientation and re-organization to keep pace with the increasing complex problems in the present day coal mining industry. Compared to the increase in coal production and multiplicity of mining problems, the Coal Board appears to be ill-staffed. The total number of cases are said to have been handled by Coal Board increased to 4664 during the year 1968-69 as against 678 during 1954-55. The assistance is said to have been paid in 1968-69 rose to about Rs. 80 million from about Rs. 4.88 million in 1954-55. These are some of the glaring instances of work—load shouldered by a handful of technical staff. Only 13 Inspecting Officers man the 13 Circles in the field with their Offices at Asansol, Dhanbad and Nagpur. Curiously enough, only one Deputy Chief Mining Engineer is in overall charge of the vast coalfield. These technical officers in the field are mostly engrossed in processing claims and find little time for more important technical exercises and inspections leading to scientific mining which they are meant for.

Recently, Coal Board came up to public criticism. But in view of its present set up, is Coal Board responsible for such criticism ? If criticism is to be levelled, Government's unrealistic policy is to be criticised. Manning, commensurate with work-load is the criterion for the efficient performance of an Organisation and for that matter Coal Board is the worst-staffed Organisation compared to any other in respect of the Mining Industry. Government's ill conceived policy is responsible for that.

Wages in Electricity Undertakings

We reproduce the following wage scales recommended by the Central Wage Board for Electricity undertakings from the Labour Gazette of the Government of Maharashtra.

The Board recommends the following 21 scales of pay for the different categories of workers and employees (both technical and administrative) in which all of them would be placed in the manner suggested hereafter :—

Technical

| Sr. No. | Scale | Span |
|---------------------|---|-----------|
| 1. Unskilled | .. 55-2(10)—75—3(5)—90 | 15 years. |
| 2. Semi-skilled B | .. 70-2(3)—76—3(6)—94—4(6)—118 | 15 years. |
| 3. Semi-skilled A | .. 80-4(10)—120—5(5)—145 | 15 years. |
| 4. Skilled C | . 110-5(5)—135—6(10)—195 | 15 years. |
| 5. Skilled B | . 130-7(10)—200—8(5)—240 | 15 years. |
| 6. Skilled A | . 150-9(5)—195—10(9)—285 | 14 years. |
| 7. Highly skilled B | . 190-10(6)—250—12(5)—310—15(3)—355. | 14 years. |
| 8. Highly skilled A | . 250-16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500— (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 9. Supervisory C | . 250-16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500— (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 10. Supervisory | . 300-20(4)—380—25(5)—505—30(5)—655— (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 11. Supervisory A | . 400-25(5)—525—30(4)—645—35(3)—750— (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 12 years. |

Administrative

| | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------|
| 1. Unskilled | . 55-2(10)—75—3(5)—90 | 15 years. |
| 2. Semi-skilled B | . 70-2(3)—76—3(6)—94—4(6)—118 | 15 years. |
| 3. Semi-skilled A | . 80-4(10)—120—5(5)—145 | 15 years. |
| 4. Skilled B | . 110-8(5)—150—10(10)—250 | 15 years. |
| 5. Skilled A | 150-12(10)—270—15(5)—345 (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 15 years. |
| 6. Highly skilled B | . 190-12(8)—286—15(6)—376 (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 7. Highly skilled A | . 250-16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500. (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 8. Supervisory C | . 250-16(5)—330—18(5)—420—20(4)—500. (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 9. Supervisory B | 300-20(4)—380—25(5)—505—30(5)—655. (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 14 years. |
| 10. Supervisory A | 400-25(5)—525—30(4)—645—35(3)—750. (E. B.—after 10th stage). | 12 years. |

Problems of Book Selling in India

M. N. Chatterjee writes in *Indian Literature* :

The problems of book publishing in India are largely symbolic of the socio-economic limitations and inhibitions which are an in-built feature of the structural framework of almost all developing economies. Broadly, they fall into categories such as (i) limited literacy, (ii) inadequate purchasing power because of low per capita income, (iii) lack of book-mindedness and reading habit, and (iv) absence of comprehensive and reliable data which can facilitate a purposeful evaluation of the existing situation with a view to suggesting remedial measures wherever necessary.

Only one-third of India's population is literate, though this marks an increase of about 9 per cent since the last census in 1961. A good percentage of this literate population reads books of necessity only such as text books and reference books prescribed for various examinations. Of the small fraction of genuine book lovers who would like to read for the pleasure of reading there are (i) some who can buy books but do not and prefer borrowing to buying and borrowing from friends and relatives to borrowing from libraries and (ii) some others who want to buy books but cannot because their living standards are on subsistence level and purchase of books are simply not possible. The sources of demand are, therefore, ultimately limited—apart from institutions and libraries—to those few persons who are interested in buying and can buy books for the sake of reading and knowledge.

How small a number these actual buyers might constitute will be evident from the fact that the average per capita monthly income in India is somewhere near Rs. 40.00 only. The purchasing power as well as the reading habit has to be developed if any significant

results are to be achieved. The ailments have to be sorted out and measures taken accordingly. But there are no satisfactory data on a wide scale to throw light on the detailed inter-relationships between literacy, economic progress and book-consciousness of the population, state-wise or on national level. According to the 1961 census, the State of Delhi has the highest percentage of literacy in India. But does it then follow that Delhi has the highest percentage of book-buyers or readers? We have no reliable figures to provide a definite answer. The thickly populated Kerala stands second in literacy but sale of books in the neighbouring Madras appears to be higher judging by the number of bookshops doing brisk business. However, this remains a guess. A number of wholesale booksellers' and publishers' representatives engaged in all India tours have told me that it is in Delhi that they generally secure the maximum quantum of business; next comes Bombay, third Calcutta and fourth Madras. We may, therefore, risk the conclusion that the high literacy figure is responsible for the most thriving book-business in Delhi. Bombay comes next because of the commercial and economic prosperity of the city, if not of the whole of Maharashtra.

A limited market acts adversely on the size of the print order which has to be small in spite of all the economic disadvantages of a smaller edition. Price has to be fixed high enough to cover the cost of production, and a high price reduces the number of potential buyers thereby narrowing down the area of demand. A multi-lingual population offering limited readership in each language contributes to the shrinkage of the already slender market particularly in respect of books in regional languages. The larger part of the relatively lucrative business in publishing has, therefore, to depend heavily on publications in English which can be normally expected to


command a national and sometimes even an international market. This partly accounts for the comparative neglect of publishing in regional languages. It is the prescribed text books and reference books and selected works of reputed authors which enjoy advantages of an assured market. The general reading suffers.

The position regarding children's books presents another picture of the publishing prospects caught in the vortex of limited market—small print order, lower market demand, higher price. In a survey carried out by the National Book Trust during the National Fair in Delhi in 1967, it was observed that 95% of the people were of the opinion that the maximum price for a book or children be Rs. 3.00 only. It is well known that books for children should be attractively illustrated, preferably in colour and should be well bound, which means higher cost of production while the prospects of marketability continue to be discouraging. There are quite a number of parents to whom buying of children's books for extra-curricular reading

is simply unthinkable. The publisher, therefore, has to turn his attention to the libraries for a steady market. But libraries for children in India are few and far between.

Libraries for adult readers are in no better state either. Free library services are highly inadequate. A working group of the Planning Commission on libraries informs that in 1965 there were 28,317 village libraries against a total number of 5,66,878 villages in India. Only 205 of the 327 districts in the country had libraries. Needless to say, a sizable number of these libraries are not well-equipped. The dearth of good libraries is keenly felt at the primary and secondary school levels also. Many students thus miss the opportunity to cultivate interest in reading at an early age. Institutions of higher education and training and those conducting specialised course and research, however, offer far better library services. The Indian Institutes of Technology and the Research Laboratories under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research are the

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outstanding instances in this respect. The University Grants Commission is rendering valuable services in the cause of library development by sanctioning financial grants to various university libraries.

Book publishing has to be considered an industry and not merely a trade so that the facilities accruing to industrial units may be available for the publishing industry also. The manufacturing problems mainly centre around lack of good quality paper at reasonable prices, want of well equipped modern bookbinders, limited finance and lack of expertise. There is also a subtle personal element involved. A manufacturer or dealer in oil or coal need not have a fascination for his product. But for a publisher or bookseller it is a case of personal involvement if success and satisfaction have to be achieved. There have been cases of goldsmiths in India switching over to dealership in books at the time of Gold Control Order and then repenting over a sorry spectacle with all the capital doomed in wrong investment. That money is not the only requisite for success is a firm pointer to the need of financial assistance to those undercapitalized but enterprising entrepreneurs for whom finance is the only problem.

Such handicaps can be overcome by co-operative efforts as has been amply demonstrated by Israel. The Israel Publishers Association buys paper from a central pool created by its members, thus reaping the advantages of securing reduction in cost, by placing larger orders. A committee of the Association arranges finance for its members in need of it. Each member contributes a share of his saving to a common fund. The Association has also established a literary Agency to facilitate exchange of books between Israel and overseas publishers.

Jews in Russia

Jews in Russia are not in a good position as can be judged by the news reproduced from *News From Israel*.

"STRASBOURG (Reuter).—A four-point programme designed to improve the situation of Soviet Jews won the unanimous backing of the Council of Europe's assembly here Saturday.

The 140 parliamentarians from 17 West European countries recommended that their governments, in the course of contacts with Moscow, urge the Soviet government to implement the programme. Adoption of the four measures by the Soviet government, the assembly declared, "should contribute further to the improvement in East-West relations and understanding between the peoples of Europe."

The four-point programme called on the Russians to :

- * Allow Jews to leave the Soviet Union, to rejoin members of their families living abroad, especially in Israel.

- * Guarantee that no action will be taken against Soviet Jews claiming this right under terms of the universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

- * Grant the Jewish community cultural and religious rights guaranteed to all national and ethnic groups on a basis of complete equality under Article 123 of the Soviet constitution.

- * Prohibit anti-Semitic propaganda in the form of books or other publications.

M. K. Ishar Harari, addressing the assembly as an observer, noted that since the Six Day War Israel has not passed a death sentence for the most outrageous terrorist attacks. The Soviets, at Leningrad, had sentenced two people to death for only planning to hijack an airliner."

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Bulgaria's Progress

News From Bulgaria publishes the following resume of the progress made by Bulgaria.

In 1971 there will be 52 TV sets and 35 refrigerators for every hundred families in Bulgaria, and the sale of motor cars from 19,500 in 1970 will rise to 39,500 in 1971. This was announced by Tano Tsolov, Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria in the course of his speech delivered on 15th December presenting the plan for 1971 at the National Assembly.

During his speech Tano Tsolov made a brief review of the progress of the national economy in 1970 and outlined in some details the basic approach to the plan and its fulfilment during 1971.

In the past year the national economy marked significant progress and plan targets

were fulfilled. New successes were scored in the field of investment policy, the policy of concentration of capital investment in structure-defining productive lines. The volume of industrial production, in comparison with 1969, marked a rise of 8.6 per cent in place of the envisaged target of 8.2 per cent.

Significant successes were achieved in the field of agriculture during 1970, inspite of unfavourable climatic conditions. While production of most crops were maintained at the level of fair weather years, in some crops there was a marked increase in comparison with 1969, such as, wheat 400,000 tons more, fodder grains 430,000 tons more and oriental tobacco 25,000 tons more. The heads of cattle and their productivity also increased in 1970. Poultry farming recorded a big leap.



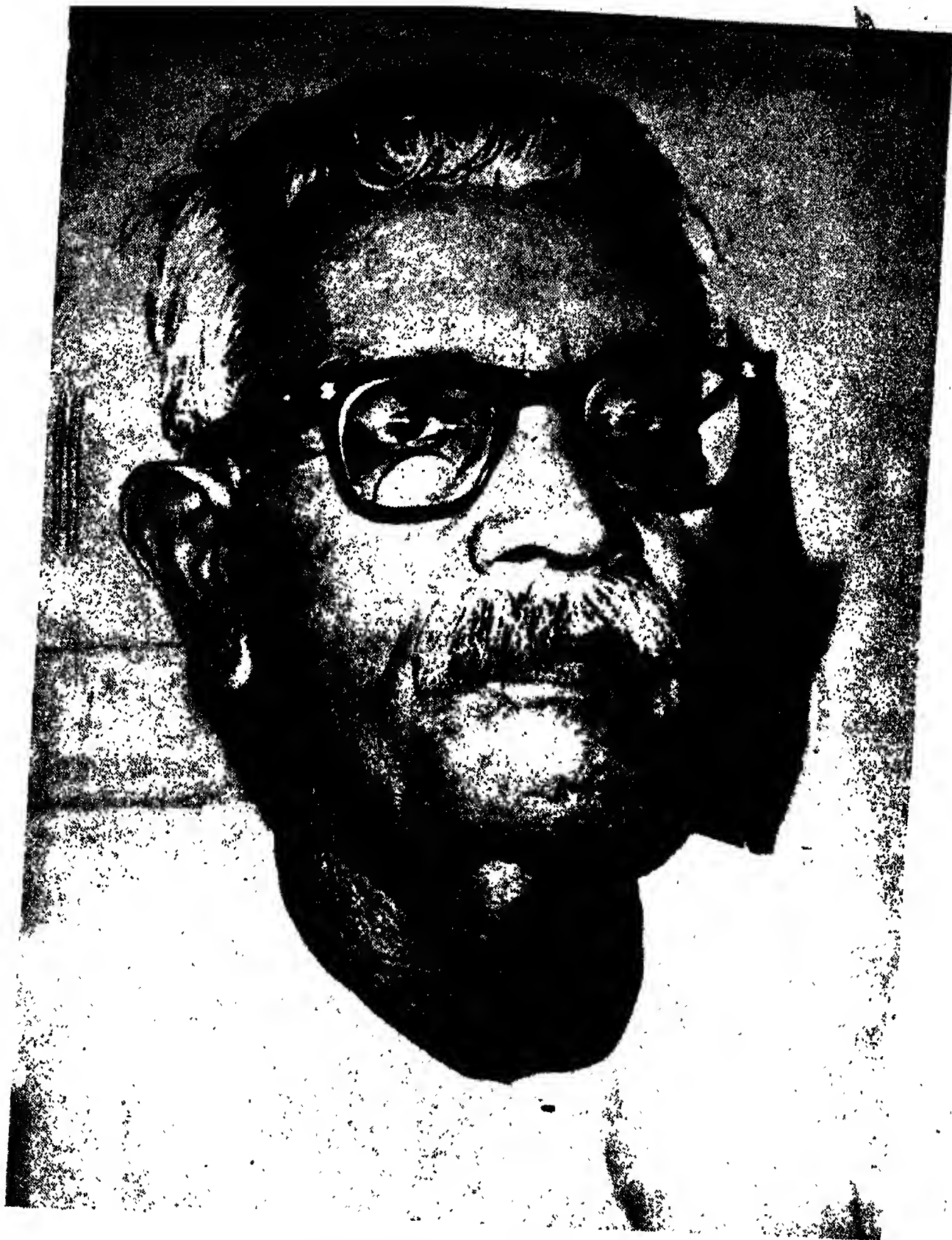
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CONTENTS FOR APRIL 1971

WHOLE No. 772

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | .. | 241 |
| C. F. Andrews and Indians Overseas—Dr. K. L. Gillion... | ... | ... | .. | 249 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | .. | 258 |
| Rise in the Bank Rate—N. Kamaraju Pantulu | ... | ... | .. | 270 |
| Title Mahatma was conferred on Gandhi 55 years ago—Kailash Nath Mehrotra | | | | 273 |
| On Sovereignty of the Indian Princes—R. S. Machalpurkar | ... | | .. | 275 |
| U Thant's Peace Philosophy—Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe | ... | | .. | 284 |
| The Quintessence of Literature—Subhas Chandra Sarker | ... | | .. | 289 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 292 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 302 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 305 |
| What is Lawful in Pakistan ?—A. C. | ... | ... | ... | 308 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 312 |
| Reviews and Notices of Books— | ... | ... | ... | 318 |

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NOTES

Indira Nationalises the Left

One of the most remarkable developments that have come about in Indian politics within recent times has been the nationalisation of left wing extremists by Sm. Indira Gandhi. The leftists have always sought inspiration from foreign radicals upto the time that Sreemati Gandhi started her campaign for socialism and tried to give material shape to her ideas by nationalising some banking institutions and by attempting to abolish the privy purse of the Princes of India. One reason why she wanted a mid term election was the judgement given by the Supreme Court of India against Sm. Gandhi's abolition of the privy purse payments. She wanted increased power so that she could amend the constitution of India in a suitable manner to give effect to her plans of economic reforms of a socialistic kind.

When Mrs. Gandhi wanted to prevent the concentration of capital in a few hands, to abolish spectacular standards of living as indulged in by persons with enormous incomes who possessed fleets of cars, large palatial residential houses and employed dozens of

domestic servants ; people thought she was turning communist. But she insisted she was not becoming a communist ; and was only introducing some socialistic reforms. Indulgence in a barbarous display of wealth could not be considered to be a part the human rights of civilised men. She only wanted that inequality in the sphere of incomes and expenditure should be toned down and made such in dimensions as would not be so conspicuously and obnoxiously noticeable. This might require control of incomes and also fixing ceilings for possessing house property, and certain other varieties of material wealth. In fact when Mrs. Gandhi wanted to lend money to rural borrowers who would use those borrowing in order to make individual profit, she certainly was not thinking like a communist. Growth of cottage industries owned by villagers cannot also be considered to be a communistic desideratum. The idea that differences of income and wealth should not be so glaringly iniquitous is also not communistic. But Mrs. Gandhi's support of the poor citizens' cause has a very strong appeal to the masses of India who have been

chasing communism in order to be less poor and to have larger individual possessions. The Congress, in the days of Mahatma Gandhi, wanted development of the rural economy; but Pandit Nehru broke away from Gandhian ideology and supported the capitalists who set up industries and commercial enterprises. This led to licence, permit, contract distribution by the political leaders of India and the Congress ceased to be the poorman's friend. In some states nepotism, influence, bribery and corruption reached such intensity as made things unbearable for the common citizen. The growth of political parties opposed to the Congress was a direct result of the anti-social activities of the Congress leaders. The growth of following of the communist parties also was clearly attributable to this same personal-profit hunting by the politicians.

So that when Mrs. Gandhi began to act in a manner which suggested that she was all for cleaning up the Congress stables and to make things easier for the common man, the public quickly responded to her call and she felt that the people of India wanted the removal of poverty and not a social revolution. Her assessment of the inner feelings of the people was correct and when she announced a mid term election, the majority of the people of India voted for her nominees in preference to those of the established left wing parties of India including the Russo-and-Sino-phil communist coteries.

Mahatma Gandhi's Congress was famous for its radicalism. The idea that the Congress was a conservative organisation was a later development. Now that phase of the public attitude towards the Congress is over and there has been a return to the Pre-Jawaharlal valuation of Congress ideals. The left has lost a lot of following due to this change in mass psychology and what is still there is not very likely to survive over a long period. The

international Communistic extremism will now have to yield place to a totally national type of radicalism in which economic justice and fair play will assume a new role under the guidance of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Left Politics in Action

China had been planning to help one group of Communists in India, particularly in West Bengal, to capture political power by a combined use of democratic methods and revolutionary tactics in which, if voting did not remove opposition, brute force would. This developed the cult of political murders and several politicians of good standing lost their lives due to attacks made on them by persons who were unknown in most cases. But one could guess that politics were at the root of these murders and also who the politicians were who inspired the murderers to commit their crimes. Long before all these acts of violence were beginning to be perpetrated in an organised fashion, certain political groups had been collecting arms from various sources, among which Pakistan played an important part by smuggling through Chinese arms and ammunition. Chinese money also had been coming through in a manner in which Pakistani and Nepalese communist, very likely helped actively. But the Indian Government, specially the police, employed many communist sympathisers who put their telescopes to their blind eyes when it came to detecting arms smugglers and money passers. So that both for democratic electioneering and for armed fights with political opponents Chinese money and arms were used quite lavishly during recent months. In the past the same Sino-phil politicians had been more openly and closely associated with the Chinese. They even planned out in detail how they were going to set up a communist state in certain parts of India and who would be their communist heads of government. This how-

ever had to be changed to secret methods and plans, as the Chinese made a tactical mistake at one stage by invading India and thus becoming an officially declared anti-Indian nation with which our politician could no longer have any open relations or negotiations. But pro-Chinese propaganda went on in full force and Mao-t'se-Tung became a prophet of "freedom and liberty" to all those who wanted to set up a dictatorial form of *raj* in India. Study of facts, sound reasoning and fanaticism never go together and large numbers of students, landless agricultural workers, low paid public servants and industrial workers continued to dream of a Chinese assisted revolution which would enable them to build their Utopia on the ashes of the underdeveloped economy of India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had failed to provide any alternative program for achieving freedom from want other than his panacea of industrialisation. Mahatma Gandhi never advocated urbanisation or the creation of crowded industrial areas. He wanted the villages to be self-sufficient and, for that, he supported the idea of setting up rural industries for supplying consumption goods to the rural population. Sreemati Indira has now gone back to the Gandhian idea of developing the villages. More intensive agriculture, minor irrigation schemes, market gardening, poultry farming, pisciculture, dairies, piggeries, spinning, weaving animal husbandry, horticulture and many other small scale undertakings would enable the villagers to pay for their machinery, implements, steel, coal, cement, dyes, fertiliser, medicines, bicycles, motor vehicles, pumps, tyres and so forth. The banks would open rural branches extensively and would finance the economic undertakings which the villagers would be associated with. The left wing political parties could not do much to assist the rural people, so

that when it came to really lending a hand to the helpless villagers, the people who could move the governmental machinery were in a much more effective position compared to the leftist politicians who could expound on rights and obligations without actually doing anything about the same. In the circumstances the left wing political parties could discuss the economic malaise and its remedies; but the actual treatment rested with the government.

The national governments so far have not been very active in removing want; but Sreemati Indira Gandhi has atleast taken up the task of *Garibi Hatao*, though she has not yet actually begun the work of removing poverty. The general impression that one is forming is that Mrs. Gandhi really means business and that a real effort will be soon made to provide gainful work to the unemployed, finance to those who need it and general aid and assistance to village dwellers everywhere. *Garibi Hatao* will not merely be restricted to *Amiri Hatao*.

Death of Pankaj Gupta

Pankaj Gupta, who died on the 6th of March 1971, was a remarkable person in the world of sports. He was the secretary of the Indian Olympic Association; but a study of his achievements in various fields shows that he was a sports journalist of great ability, a sports official of very good standing in Hockey, Football, Cricket, Athletics, Swimming, Badminton etc. etc., and an organiser and administrator of sports associations of unique distinction. We find Mr. Pankaj Gupta had been, during his long sports-life President, Vice-President, Secretary and committee member of numerous organisations some of which may be mentioned. He was council member of the Indian Olympic Association since its inception in 1938. He was Hony. Secy. of the same since 1960. He had been

President of the Bengal Hockey Association, The All India Football Federation, Hony. Secy. of the Cricket Association of Bengal, President Amateur Athletic Federation of West Bengal, President Badminton Federation of West Bengal and President of the Bengal Amateur Swimming Association. Mr. Gupta had been the Manager of the Indian Cricket teams in England in 1946, 1952 and in Australia in 1947, 1948. He was a full member of the M. C. C. (London). He went to many international meets as manager, assistant manager or official representative, among which the Olympic Games in Los Angeles (1932), Berlin (1936), London (1948), Helsinki (1952), Melbourne (1956), Rome (1960), Tokyo (1964), and Mexico (1968) should be noted. He was also a delegate in the Asian Games at New Delhi (1951), Tokyo (1958), Djakarta (1962), Bangkok (1970) and in the Commonwealth Games in Rome, Tokyo, Kingston and Edinburgh. Mr. Gupta was an authority on matters connected with sports and his knowledge and experience put him in a position which was incomparable. He was a great binding force in Indian sports which is unfortunate in having too many cliques and coteries. The central and states Governments too have a tendency to make things difficult for Indian sportsmen, who are, naturally fond of freedom and like to think for themselves as far as possible. Pankaj Gupta was champion of this liberty and freedom all his life and his death will leave the sportsmen of India helpless and undefended. The cliques and coteries are selfish and have little respect for rights and merits of sportsmen who do not belong to their limited groups. They also do not enforce discipline as it should be enforced. Thus, India's prestige and international position are damaged by the formation of these narrow and unprincipled bodies of power hunters. Pankaj Gupta considered Indian sports as

an expression of the sportsmanly spirit all along the line. His faith in liberty and freedom did not make him blind to the greater need of discipline which other dignitaries of the world of sports neglected to enforce at times in order to earn cheap popularity. The death of Pankaj Gupta has thus removed a very necessary restraining force which will be difficult to reestablish. It would also be very difficult to find a man who would be welcomed by his own personal friends in almost every country of the world as Pankaj Gupta used to be wherever he went as a sports representative of India or as a manager of our contending teams. The most remarkable thing about him was his complete impartiality and freedom from partisan feelings. He was fully Indian and had no sympathy with any clique or coterie. There were many references to the unique character of Mr. Gupta and to his services to Indian sportsmen, in various condolence meetings held after his death. Some wanted a road to be named after him or a stadium; and others suggested a statue. Mr. Gupta used to edit and publish a sports journal, the Indian Olympic News which was very dear to him. If the sportsmen of India made suitable arrangements to continue the publication of this journal and associated its name with that of the late Pankaj Gupta, that would be a better commemoration of the departed sportsman than street names or statues. This can be easily arranged by the Indian Olympic Association with which Mr. Gupta was closely associated.

Internecine War in Pakistan

There is internecine warfare in Pakistan. Though one party is using armed force and the other is resisting passively and in a non-violent manner, it is a civil war nevertheless. That being the case, other nations should keep off and not give any assistance to any

of the two groups. The United Nations Organisation should, however, discourage the West Pakistanis from their armed efforts to subdue the East Pakistan people who wish to set up a democratic form of government. They say the West wing of Pakistan wishes to make the East wing "a colony". The East wing has been exploited very badly since Pakistan was created by the British in 1947. This exploitation must stop. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who is a West Pakistani expert in organising political wrong doing has been trying to trip up the freedom fighters of East Pakistan by attempts at participation in the popular movement. His nature and habits are well known to the people of East Pakistan and it is expected that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the leader of the East Pakistan, will be careful not to play into Bhutto's hands. In any case where the people of Pakistan are trying to settle the affairs of their country in their own way, it would be very wrong for other nations to render assistance to the users of force in order to enable them to suppress the non-violent followers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. The Anglo-Americans or the Sino-Russians habitually get involved in other peoples' affairs. These big powers should be reminded to stay fully neutral in the East-West conflict in Pakistan. For it is none of their business to settle the political future of the peoples of Pakistan. The more so when Pakistan is ruled by a military clique and not by any representative democratic government. The creation of Pakistan, to begin with, was engineered by the British imperialists, in a manner which was undemocratic. After that the Anglo-Americans as well as the Sino-Russians encouraged the military rulers of Pakistan to occupy parts of Kashmir by inducing India to hold its hand when it defeated the Pakistan army, on two different occasions and could have pushed all Pakistanis

out of the so called Azad (free) Kashmir. It is one of those high level political farces of the world that a despotic military dictatorship constantly cries for the "freedom" of the people of an area which is ruled by a representative democratic form of government. The farce becomes a worse expression of low hypocritical political humbug when several big powers; all alleged champions of popular freedom and liberty, line up behind the military junta and try to maintain it in its criminal domination over the peoples of a vast territory.

The present movement in East Pakistan is an attempt made by an oppressed and exploited people to set up a democratic form of government. The freedom loving nations of the world should feel sympathy for the Bengali population of East Pakistan and induce Yahya Khan, the dictator, to keep his promise of setting up a democratic form of government in Pakistan. They should also prevent him from assuming that an Islamic Republic means a despotism with Yahya Khan at its head.

Prevention of Violent Activities

Violent activities have been rampant in West Bengal since the CPM reorganised the police force of the state and inspired the youth of the country to start a revolution which according to their doctrinaire leaders was the only way to solve the country's unemployment, food shortage, lack of medical aid, housing and mass education problems. The result had been the development of a murder cult which claimed many valuable lives, including those of Sri Hemanta Bose and Sri Gopal Sen. Knife attacks were made on certain other people of position, for reasons which were not understood by the public. It was quite obvious right from the beginning that these criminal acts merely set in motion a crime wave which caused

breaches of the law of every kind ; but was not a revolution in any sense of the term. Shooting, stabbing, bomb attacks and robberies with violence increased in number and intensity ; no economic or social problems were reduced to lesser acuteness and the people's freedom and liberty did not increase. Rather there was less liberty in so far as West Bengal was ruled by officials nominated by the Central Government.

President's rule could not bring peace to the state. An Act was passed for the prevention of Violent Activities but it did not in any way prevent such activities. About 2000 persons were detained under this Act. We donot know who picked out these men and whether the Governor of West Bengal satisfied himself as to the involvement of these men in lawlessness before he ordered their detention. Judging by the effect of these arrests, we think these men did not form the core of the organisations that committed all these crimes. The Governor and his assistants probably worked on the assumption that politicians could not be criminals. But the general impression among the public is that politicians are the instigators, aiders and abettors of most of the crimes that have been and are being committed in West Bengal. Admittedly wagon breakers, bank robbers, professional bag snatchers etc. are not normally likely to be politicians ; but they can be protected by politicians and can be financial donors to political funds. It is believed that many criminals seek the patronage of politicians, and secure it too. Among the killers there are many who are the agents of political leaders and are not ordinary criminals. In the circumstances if political parties could be induced to keep clear of crime, that would naturally help the growth of respect for Lawful conduct among the people.

Ceiling on Urban Property

Shree-mati Indira Gandhi has declared war

on poverty. In fact from recognisable symptoms she is determined to carry on warfare on individual wealth rather than on poverty. This will be, in her opinion, war on poverty in so far as restrictions imposed on the possession of individual wealth will increase the income the property of the poorer people. But when Government fixes ceilings on property and income for the wealthier people, that will hardly increase the prosperity of the poorer classes. If government nationalised banks the shares will accrue to the state and not to the common people. They can no doubt obtain credit facilities on easy terms ; but such credit would have to be utilised in a sound business like manner, or, the credit will not be available unconditionally. Cooperatives could not remove poverty ; nor will nationalised banks. If now Government wanted to acquire all large properties with a view to create a psychological atmosphere of a socialistic sort, large amounts will have to be paid as compensation to the present owners. This will have an inflationary effect on the economy. Moreover Government will not be able to earn a high enough return from these acquired properties and eventually, these will be a source of loss to the exchequer. So that this ceiling on urban property will not work well. It will certainly fail to reduce poverty.

The average annual income of the average Indian is about Rs. 300/-. Unless this is raised to atleast Rs. 600/-, poverty in India will not suffer even a scar by its encounter with forces of socialism. To double the annual product will require enormous increase in capital and that extra capital will not be available to the soldiers of socialism. India has become a debtor nation with heavy liabilities by borrowing Rs. 25000 crores. If the debts go upto Rs. 100000 crores as they are sure to do, if the nation's annual product

has to be augmented to work out at Rs.600/- P. A. per capita on an average; India will hardly be able to stand the strain of having so much borrowed capital. The idea therefore should be to make the economic structure as fully labour intensive as could be possible. As many of the workless should be employed for road building, reclamation of areas to make them cultivable, tank clearance for pisciculture and similar work, *without use of machinery*, as found possible. Such work will begin to yield an income when finished and premiums (*selamts*) received for allotment of lands opened up by new roads should pay for much of the capital expenditure. Dairies, poultry farms, piggeries, animal husbandry, fruit culture, fish culture and general agricultural ventures should be encouraged and cautiously financed, so that larger bodies of workers could progressively join the ranks of the income earning members of society. President Giri thinks that rural electrification and allotment of building sites in villages to landless workers will help to remove poverty. Electrically driven machinery require large capital. So does house building. Electrification and allotment of building sites will therefore not be in much demand in the beginning. Hand operated oil presses, charkhas, hand-loom, durray frames, basket weaving, making hand made paper, preparation of vegetable dyes, encouraging potters, metal workers, ivory carvers, stone cutters etc. by placing orders with them, should be found workable methods of reducing poverty.

The negative approach to the problem, by alienating all those who have any wealth, is therefore a wrong approach. Urban property owners may be induced to undertake some work of construction in the villages for which they will provide the capital. Industrialists too should be made to improve the villages which are within a 20 mile radius of their

factory premises, so that the workers can live in the villages and come to work in the factories by transport arranged by the employers. The villages can grow all the necessities of life required by the workers and their family members. This will put life into the new economic structure that will grow round the factories. The idea that poverty will be removed by legislation and departmental efforts made by government officers, is utterly unrealistic. We all know that whatever Government servants handle usually fail to move or develop. The only reliable psychological background of economic growth is ethically tenable self-interest of the persons connected with such growth. Rural development too must be linked up with the enlightened self-interest of the public. This public, some of whom live in cities and towns and own much property there, have connections with the villages. They also have large numbers of poor relations whom they assist habitually in every possible manner. The government's taxation and control policy is slowly drying up this great source of help to the poorer people of the country. The government would do better to mobilise the economic strength of those sons of the villages who are now scattered all over urban India, rather than treat them as members of an undesirable criminal tribe.

Pakistan Breaks up

As we write West Pakistan's tanks, warships and artillery are shelling and destroying the cities and ports of Eastern Bengal. The Pakistani Air Force is helping this work of mass destruction and genocide by dropping bombs on the University buildings of Dacca and Rajshahi and the port installations of Chittagong. This is the culmination of Yahya Khan's promises of restoring popular government to the people of Pakistan and of termina-

ting the tyrannical Martial Law Administration. Sheikh Mujibar Rehman, the leader of the Awami League which won the recent elections in East Pakistan by a one hundred percent majority has on his side the entire people Eastern Bengal supported by the Bengali sections of the Pakistan army, the police and the volunteers known as the Ansars. The total number of the lightly armed supporters of Sheikh Mujibar Rehman would be about 70000/80000 ; but he had millions of others who were fighting for the freedom of "Bangla Desh" with whatever weapons they can arm themselves with. Shot guns, home made muzzle loaders, bombs, knives, swords and choppers are being used by this vast army with much effect in their hand to hand encounters with the soldiers of the Pakistan army. This is evident from the fact that the finely trained and fully armed divisions of Pakistan stationed in the Eastern portion of the artificially created State, are cornered in the cantonment cities of the area and are being progressively pressed back into very limited defensive position from which they will have little chance of fanning out ever again to occupy any wider territories.

Psychologically analysed this revolt of the majority of the Bengali peoples of Pakistan destroys the very foundation of the Islamic Republic created by the British and the Muslim League in 1947. The two nation theory of M. A. Jinnah which was one of the greatest falsehoods of Asian history was no doubt believed in by only the British dikhards

and a handful of Jinnah's lieutenants. Every one knew from the beginning that Pakistan had racial groups in it like the Punjabis, the Pakhtoons, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and the Bengalis. The last named were in a majority but the so-called martial tribes of West Pakistan tried to impose an exploitative semi-colonial rule on the more civilised and peace loving Bengalis of the Eastern wing. This unfair, unjust and tyrannical arrangement was so blatant that even when the recent cyclone devastated wide areas of the riverine areas of East Pakistan, Islamabad took things in such an easy going manner that even the foreign press criticised the martial law administrators very, very strongly. This probably induced Yahya Khan to call for democratic elections in which his supporters were spectacularly defeated. But that did not open his eyes. He reimposed martial law and precipitated the present crisis. World opinion now assesses the chances of Pakistan's survival as a composite state as an impossibility. There is not even the faintest hope that the world powers will be able to patch up the wide cracks that have appeared in the basic structure of Pakistan. The soldiers of Yahya Khan have shot dead hundreds of thousands in Eastern Bengal including many intellectuals, high placed technical men, girl students and totally unarmed civilians. The atrocities that are now being committed in East Pakistan by the soldiers of Yahya Khan exceed any known acts of genocide and are only comparable to the Nazi killing of Jews.

C. F. ANDREWS AND INDIANS OVERSEAS

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In their biography, *Charles Freer Andrews : A Narrative*, Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes noted that it was in Fiji that Andrews was first called "Deenabandhu" or "Friend of the Poor." His work for overseas Indians stands high among the causes to which he devoted his life. Under the indentured labour system many hundreds of Indian men, women and children were taken to tropical colonies in Africa, the Indian and Pacific oceans, and the Americas, to serve as plantation labourers. Although many eventually became prosperous colonists, the system was accompanied by much suffering and degradation and left behind a host of political, economic and social problems, some of which still remain today. This paper will be concerned with Andrews' work for overseas Indians, particularly those in Fiji.

Just before the first world war Indians at home were becoming increasingly aware of the problems of their countrymen abroad. The work of Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Indian community in South Africa was widely acclaimed in India. Immigration restrictions in Canada and the United States were resented. Accounts were beginning to appear, particularly in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, of ill-treatment of Indian indentured labour in the tropical colonies, especially in Fiji. The great national leader of that time, G. K. Gokhale, took up the cause before the public and in the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1911 the Government of India prohibited further indentured emigration to Natal which had refused to relax its restrictions on the rights of ex-indentured Indian settlers.

In 1912 Gokhale moved a resolution in the

Council for the total abolition of the system of indentured labour emigration from India. In a classic speech he analysed the system in detail and argued that it was based on fraud and maintained by force, that the safeguards imposed by government control were illusory, that it was accompanied by frightful immorality, and that it was degrading to the people of India. All the Indian members of the Council supported the motion, but it was defeated by the vote of the official majority. Government speakers admitted that there were abuses in the system but claimed that these could be remedied and stressed the opportunity the system gave the individual emigrant to better himself. But although Gokhale's motion was lost, the Government of India began to take serious account of Indian opinion which was now so clearly hostile to the system of indentured labour. The cause of Indians overseas was a question of national honour and pride as much as a humanitarian one.

C. F. Andrews first became involved in the problems of Indians overseas through his work with Indians in South Africa. In 1914 at the request of Gokhale, he went to Natal with an English missionary, W. W. Pearson, to join Gandhi and H. S. L. Polak in their struggle for Indian rights. He took an important part in the negotiations which led to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. Although this was widely acclaimed at the time, it did not in fact provide the long-term settlement of the problem of Indians of South Africa that had been hoped for. For more than twenty years Andrews was to take a continuing interest in the deteriorating position of the Indian settlers

in South Africa and in East Africa which he also visited. East Africa had been a field of Indian enterprise for hundreds of years and Indians had done much to build up its economy. However, neither in East nor in South Africa could the Indians secure the equal position they aspired to. The Union of South Africa was fully self-governing and the British Government had no power there, but the denial of equality of the Indians in East Africa by the European settlers and the support these settlers received from the British Government were resented in India.

Gokhale died in 1915 and one of his last wishes was that others should continue work for the abolition of indentured labour. Andrews took up the challenge. He concentrated on Fiji which was then taking more migrants than any other colony and had already received the most publicity in India. In 1910 an Australian Methodist missionary, the Reverend J. W. Burton had published a book, *The Fiji of Today*, which gave a vivid account of conditions among the Indian indentured labourers in Fiji and concluded that the system was dehumanizing and degrading. A resume of this book, together with a moving letter from Miss Hannah Dudley, also of the Methodist Mission, describing how Indian women were recruited and how they lived on the plantations in Fiji, was printed in the *Modern Review* in March 1913. Another Methodist missionary, the Reverend Richard Piper published an article in the *Calcutta Statesman* in January 1914. Letters from Indians in Fiji, pointing to the existence of bad working conditions and grave social evils on the plantations, were published in the *Modern Review* and in the Hindi press of the U. P. There was, too, a book *Fiji Dwlp Men Mere Ikklis Varsh* (My Twenty-One Years in Fiji Islands) which related the experiences of a former indentured labourer, Totaram

Sanadhya of Firozabad, Agra. The book had actually been written by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, to whom Totaram told his story. This famous book was published in several editions in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi and a drama in Hindi was based upon it. It was very influential in arousing public opinion against the indenture system.

The Government of India was, of course, well aware of the mounting resentment in the country. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was firmly opposed to the indenture system. Already the Government had sent a Commission to enquire into conditions in the colonies that were still taking indentured labour from India. This Commission comprised the Hon. James McNeill, I.C.S., and Lala Chhinmanlal, a landowner from the U. P. Their report was published in 1914. On the whole they were favourable to the indenture system and pointed out that the majority of emigrants had bettered themselves economically by leaving India for the colonies. The report was incomplete in that it did not deal with social and moral conditions.

Lord Hardinge wrote in an official minute in August 1915 that he had hoped that the report would spell the "death-blow of the system." He continued: "In this I was disappointed, for the first impression produced on reading Mr. McNeill's report is that the evils of indentured emigration are not as bad as alleged, but a closer study of its details and a scrutiny into the causes of the immorality, and high rates of suicides and imprisonments, show conclusively that there are very serious moral and social defects in the system which is thoroughly bad."¹ After consultation with the provincial governments, the Government of India sent a long despatch to London on 15 October 1915 recommending the abolition of this "evil system". It observed that it was not the duty of the Government of India to provide colonies for the coolies, and drew

attention to the abuses inherent in recruitment, the high rate of suicide in Fiji, the vice in the labour lines on the plantations, and the taint of slavery about the penal sanctions used to enforce labour discipline. But the chief argument for change was political :

No matter how great might be the economic advantages, the political aspect of the question is such that no one who has at heart the interests of British rule in India can afford to neglect it. It is one of the most prominent subjects in Indian political life today, and its discussion arouses more bitterness, perhaps, than that of any other outstanding question. Few Indian politicians, in moderate and extremist alike, do not consider that the existence of this system which they do not hesitate to call by the name of slavery, brands their whole race in the eyes of the British Colonial Empire with the stigma of helotry.²

The British Government readily accepted the recommendation to abolish the indenture system, for it regarded the Government of India as the best judge of the intensity of Indian opinion and of the political dangers. However, it proposed that there should be a period of grace of five years in which to set up a new system of Indian emigration to the colonies.

So far Andrews's role in the campaign against indentured labour had been a minor one. He had written to Lord Hardinge and to several provincial governors urging them to abolish the system, but the records show that the decision to recommend abolition was made by Lord Hardinge and the Government of India on the basis of their independent assessment of the strength of Indian public feeling and of the evils of the system, supported by the statistics given in the report of McNeill and Chimmanlal. But without Andrews' subsequent work the indenture system might well have lasted longer than it

did and it might have been replaced by another objectionable system of State-aided emigration from India.

In 1915 Andrews and the leaders of Indian public opinion could not know of these developments. It seemed to them likely that the indenture system might not be abolished if this depended solely on the report of McNeill and Chimmanlal. Andrews decided to go to Fiji to conduct an independent enquiry. The Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council were anxious for him to go and Lord Hardinge expressed his approval. His trip was financed from the South Africa Fund, which had been collected by Gokhale to fight for Indian rights in Natal. He was again accompanied by Pearson, whose fare was financed by the Anti-Indentured Labour League in Calcutta, a body in which the Marwaris were prominent. The merchants of Ahmedabad also contributed to the fares. Before leaving India Andrews and Pearson visited the emigration depots and sub-depots and enquired into the methods of the recruiters.

They travelled to Fiji via Australia where they talked to the management of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, the chief employer of Indian labour in Fiji. In his letters to Rabinranath Tagore, Andrews spoke of the goodwill he had met with in Australia, outside of the Company's offices. The Chairman of the Company kept asking for his credentials, saying that he recognised only the British Government's authority. But as Andrews wrote : "The whole strength of our position is that we are not accredited. It is this which gives us the confidence of the Indian people."³

Andrews and Pearson were well received in Fiji. Government officials and planters had been briefed to handle the visitors tactfully. They tried to impress upon them the reforms that were being made in the indenture system

and the advantages emigration to Fiji gave individual Indian migrants. Andrews and Pearson visited plantations and Indian settlements and they spoke to many of the immigrants. In their report, which was submitted to the government and planters for suggestions before publication, they acknowledged the new spirit displayed by the Government and employers and stated their belief that Fiji was a suitable place for the settlement of Indian families under civil contract. But they unequivocally condemned the existing indenture system with its fraud in recruitment and moral evils of plantation life. Before they left Fiji they had extensive discussions with Government officials, and Andrews prepared a paper for them describing Hindu life in India and showing how social evils had arisen from the decline of religion and family life on the plantations. Their final report was admitted by government officials to be fair and responsible, and generally can be regarded as the best statement of conditions during the last years of the indenture system. In their preface they stated: "This Report has been published immediately on our return from Fiji. It attempts to show, on the one hand, the serious nature of the evils which exist under the indenture system. On the other hand, it endeavours to explain what painstaking efforts are now being made by the Fiji Government to deal justly by the Indian settlers."⁴

This was the first of three visits that Andrews made to Australia and Fiji. His temperate report reveals several qualities of the man. There was his industry and his willingness not to spare himself. There was his fairness and readiness to give credit where it was due, and to think the best of people. There was also his sympathetic identification with the problems of ordinary men and women and his understanding of Indian life. No-one knew better than Andrews that the abolition

indentured labour was not a story of heroes against villains. Decent and humane men had accepted the system for many years because they had not seen the evils involved.

In theory the system had something to commend it. The enterprising poor of India were given the opportunity to better themselves by emigrating to new lands, just as Europeans had gone to the Americas and to Australia and New Zealand. Paternal governments were to provide protection against abuses in recruitment, in transit to the colonies, and on the plantations; and after a period of five years service the Indian migrants were to be free to settle in the new land or return to India. Governors who were noted for their humane views were among those who had spread the system to new colonies. One such was Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of Fiji. Gordon has seen Indian immigration in the West Indies and in Mauritius. He sponsored Indian immigration to Fiji because he believed it would be to the benefit of all concerned: the new colony which needed economic development to provide government revenue, the European planters who needed labour, the indigenous Fijian population which might otherwise have had to provide that labour at great cost in social dislocation, and the Indian immigrants, most of whom would settle down in the new land and become prosperous farmers and craftsmen. These results were achieved: today there are prosperous communities of Indian settlers in many parts of the world, including Fiji where they form a majority of the population.

However, the moral and human cost of the indenture system was very high and before Andrews it had been hardly noticed. One becomes conscious, when reading government files of the period, how blind the majority of officials in Fiji and India were to the human realities of the system they administered. As

long as immigrants were protected from the more obvious forms of physical ill-treatment and most of them were materially better off in their new homes than they would have been in India, the conscience of the officials were clear. They seem not to have noticed how their carefully drawn rules were breached in practice and how degraded was the life of the immigrants on the plantations. Andrews was able to see these aspects because he did not think of human beings in the abstract, as mere "economic men", but as individuals who belonged to a specific culture and had non-material as well as material needs. And he set out with patience and with goodwill to explain these realities to those who could not see them.

Andrews' and Pearson's joint report was published on 19 February 1916, a week after the British Government gave its approval for the abolition of the indenture system. The joint report did not, therefore, have any part in the British Government's decision to abolish indentured labour. On 20 March Lord Hardinge was able to accept a motion in the Imperial Legislative Council urging the abolition of the system and to announce that he had secured the promise of the British Government that this would be effected "in due course". Later in the year the news leaked out that the British Government had asked for a period of five years grace in order to draw up a new scheme of assisted Indian emigration to the colonies. While Andrews was in Japan he received a letter from a high official in Fiji telling him that the planters were congratulating themselves on gaining a five years' respite. He wrote to the new Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford and, on receiving no more than an acknowledgement and promise of investigation, challenged the government in the press. Indignation swept India.

On 9 January 1917 a great demonstration

to open a campaign against the continuance of the indenture system was held at Allahabad, presided over by Pandit Motilal Nehru. H. S. L. Polak read a paper written by Andrews, who was ill at the time, recounting the life of the indentured Indian women in Fiji, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu appealed to the men of India to stop the degradation of Indian womanhood in the colonies. Andrews and Pearson lectured throughout India, and won wide public support. A deputation of prominent Indian women went to the Viceroy. Anti-indenture Leagues were formed in several places and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay and the Marwari Association of Calcutta were particularly active. Andrews' paper was translated into several Indian languages and thousands of copies were distributed at the Magh Mela at Allahabad. Pamphlets were spread through the recruiting areas warning of the tricks of the recruiters. Mahatma Gandhi decided that the issue was suitable for Satyagraha and he announced that the ships would be picketed unless the system was ended. On 12 March 1917 the Government of India stopped all recruiting for the colonies, ostensibly in order to conserve labour for the war but in reality because of the pressure of public opinion. It was later announced that the indenture system would not be revived after the war.

Emigration under the indenture system was finished, but the British Government still intended to substitute some other form of assisted Indian emigration to the colonies. In their report Andrews and Pearson had not been against this idea. Indeed they had praised Fiji as a suitable field for Indian settlement.

However, during the agitation Andrews had "a complete change of front."⁵ He became convinced that any form of assisted

Indian emigration to the colonies would inevitably entail abuses in recruiting and moral evils in the colonies. He assumed a much more radical position, one identical to that of the leaders of Indian opinion, especially Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote: "Later experience has made me regret, on my own part, that I did not listen more patiently to the Indian point of view, before publishing the Report. During the interval since then, I have made a fuller study of the evils of the recruiting system and can see more clearly the dangers of reopening that avenue of fraud and deceit. I have, also, seen more plainly than before how very dependent the Indian villagers are on their surroundings, and how inevitably they would pick up the old vicious habits, if they were transplanted into the atmosphere of the present coolie 'lines'. It was Mr. Gandhi's presentment of the case that finally convinced me."⁶ He wrote a minute for an Inter-Departmental Conference in London opposing all recruited emigration for many years to come, and he decided to go on to Fiji again, this time alone. Once again he went with the encouragement and assistance of leading politicians and public bodies in India, and the approval of the Government of India.

Andrews' second visit to Fiji took place in 1917. His intentions were apparently twofold: to do something practical to help the Indians already there, and to discredit Fiji as a field of Indian settlement. This time he was treated with much more reserve and suspicion by the government and planters. Immigration had been stopped and the colony faced an acute labour shortage. The planters had agreed to many reforms in the labour laws and they were reluctant to commit themselves to expensive improvements on plantations without knowing if immigration would ever be resumed. Andrews was believed

to be pursuing a campaign to damage Fiji for the interests of the Indian nationalist movement or as a weapon against Australia's exclusion of Indians. The wildest charges circulated. He was accused of being a paid agitator. The indignation against him was genuine, and it was fanned by the publication of his second report, which contained exaggerations and reflected much more impatience and moral indignation than the first. Andrews was shocked by the conditions he found in Fiji: the low wages and high wartime prices, the vice on the plantations, and the lack of education for Indian children. Ill and nervously strained, he listened, sometimes uncritically, to story after story of ill-treatment and family tragedy. Although he did secure a few concessions from the government and planters and started two schools, he left Fiji thoroughly dissatisfied with what he had seen and with the pace of reform. He wrote from Fiji: "I have had very great disappointments."⁷

Andrews returned to India via Australia. He was rebuffed by the old General Manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Sydney, who had written him off as a seditious agitator with no influence on British or Indian Government policy. He decided to make a direct appeal to the Australian people. Andrews's letters show that he was very conscious of the fact that Australia's reputation was not of the best in India, because of its restrictions on the entry of non-European immigrants and visitors. In his speeches and published writings Andrews said nothing that would add to bad feeling between Australia and Asia. Throughout his life he was a builder of bridges, and he was deeply concerned with what he saw to be a growing racial estrangement in the world generally. He now wrote from Perth: "An opportunity has been given to break down the racial gulf which separates Australia from India."⁸ Andrews

travelled through Australia, speaking to church groups and to women's organisations and emphasising the moral evils in Fiji. Women's organizations sent messages of sympathy to the women of India and redress was demanded of the Fiji Government and C. S. R. Company. Two ladies with experience in India volunteered for work among Indian women in Fiji. The Governor of Fiji published a memorandum in which he called Andrews' second report "exaggerated and misleading", though he admitted that in some respects the criticism was just.⁹ In 1919, in order to obtain independent information, forty-six women's organizations in Australia and New Zealand sent Miss Florence Garnham of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta, to make an investigation into the social and moral conditions of the Indians in Fiji. Although less critical than Andrews in his second report she confirmed the existence of grave moral evils and recommended that all remaining indentures should be cancelled as soon as possible, as Andrews had urged. In September 1918 the Government of India, by accepting a motion in the Imperial Legislative Council, moved by Pandit M. M. Malaviya, agreed to negotiate for the early release of Indian labourers in Fiji. On 1st January 1920 the last indentured Indian labourers in Fiji were freed.

The problems of the Fiji Indians did not end with the abolition of indentured labour. In 1920 there was a serious strike, accompanied by riots. Alarming reports were sent to Andrews and published in the Indian press. In 1920 there was another strike and tens of thousands of dissatisfied Indians clamoured for passages back to India. The Fiji Government and planters were anxious that Indian immigration to Fiji should be resumed, but Gandhi and Andrews were firmly against the sending of more Indian labourers out to Fiji. In fact no new system of state-aided emigra-

tion replaced the indenture system. The problem was complicated by the unhappy experience of those emigrants who had returned to India but were unable to settle down in their home villages. Many of these ended up in the slums of Calcutta, where they lived in penury and wretchedness. Although a committee was set up to help them, the problem remained a distressing one for some years. In 1921 Andrews gave his approval to the return of some of these people to Fiji at the expense of the Fiji Government. He wrote to Gandhi that the whole affair had caused him the greatest anxiety; much as he did not want people to return to Fiji, he could not see them dying before his eyes. But he was publicly cursed in Calcutta by Sadhu Vashistha Muni, the leader of the 1921 strike, who had been deported from Fiji. He accused Andrews of being a coolie recruiter.¹⁰ Several times in his life Andrews was deeply pained by unjust accusations made against him by bitter or mean-spirited people who did not believe that an Englishman could be a real friend to India.

In the year after the war Indian public opinion became increasingly disenchanted with the British Empire. The Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, and Gandhi's non-co-operation campaigns marked a growing estrangement between Britain and India. Andrews shared in this disillusion. The Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India on 2nd October 1920:

"Andrews in view of Kenya decisions and events in Fiji has definitely thrown in his lot with extremists who aim at Indian independence.¹¹ The Treatment of Indians in other parts of the British Empire was regarded by Andrews and by Indian public opinion generally as a test of the British Government's sincerity and resolve to make India a full partner in the Empire. Andrews' letters to

Gandhi and to Government officers in Delhi showed his disappointment with the limited progress made towards achieving a position of equality for overseas Indians, particularly in East Africa. He told Gandhi that he thought the race cleavage in the world was widening and that the goal of self-government within the British Empire was historically impossible.¹² He wrote to Mr. Ewbank of the Emigration Branch of the Government of India in Delhi: "The fact that I have learnt everywhere is, that the Colonies do not *want* Indians except in certain places as tame and servile cheap labour. They want to get all the advantages from India being in the Empire, but to give none. I know you think me a pessimist, but I have only been driven by hard facts, which Sastri too will discover some day, when he goes to the difficult places instead of the simple ones."¹³ Originally it had been proposed that Andrews be a member of the Government of India's Deputation to Fiji in 1922, then that he should go alone at the same time, but he was fully occupied with his work at Santiniketan, where Rabindranath needed his services to set up university classes, and with a visit to East Africa which seemed to be even more important than Fiji. Andrews continued his work for overseas Indians for many years but it was only one of his many services to the Indian people. After the early 1920s, the problems of overseas Indian took up less of the Indian public's attention. The Congress was preoccupied with India's own problems. A handful of workers gave attention to the overseas Indians, and the most notable of these was Benarsidas Chaturvedi.

Andrews' relationship with the Emigration Branch of the Government of India remained cordial throughout these years. With some officials it was particularly close. Andrews was not an easy man for officials to work with. He was busy and often difficult to

contact, and, like Gandhi, he changed his mind frequently, as circumstances changed and as his knowledge of each situation developed. He was inclined to be sentimental and uncritical and to believe too readily what he was told by those who asked for his ready sympathy. However, his sincerity, knowledge, concern, and courtesy, evoked the respect of successive British and Indian officials of the Government of India and he was a considerable help to them on emigration matters. His zeal helped to offset their customary official caution. It is not surprising, however, that the Government and planters of Fiji were more critical and his relations with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company were very bad indeed. Andrews' work hurt them financially and they could not comprehend how an Englishman could identify himself with Indian interests and with Indians agitating against British rule.

In 1936 Andrews went to Fiji again. He had been invited to conduct Universities' Missions in Australia and New Zealand and he had also been asked by the Indian community of Fiji to help them to ward off a threat to their political rights. The Governor, supported by some of the European and the Fijian leaders, proposed to revert to a system of nominative representation on the Legislative Council of Fiji. The Indians and some of the Europeans wanted the retention of elective representation. Andrews suggested a compromise, a combination of elective and nominative representation, with equal numbers of seats for the three main races, and such an arrangement was finally adopted. He also made suggestions on a variety of other problems facing the Indian community in Fiji. Andrews was given a very friendly reception by all the communities, and he was delighted with the new conditions he found in Fiji. He wrote: "The abolition of indenture has made such a change in the general condition

of the people, that it is hard to recognize the Indians of today as the same community which I saw under the miserable conditions of indenture in 1915 and 1917. The improvement, which has followed economic freedom, has quickened the whole life of the Indian people and made them independent in such a manner that they are now rapidly becoming peasant proprietors and tenant farmers. Above all, the home and family life of the Indian people has amazingly advanced."¹⁴ He wrote a book *India and the Pacific* (London, 1937), in which he recounted his experiences in Fiji and set its problems in the context of those of the Pacific, Asia and Australasia, and the relations between the races generally. The book was full of good sense, though its style was too sentimental and lacking in precise detail to suit all tastes. In Andrews' day the racial problem seemed to be one between Europeans and non-Europeans. He was somewhat oversanguine about possible conflicts of interest between the Indian settlers and the indigenous peoples of the colonies, although he agreed that the latter should have preference. The sad experiences of Indian communities in East Africa and elsewhere have since belied this optimism. Let us hope that racial harmony will be maintained in Fiji which became an independent state on 10 October 1970.

In these days of complex, large-scale organisation and mass involvement it is easy to forget how much has been accomplished by dedicated individuals. It would be going too far to say that Andrews was alone responsible for the abolition of the system of indentured labour. Great achievements of that order are seldom, if ever, the work of one man. The man must receive support from the times if he is to be effective. But it can be said that Andrews did play a most important role in the campaign against the indenture system and in the resolution of some of the problems it left behind. He travelled to the major

areas of Indian settlement throughout the world, identified problems and showed people how to see old facts in a new way, he made grievances public, he had a significant influence on government policy, and he gave sympathy, encouragement and courage to the oppressed and dispirited. No one person could have done more.

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CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

These are tales of days which are long past. It was on one of those days that the land was made a gift of by Mr. Mathur Shaw. Mr. Gobinda Chakravarty, Chairman of the District Board gave money. Only Gour Bhattacharjee remembers those episodes of the bygone days. And Janardan, he knows too.

Janardan has been with the Pathshala right from the word 'go'.

Shibani was quite young then. She understood things in a hazy and incoherent manner. One day Gour Bhattacharjee rushed in and said in great hurry—give me that necklace of yours for a while, would you please—

—My necklace? What will you do with the necklace?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—there is shortage of funds it will have to be sold—

—Shortage of funds for what?

—The Pathshala building. The walls are up, it requires a sheet iron roof, and there is no money to buy the sheets with.

Shibani did not prolong the discussion. She opened her box and gave the Pandit Mashai her ten tola gold necklace.

Not only the necklace. All those few pieces of jewellery which Shibani had got at the time of her marriage went eventually to fill the empty coffers of the Pathshala. A pair of bangles and earrings. Those had gone

Afterwards Shibani had no ornaments

on her person. A pair of conch-shell bangles, she passed her life with only those bangles to adorn her arms.

Gour Bhattacharjee used to say—as if I am taking your ornaments away for good. Those can be remade. Is it not so?

Shibani's habitual reply was—yes, yes, you are very likely to have them remade—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—What do you mean; suggesting I will not have them remade? Just see, we have now got thirty pupils in the Pathshala—just wait another two years and you will see that I shall get a hundred and fifty, no less—then the Pathshala will become a school and nothing less—

Gour Bhattacharjee had gone from house to house, coaxing and cajoling, to get those hundred fifty boys. The chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty Mashai had grown quite old then. Mathur Shaw also was very old. They were not capable to work hard for the school. But Gobinda Chakravarty Mashai had put his own son in the school. Mathur Shaw's son Nimai Shaw had also joined Gour Bhattacharjee's school.

Shibani could remember all that even now. In the early hours of the morning, Gour Bhattacharjee left home with his folded cotton wrap thrown over his shoulder. After that he could hardly think of his household food problems, shortage of kitchen stores, rice or

lentils and all that sort of mundane matters. Shibani would sit near the raised door way eagerly awaiting his return with her mind expectantly athirst.

Shambhu's mother used to come for her daily duties and was stupefied. She said—What is going on aunty, are you not going to cook the rice ?

When she knew why the cooking pot was not on the fire she would be dumbfounded.

—What sort of a mental condition is the Thakur Mashai in ? Must one starve in order to run a Pathshala ?

Then she went somewhere, put a couple of handfuls of rice and lentils in a pot to cook and arranged thus for food. When the man returned home in the evening he could hardly put his mind to anything. He would wash and sit down to eat. He said—Do you know, I admitted ten students to-day. It is not so easy to admit students. It took me a lot of effort to convince their parents and uncles and all others. Wait and see, our school will surely earn some scholarships this time—

Shibani could not maintain her patience any longer.

She said—If your school-boys got stipends would that fill my stomach ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You do not understand at all, if those boys grow up into well trained men, you realise how that will benefit them. Think of them at least once ! They had been stupid like animals so long, could not even write the Devanagri script properly—

All this is a description of how things were in those days. You were not born then, nor I, and you might not know all this but that would hardly matter. You go straight there

and ask Janardan—is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai in ?

That would be the same Janardan.

He has been acting as a gate-keeper right from the foundation of the Pathshala. In fact he is not a gate-keeper. He is a peon. That is to say, a head peon. But, though a head peon, his job has been to watch the gate. A room was built adjoining the gate for him by Gour Bhattacharjee's instruction.

He said—You will have to guard this gate Janardan. When the boys come late, do not admit them. As soon as the bell rings, you shut the gate—

Where the buses now stop and wait at the Balarampur Gunge, that shop of Mathur Shaw's still stands. But Mathur Shaw is no longer alive. It is Nimai Shaw now. Nimai Shaw is now President of the committee in place of his father. And Gobinda Chakravarty's son Naren Chakravarty has become the Secretary, they are both Gour Bhattacharjee's pupils. They have experienced physical punishment at the hands of Gour Bhattacharjee in the past.

And there is Bhabaranjan. Bhabaranjan Mukhopadhyaya.

When he was young, the boy could hardly dare open his mouth, he was so shy !

Once Gour Bhattacharjee had stopped Bhabaranjan at the gate for coming late. He had come after ten thirty.

—Here ; why are you so late ?

Bhaba was on the verge of tears—Pandit Mashai, this will not happen again, sir—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—That is as it would be ; but why are you late to-day, tell me—

—My clothes were not properly dry to-day.

—Clothes not dry, what do you mean ?

—Mother washed my clothes by boiling them last night and they remained wet—

—Not dry, then how could you come now? Let me see if they are wet?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai stuck his hand outside the gate and felt Bhaba's clothes. They were dripping wet!

Go, go home and change into other clothes. You will get fever if you stay in these wet clothes. Go and change your clothes.

Bhaba's face showed signs of a break-down.

He said—I have no dry clothes, Pandit Mashai—

—Then go home. You are let off to-day. You need not attend school to-day. First your health and then studies, go, go—

Bhabaranjan had a holiday. He went back home with a tearful face. To-day Bhabaranjan Mukhopadhyaya is the Head Master of the Balarampur High School. He has got his M. A. degree, passed his B. T.—But he dares not answer back the Pandit Mashai even now. He has not the guts to act contrary to what the Pandit Mashai issues as an order.

It is remembered that Bhabaranjan, the small boy, had gone straight back home that day. In the evening when his mother was placing the lamp at the base of the Tulsi stand, suddenly the voice of Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was heard outside—Bhaba, Bhaba, are you there—

He jumped up and rushed to the front door and found the Pandit Mashai standing there in person.

—Pandit Mashai, why you?

Gour Bhattacharjee made an angry face and said—Pandit Mashai, why you! Stupid animal! You would go to school in wet clothes and I should not look you up to see what happens to you? Who do you think you are?

Bhaba's mother was a widow. She pulled her veil and came up—

She said—Come in please, Pandit Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee came into the courtyard with his pile of books and papers clutched in his hands. By that time Bhaba's mother had placed a low wooden seat for him on the door-way. Said—Please sit down Pandit Mashai, please—

—No, no, I shall not sit down, not in your house, I shall not sit down—so saying he thumped down on that seat. Then he brought his knees together and said—what sort of brains do you have Bouma, you have not five or ten sons but only one. How could you send him to school dressed in wet clothes? If he had fever and illness? What would have happened then? It would then have been my duty to arrange for things. I am alone and I have so many boys to look after, how many could I take charge of and how many things would I control?

That Bhaba, the same Bhabaranjan has now become the Head Master of the School. It is Gour Bhattacharjee who had helped him to become a graduate, get through his training course, get married and grow a family. That old widow his mother died one day. After that he saved money from his salary and had a house built in the North Zone. On the day of house warming he invited everyone and treated them to a feast. Pandit Mashai also was there.

He shouted from a distance—Bhaba, where is Bhaba? May be the Head Master now, but he was his pupil at one time. As soon as he heard the Pandit Mashai he ran out and touched the feet of his preceptor.

—No, no, stop it, stop it—

Bhaba said—No Pandit Mashai, you must not object to my touching your feet on a day like this—

Gour Bhattacharjee said, Oh well if you

think that will do any good to you, touch my feet by all means—

Nimai Shaw was also present there. Son of Mathur Shaw ; quite a fop in his pleated dhoti and crinkly sleeve panjabi shirt. He had pumps on his feet. He was the President of the committee. A fully established President. While the school lasted he would remain a member, Nimai Shaw would. He was the sole proprietor of the Balarampur Variety Stores which stands in the Balarampur Gunje. Then there was Naren Chakravarty, Advocate, son of the Chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty. He was secretary of the school. Then, one has to mention Sasadhar, Anillesh, Sisir, Balaichand, Kalidhan ! All, one time pupils of the Pandit Mashai. Nimai was puffing away at a cigarette, held between the middle and third fingers of a closed fist, through the opening between the thumb and forefinger. He respectfully stopped smoking and stamped the cigarette out with his shoe.

They all stood up in honour of the Pandit Mashai as soon as they saw him.

—Oh, you are all here ! Sit down, sit down—

They all sat down when the Pandit Mashai was seated.

Pandit Mashai said—Good, very good, your house is excellent Bhaba ! I am very pleased. Our Bhaba is a man of action and achievements ; don't you think so, Naren—

Bhaba said in great humility—You must not speak like that Pandit Mashai ; all that has come through your goodwill. Had you not been here, we never would have had a school in Balarampur, not could we have received education—

Pandit Mashai interrupted and stopped Bhaba. He said—You stop your dissertation ! No one can make a man out of anybody. You have enjoyed the fruits of your Karma by virtue of your Karma-Yoga—

Secretary Naren Chakravarty said—no, Pandit Mashai, in fact it is you. I have heard everything from my father—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No my dear boys, all is Karma Yoga. He who engages in action with total detachment, and unsullied by personal desire, is always rewarded by the fruits of his Karma ; for Karma never fails in objective fulfilment.

These are of course, all tales of olden days. You were not born then, nor your publisher. That small Pathshala slowly grew into a high school in an imperceptible manner, and nobody remembers exactly when. That means, nobody cared to remember.

You will ask Janardan—Please tell me where the Pandit Mashai has his room ?

Janardan will answer—There, there the first room under the stairs—

But you will not find Gour Bhattacharjee when you get there. For he would be right in the Head Master's room.

Bhabaranjan was hard at work, he lifted his head and seeing the Pandit Mashai, straightened up in his chair.

—What is going on here Bhaba, you do not take notice of anything. Everybody is coming late to the school, doing exactly what they like ! When I used to look after things nothing like this happened. Everyone came to school on time. I caught Anillesh coming late and also Sasadhar—

Bhabaranjan said—Anillesh told me his wife was ill—

—Oh, he told you ? Then he told you about this ?

—Yes, he told me he might be a little late in coming for a few days—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—That is very good. If he informed you it should be all right. But see how Sasadhar behaved ! When I tried to point out to him, he wouldn't even listen to me. Said, never you mind, none of your business—

—Really ? He spoke like that to you ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You donot look after anything and that is why he dared speak to me in that reckless and foolhardy manner.

Bhaba said—You please go after your own work, I shall call Sasadhar Babu and make him understand—

Gour Bhattacharjee would not give up so easily. He said—Well, you were all students of this school at one time, did you see such lawlessness then ? Did I allow late comers to enter the school ? When Chakravarty Mashai was secretary could any one have the temerity to behave like this ?

If he starts talking Gour Bhattacharjee recites all this ancient lore in a smooth flowing and non-stop fashion to all comers. How and when Mathur Shaw Mashai made a gift of his garden land, how one day when there was no money Gobinda Chakravarty, the Chairman of the District Board, dipped his hand in his own pocket and saved the situation. He recounted these tales.

Bhaba said—Please donot get excited Pandit Mashai, I shall call for Sasadhar Babu right now—

Saying this he rang the bell and called out—Dinu—

Dinanath is the Head Master's peon. As soon as Dinu arrived the Head Master said—Go and see if Sasadhar Babu is in the Common Room. Ask him to come to my room—

Dinu went off.

Gour Bhattacharjee said as he walked out—You should admonish people when they are in the wrong. Otherwise they begin to believe

in the impossible and the unreal. If you slacken they will also discard discipline—

He did not stop after this. He crossed the first floor verandah in a straight line, went down the staircase and came to the courtyard. Looked all round. Whether everything was shipshape. One corner was reserved for the boys' refreshments. Clean drinking water was kept in a large earthen pot. The pot had to be kept clean so that the boys did not suffer from any ill effects of drinking water stored un-hygienically. Pandit Mashai looked into the pot—no, it was quite clean, the water was evidently fresh—

Then when he reached his own room he found an unknown man waiting there. He appeared to be waiting for him.

He said—Who ? Who are you ? What is it you want ?

You should, namaskar, him very respectfully.

Gour Bhattacharjee would examine you—up and down, fully and thoroughly, then say—Come in, come inside—

You will follow the Pandit Mashai into his room.

—And then ?

Grand Ma said—Then, my dear, one day I came over here with your Grand Papa in a bullock cart, all the way from Mobarakpur. To this Balarampur—

Rani asked—Did you have any fairs in Mobarakpur, Grand Ma ?

—It is an utterly unimportant village darling ; who would hold fairs there ?

Then Grand Mother would continue—And how long had I been there anyway ; when I got married I was only eight years old—

—My goodness Grand Ma, eight years !

Rani could hardly stop laughing. Shibani was married at the age of eight. A new home of her in-laws, new uncle-in-law, new aunt-in-law. She understood almost nothing at that age. And she came off to this new place with Pandit Mashai within a few years of her marriage. And was this Balarampur anything like what it is now at that time? Do you know how frightened I felt when I had to go to the tank side of an evening? You rush up here when you like, taking no notice of the evening darkness or of late hours when you want to have a long chat with me. You could never have come and gone like that in those days!

Gobinda Chakravarty, Chairman of the District Board, in his old age, used to come right inside the house. To discuss school affairs with the Pandit Mashai. They talked till it got very late at night. That raised platform where the Pandit Mashai gives lessons to his pupils now; they used to sit and talk there.

Gour Bhattacharjee used to say—You must get another two hundred rupees for me Chakotti Mashai—I can not pull on.

—Chakotti Mashai would say—Why? What do you need two hundred rupees for, so suddenly?

—Yes sir; I need fifty more benches which I have to have made—

—Well, I have jack-fruit trees, some of the trees have reached ripe old age, they donot even bear fruits any longer; why not make use of those. Only the few rupees for hiring carpenters should have to be paid.

Shibani was quite young. She used to feel hungry. She worked the whole day and got aches and pain in her limbs and joints. She could hardly keep her eyes open, even when it was barely evening. Those heads of organi-

sations would go on and on with their never ending discussions.

—Oh, you are here? And I am going all over the place looking for you.

Shibani used to smile. She would say—Bouma, donot scold her now. The poor child had been sitting here and listening to my tales.

—Tales?

Basanti, wife of the Secretary Naren Chakravarty, was a town bred young woman. She had arrived personally to the Pandit Mashai's house in search of her daughter. She said—Why should I scold her Auntie; but she should have told me that she was meaning to come here.

Shibani would affectionately put her hand on Rani's shoulder and say—Rani is a daughter of this house, Bouma, she has only been born in your lap, that is the only distinction—

Bouma would say—Then let her stay here, let her sleep with you here, we shall go home, have our dinner and go to bed—she would be grabbed by the ogres—

—Oh, Bouma, don't get angry, listen, take Rani home. Go darling, go home, come again tomorrow—

Suddenly one could hear the voice of Gour Bhattacharjee—Where are you, Shambhu's mother, please open the door—

—There, there is Grandpa—

As she made this announcement repeatedly she ran up and unfastened the bolt of the front door.

Pandit Mashai was astounded to see all those people within.

Rani said—Dadu, why are you so late to return? Didn't you promise to me that you would come back before the day was almost over?

Pandit Mashai said—My little mother, you are so young, how can you ever understand how much work I have to do ?

Rani said—Oh, your work ! It is all rubbish, you will just sit on a chair, make the boys read and write and then make them fail in tests.

Pandit Mashai would look at Rani's mother and say complainingly—You heard Bouma what your daughter said ? She only finds me trying to make the boys fail in examinations—

Then he looked at Rani and said—You there, haven't you seen Binu go to the Sadar Town to study with a scholarship ? Don't you know that his stipend amounts to thirty rupees a month ?

Bouma said—Uncle, you are at the root of her impertinence ; you spoil her and make her more unbearable than ever before. She does not listen to anyone but you. Will you give her a good scolding ?

Pandit Mashai put his hand under her chin and asked ; well Rani, my dear, shall I give you a scolding ? Should I do what your mother said ?

Rani said, I can scold too, don't you know that ? I shall also scold you—

—Oh, my goodness ! Just listen to her ! Don't you know how to talk to your superiors ?

Then Basanti caught Rani by the hand and started to drag her home.

She said, come home, I shall have you thrashed to-day, just come home first ! And hurry up !

Rani put her arms round Grandpa—

—What is all this, come away at once—

Rani was defending herself behind Grand Papa's knees. And the Pandit Mashai was smiling greatly amused by Rani's antics.

Shibani said—Leave her here Bouma, you go home. He will reach her home later on, there is nothing to worry about—

Pandit Mashai said—Your daughter is very clever. You see how she is hiding her face ? She thinks no one can see her—

Shibani said—Don't you worry at all, Bouma ! If your husband says anything, tell him your uncle did not allow Rani to go home now—

What could Basanti do or say ! She went out through the front door exactly as she had come in.

In those days, in Balarampur, Gobinda Chakravarty was what people called a well-to-do person. His forefathers had come and settled down in this non-descript village when it was utterly undeveloped and rustic. Then they practised law, earned a lot of money and became known to all and sundry as respectable men of position of Balarampur. Towards the end of his life, when the first District Board was constituted, he was made its Chairman. Not merely in money, but in name and fame, he was in the forefront of the local community.

Naren was one of his sons. Naren Chakravarty also qualified as a lawyer in due course and began visiting courts. He also was one of those who took their first lessons and all schooling from Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. Naren passed out of the Balarampur High School one day and went therefrom to the Sadar College for higher studies.

The houses were nearly adjoining. Whenever Naren saw Gour Bhattacharjee he would put out his cigarette as a mark of respect.

Gour Bhattacharjee would ask—How are you Naren ?

Naren would answer—Quite well, Pandit Mashai—

So saying he would stoop down to take the dust of his teacher's feet as he was bound by

custom to do, and carry that dust to his own forehead : so to speak, by touching his forehead with his hands.

—How is Bouma ? How is Sushil doing with his studies at home ?

Naren used to say—The teachers are there ; they supervise things.

—Whom have you kept ?

—Whom would I keep. I have asked Sasadhar Babu to look after the mathematics, Bankim Babu has been appointed to coach him in English ; Geography and History are handled by Kanti Babu, and.....

Gour Bhattacharjee would ask—And who teaches him Sanskrit, tell me that.

—But Sir, I dare not approach you, how can I ?

—Why, is it because I have grown old ?

When Gour Bhattacharjee lost his temper, people began to feel frightened. He would say—Why, haven't I taught you ? Who has taught all these lads of Balarampur their Sanskrit, tell me that ? You see, me dear boy, I can not tolerate any one reading Sanskrit all wrong. When I was at Navadwip studying at a Tol, I could not keep count of all the caning I got from my Guru Mashai, do you know ?

Then began the recounting of the tales of those days. They all stood on the road listening to these stories, forgetting their own work and important duties.

Suddenly the Pandit Mashai would startle everyone by asking Naren—Wouldn't you be late for the courts my dear boy ?

Naren would answer in great humility—Yes, Sir, I had a lot of important work at court which I should finish as early as possible—

The Pandit Mashai would then wake up and announce repentantly—Now, see ! You should have told me that much earlier ! I wouldn't then have wasted so much of your

time, not realising the significance of what was happening—

Naren was quite late in finishing his court work that evening. He went back home to find Basanti waiting anxiously for his return. She said—Why are you so late ?

Naren's face had a grave and serious expression.

Basanti said—What is the matter ? Have you lost in your case to-day ?

Naren did not answer that but asked—Where is Rani ? Basanti said—She came back from school and went to Aunt's house—

—Went there at a time like this ? Couldn't she find any better time ?

Basanti was mystified. She asked—Why, doesn't she go there at this time ? She habitually goes at this time.

Naren could find no answer to this factual statement.

Basanti felt a great curiosity. She asked—What is the matter with you ? Tell me, have you been having a scuffle in the School Committee again ?

Naren was taking off his professional lawyer's clothes, he said—What peculiar ideas you have ; I am the school secretary ; why should I have any quarrel with anybody ?

Basanti said—Why do you deny ; you do have quarrels in the School Committee, don't you ?

Naren couldn't keep the news to himself any longer. He said—Listen, I am rather upset over what I have heard—

—What is it that you have heard ?

Basanti moved up closer as if in great fear of what she might hear.

Naren said—Pandit Mashai has lost his daughter—

—What is that ? What is it you said ?
Our Abanti ?

Naren said— Yes —

Basanti asked—How did she die ? What happened to her ? Who gave you the news ? What a shame ! How pitiful ! Auntie had that one and only daughter, there is a grandson too.....

Naren had changed into other clothes. He said—I must go over to Pandit Mashai and see him ; will you come with me ?

Basanti had not got over her sorrow.

She asked—Tell me, where did you get this news ?

Naren said—I had gone to the school from Court, the telegram arrived while I was there.

—Then ?

—Then, Bhabaranjan, the Head Master, was hesitating to give out the news. But I said, that news could never be suppressed. So saying I went to the class where Pandit Mashai was teaching. I gave him the telegram outside the class. He read it.

—Then ?

—Then he said—Wait, let me go and finish the lesson—and he went back to his class to continue his teaching.

When the bell rang, Bhabaranjan went to the Pandit Mashai and said—Pandit Mashai, you go home now ; you must not hold classes in the circumstances.

Pandit Mashai stood there with his face slightly trembling.

He said—But Bhaba, I have two more classes—What about those ?

Bhabaranjan said—I shall arrange about those Pandit Mashai. Don't worry about those ; you go home—

Pandit Mashai said—How can that be ; she who has gone, has gone, she cannot return ; but the boys will lose a valuable day.

Then he turned round while going back.

He said—You better do one thing Bhaba, send that telegram to your Auntie by some one. Such news should not be held back ; but should be passed on, inform her that our Abanti is no longer—

Saying this he went towards his class.

Naren said—Having heard all this I came along, I know nothing more.

Basanti said—I should go at once to Auntie now ; what do you say ?

—Go along—

So saying Naren also went to get ready himself.

People at Balarampur still recollect clearly what happened during those early days. She was the only daughter that the Pandit Mashai had. They all remembered when she was born. Pandit Mashai had affectionately named her Abanti. She was also married off after a very, thorough and careful consideration of the bridegrooms merits. Gour Bhattacharjee had no resources whatsoever when this marriage ceremony was performed.

Gobinda Chakravarty had given a good Benares Sari and four gold sovereigns.

He blessed her—Be happy for ever, my little mother—

Mathur Shaw Mashai did not stint at his generous contribution either. He called Gour Bhattacharjee and made enquiries. He asked—How much will you have to spend for this wedding, Pandit Mashai ?

Gour Bhattacharjee answered—I have no idea, Shaw Mashai, I have never arranged for any marriage ceremonies before this—

Mr. Shaw said—Yes, yes, that is so. But you surely have some idea of what expenses you will have to incur or what you can afford ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said simply—I have no

resources, Mr. Shaw. In fact I am totally impecunious. The only property we had were a gold necklace weighing ten tolas and a pair of gold bangles of about three tolas ; but I sold those when the Pathshala was set up. Now I have nothing to call my own—

Mathur Shaw Mashai was a large hearted person.

He said—Still, how much money, do you think, you will need ?

The Pandit Mashai said—A length of vermilion coloured string should serve in place of ornaments. I shall cut the string in two pieces and tie the pieces on her wrists.

Mathur Shaw smiled in amusement.

He said— That does not work, Pandit Mashai. You may do that ; but what about your daughter ? She may have some desires and expectations.

He thought for a while. Then said—It is all right, you go home, make all other necessary arrangements, we shall undertake between us all responsibilities of your daughter's marriage. You are the Pandit of the Balarampur School, your daughter's marriage means our daughter's marriage. Now go home and assure your wife and ask her not to worry—

So saying, he sent Gour Bhattacharjee home.

That daughter was now dead ! As unexpected, and as heartbreaking. Gour Bhattacharjee took all his classes at school and then slowly went back towards his house. By that time his wife had come to know of this and had lost consciousness. The news had spread and a number of people had turned up at the house. They looked at the face of the Pandit Mashai when he entered the house.

And said—Why were you at the school, so long, Pandit Mashai ? There is no one here to look after Aunty.

Pandit Mashai got on to the landing, sat

down and said—A cosmic Maya or fundamental illusion pervades everything, Naren. God has pronounced in the Geeta, only Brahma the Great Spirit exists, material objects and natural phenomena are only false appearances, they have no fundamental reality. They are non-existent and I achieve nothing by exercising my mind or by shedding tears. Good words full of sound wisdom. Nothing could be better.

Naren asked in a slow whisper—What happened, and how ?

Pandit Mashai replied—My son-in-law wrote that the daughter was not keeping good health. I thought I would go over and bring the daughter and the grand-son over here. But the ideas did not take any material shape. I had not managed to go—

Mathur Shaw's son Nimai Shaw had also come.

—Would you be going over there now ?

Pandit Mashai said—What use would it be, my boy ? My going would not bring my daughter back.

Naren asked—Who are there at your son-in-law's house ?

Pandit Mashai said—They were only the two of them in their family. And the grand child. Now things would be totally lonesome. If the grand-son is brought over here, the son-in-law would be quite alone—

Basanti was wielding a hand fan sitting by the side of the prostrate lady of the house.

She brought her mouth near her ear and said—Aunty, get up and lie on the bed—

Rani appeared to have become utterly speechless by witnessing these happenings. That atmosphere of great sorrow and funereal quiet had sealed up her young mouth since the early afternoon.

She said at last—Ma, will Fatik come over here ?

Basanti said admonishingly—You shut up ! There is no need for you to talk !

Shibani stirred at last. As if she heard what was said. She suddenly wailed loudly and drew Rani into her lap with her outstretched arms she said—Do not scold her Bouma. Does she understand anything ?

Then she clasped Rani into her bosom and went on weeping silently.

The Balarampur school did not stop functioning on account of the death of the Pandit Mashai's daughter. The reason for this was that the Pandit Mashai would not allow any such cessation. Nothing stops anybody in this earthly set up. The Pandit Mashai had turned up for at the school the following day.

Janardan too was amazed.

Janardan said—Pandit Mashai, you might have stayed away from school to-day—

Anilesh had rushed up to Bhabaranjan's room.

—Head Master, the Pandit Mashai has come to school even to-day !

Bhabaranjan quickly went over, having heard about this. He found Pandit Mashai in a complaining mood—What about the bell, Janardan, why have you not rung the bell ?

Janardan would have rung the bell. But the Pandit Mashai was, as was his habit, in a great hurry.

—Shut the gate, shut the gate, Janardan—

As soon as the gate was closed, all the boys of the school assembled in their own classes and began chanting—

Jagadudbhava Palana Nashakarang.....

Pranamamī Shivang Shiva Kalpatarum.....

This Sanskrit Verse in praise and adoration of God, had been regularly chanted at the

start of school work since the foundation of the institution. When Naren was young, he recited it, so did Nimai Shaw, Bhabaranjan, Binu's Mother's son Binod who is now a magistrate. This has been a compulsory practice in this school.

Pandit Mashai used to say—It is good to read out this you know, one should commence studies by taking the name of God—

The chanting of the sacred verse was going on in the classes and the Pandit Mashai had gone over to the main gate.

—Here you, why are you so late ? Why so late ? Is this half-past-ten by your timing ?

One of them said—I had fever sir, yesterday—

—Fever ? If you had fever yesterday, why did you come to school to-day ?

—You would scold me if I did not come.

Pandit Mashai said—Let me see, your forehead—

He stretched, his hand out through the gate and touched the boy's forehead. It felt hot.

He blew up the boy. Said—You still have fever ! Go home, no school for you, go ! You must save your life first, then do your studying. If you die you can not learn any lessons. First health, then lessons—

The boy was not allowed to come in. He bowed his head down and went back home.

—Next, you ? Why are you late ?

This way, he cross questioned each late comer and then let any one come in.

Then came that Sasadhar. Sasadhar Sarcar was late also that day.

He said—Shame Sasadhar, you come late everyday. If all of you come late in this manner in front of all students, whom will they emulate ?

Sashadhar had no shame. He came through the slight opening of the gate and Pandit Mashai said—I have to keep my head down in shame before the students because you all come late ! What is the matter with you ! If you come a little earlier to school, would that nullify the basic facts of the Mahabharat ?

As he went inside into the Teacher's Common Room the Bengali Teacher Girish Das said—Well, Sashadhar Babu, Pandit Mashai caught you, did he ?

Sashadhar Babu was standing under an electric fan then, trying to get dry after his hot journey.

He said—Oh stow it ! Pandit Mashai spoke and I heard, there it ended. His daughter died yesterday and he came to school right on time to-day ! A lunatic at large ! What intoxication, my god ! A dipsomaniac can forget his drink for a day ; but the Pandit Mashai excels all confirmed drunkards—

Pandit Mashai had gone straight up to Bhabaranjan's room. He put down the names of all late comers on a sheet of paper and filed it with the Head Master saying—Here you are ; these are the late comers. You call them up and ask them to explain—

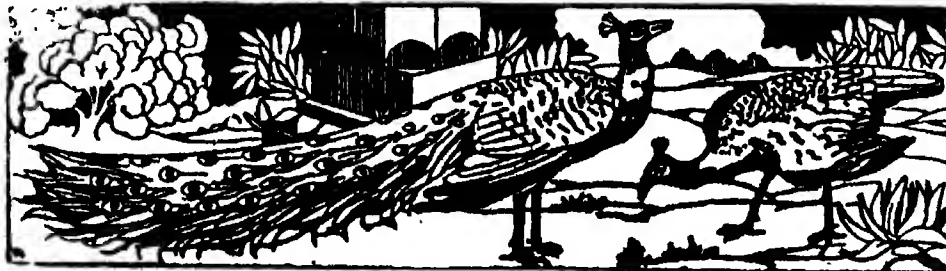
Then he added—Unless you do this, you will not be able to run the school, Bhaba, when I was Head Master I did the same with you all ; now you are Head Master, you will have to do the same. And if you do not then this school, which I built up with great difficulty, will go to rack and ruin ; I tell you—

Bhabaranjan picked up the paper and kept looking at the face of the Master Mashai for a while and then said—There is so much trouble and sorrow in your house, why did you come to school to-day Pandit Mashai—

But all those words hardly entered the ears of the Pandit Mashai. There was much left to do. It will be necessary to refill the great earthen pot perhaps, he will have to check up. The attendance book will have to be examined to see which teachers, if any, have not come to work to-day. Pandit Mashai has a lot of work. Anything that he did not examine and investigate personally would be likely to go wrong.....

He had left the room, by then.

(To be continued)



RISE IN THE BANK RATE

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Better late than never. The Reserve Bank of India has at last raised the bank rate from 5 percent to 6 percent on 8th January. While announcing this important decision at a press conference in Bombay, the Governor of the Reserve Bank told the newsmen that this decision is taken after a careful review of the present monetary and price situation in the country. The rise in the bank rate, is, in fact, long over due. We must heartily congratulate the Government of India for taking this very bold step just before the Mid-term poll. The increase in the bank rate will undoubtedly displease the cross section of the community the business man, industrialists and the consumers as well, as the immediate effect will be a rise in the cost of borrowings from the commercial banks, which may, naturally be passed on to the consumers in the shape of a rise in prices. Whatever the warnings, assurances and safeguards announced by the Reserve Bank in preventing this shift of rising costs to the purchasers, it is the only inevitable outcome in the present situation. Undeterred by the increasing pressures from various angles, the Government has at last come down to face the realities of the economic situation in the country and has exhibited, once again, its earnest desire to curb the inflationary tendencies, the undue expansion of credit by the commercial banks, the speculative activities which have reached their unprecedented heights and to regulate the flow of the limited available funds in the banking system to the desired channels, the preferred sectors of the economy. The primary objective of the rise in the bank rate seems to be to check the

undue expansion of credit, curbing inflation and to encourage further mobilisation of deposits. The selective credit controls have obviously failed. The Reserve Bank of India is left with no other option except to raise the bank rate.

The Governor of The Reserve Bank has announced a series of other measures also, to achieve the desired results. The minimum net liquidity ratio has been raised by one percent, from the present level of 33 percent to 34 percent. The interest rate on the savings Banks deposits has been increased from 3.5 percent to 4 percent. The interest rates on a number of other short term and long term deposits have also been raised simultaneously. The Reserve Bank has announced that it would provide refinance facilities to the priority sectors like exports, small industries, farmers, cereals and food procurement agencies at the existing rates only.

Anybody who has the least concern for the relentless rise in prices and its effect on the common man will not question the necessity of raising the bank rate. The index number of the wholesale prices of food articles reached a level of 201.8 and the commodity price index rose to 200.7 on 1st January, 1971. There is a rise of 7.4 percent in the index of the wholesale prices during the year ended 1970. The money supply with the public also rose by 12.4 percent during the year from 6086 crores to 6839 crores on 1st January, 1971. The bank credit of the scheduled commercial banks rose by nearly 21.6 percent during the preceding year i.e. from 3637 crores to 4495 crores during the calendar year 1970. The borrow-

ings of the commercial banks from the Reserve Bank during the current busy season, similarly rose to Rs. 192 crores as against Rs. 58 crores during the last busy season. The credit expansion by the commercial banks during the current busy season rose to a level of 182 crores as against Rs. 124 crores in the last busy season. The undue expansion of credit by the commercial banks is responsible to a very large extent for the steep rise in prices. We need not blame the commercial banks for the soaring prices. It is the liberalisation of the credit policies, and the new postures in the lending operations, that emerged as a result of the nationalisation of the fourteen commercial banks last year and the avowed policy of easing the flow of cheap credit to low income groups, the self employed persons, the small industrialists, artisans, and the small farmers etc. and the overgenerous policy of the Reserve Bank of India to these new classes of borrowers irrespective of their creditworthiness, repaying capacity and the productivity of the loans that are to be blamed for the havoc, of the inflationary spiral we are witnessing to-day in the country. It is good that the Reserve Bank of India has also realised the utter futility and the virtual ineffectiveness of the selective credit control measures exercised by it from time to time during the whole of the preceding calendar year. It is also evident that the Government of India has at last heeded to the advice of the Reserve Bank of India, to restrain the inflationary spiral at the earliest moment.

The more pertinent point or rather the greater relevant issue to be discussed at the present critical juncture, is not the propriety of raising the bank rate, but the degree and extent of its effectiveness in curbing the inflationary spiral in the country ; regulating the flow of the limited available funds of the commercial banks to the needy, desirable and

preferential channels and sectors of the economy of India ; preventing the flow of easy money to the undesirable and anti-social activities of people, and promoting the deposit mobilisation at a vigorous pace. The high priests of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the prophets of gloom, frustration and despair have already rushed to the press with a plethora of statements expressing doubts on the effect of the rise in the bank rate on the price level. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Shri S. Jagannadhan himself admitted that the credit control measures have limited effect in our country. The leaders and the chief spokesmen of the industry and trade in the country have also expressed their deep concern over the possible adverse impact of the rise in the bank rate on the acceleration of the productive activity in the country, capital formation, new investments and the rise of equity capital etc. Grave doubts have also been expressed over the effectiveness of the new measures in deposit mobilisation on a larger scale ; checking the rise in prices and discouraging dealers and manufacturers from hoarding and building up large inventories. It is also feared that the new measures will make it more difficult to some industrial units even in the preferential sectors to secure the necessary credit and will slow down the growth of production of the commodities also. The new measures, it is suspected, will make it harder to narrow the gap between supply and demand and there is a possibility of further rise in the prices on account of the new pressures and strains on the economy emerging as a result of the rise in the bank rate. A lower rate of investment, suspected to emerge as a consequence of the raising of the costs of borrowing will only add to political and economic strains in the country in the coming months.

It is true that the mere one percent rise

in the bank rate is not going to curb the inflationary spiral totally. Its impact on the price situation is only likely to be marginal. It may not prove any more effective than the measure taken a year ago. In an underdeveloped and backward economy like that of India, where there is a vast unorganised money market ; large sums of hoarded and unaccounted wealth in the hands of a few rich and influential businessmen exist ; the margin of profit is so high that businessmen pay least attention to a scanty one percent rise in the interest rates ; no effective liaison between the organised and the unorganised sectors of the money market exist ; profiteering, black marketing, hoarding and other anti-social activities prevail on an extensive scale, no co-operation and co-ordination on sound lines exists between the different units in the banking system of the country and all other monetary fiscal and administrative policies have proved to be quite unsuccessful, we cannot expect any spectacular results from the rise in the bank rate from 5 percent to 6 percent in checking rising prices and regulating the flow of bank credit to the needy and preferential sectors of the economy etc.

The rise in the bank rate will be effective and successful and bring forth the desired results only if there is good co-operation and understanding and sympathy with the pressing needs of the economy among the different constituents of the banking structure and organisation in the country. There should also be a proper and effective implementation of the policies and decisions already arrived at both in letter and spirit. The commercial

banks should pay increased attention to the needs of credit planning on sound and scientific lines and exercise the greatest restraint in their lending operations. The increased cost of credit should not be passed on to the consumers ultimately by the borrowers through raising prices. This can be ensured only through keeping a constant watch over the price level and its movements and taking timely, appropriate and effective measures in preventing a further rise in prices. The increase in the bank rate must be accompanied by a series of selective credit controls simultaneously. The fiscal policies should also be suitably modified in order to give adequate support to the rise in the bank rate. Strong administrative action against the profiteers, blackmarketeers, and hoarders is also called for. Every possible step must be taken to unearth the hoarded and unaccounted for money ; an effective liaison must be established between the organised and unorganised sectors of the money market and the economy of the country. It must be admitted that the lasting solution for curbing inflation lies only in the improvement in the supply position through larger inflow of crops and greater productivity of the industrial and agricultural fronts of the economy of the nation. Let us not be pessimistic. However, slight is the rise in the bank rate announced on 8th January, it constitutes nevertheless a step in the right direction. Let us pray that this step in the right direction will bring the necessary and desired effects on the economy. As suggested by Mr. S. Jagannadhan, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India "we have to set the ball rolling".



TITLE MAHATMA WAS CONFERRED ON GANDHI 55 YEARS AGO

KAILASH NATH MEHROTRA

The epithet, Mahatma, a Sanskrit word meaning a great soul, is not unknown in India, since time immemorial. But now it signifies a new meaning and specifies a single man who is known all the world over as MAHATMA

In 1893, a young Barrister-at-Law, Mohandas Karam Chand Gandhi sailed from Bombay for South Africa on a private assignment. But destiny made him a social worker and soon he became a leader of his fellow-Indian community of settlers, who were living under many social and political handicaps.

The Gandhi story in South Africa is an important chapter in the History of the freedom movement in modern times. South Africa was the nursery for Gandhi's future greatness. But a few Indians understood him rightly at that time, though he returned to India after about 21 years' unique struggle with glittering success.

Of course a section of our people believed that he would fulfil the mission of a Deliverer, so hailed him as a budding Hero, and lovingly began calling him Mahatma.

The following story may throw some light on an obscure aspect of GANDHI's life.

The story is told that while engaged in his struggle for the freedom and rights of his fellowmen in South-Africa, Gandhi felt a dire need for money and appealed to the people of India for handsome contributions. His Private Secretary Gaurishankar Pandya, also wrote to his uncle, Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri, Rajvaidya to the royal family of Gondal, a native state in Saurashtra, for money.

In response to this call the Maharaja of Gondal, Bhagvatisingh, sent to Gandhi a sum of Rupees 35,000, which was of great help to him in the non-violent struggle.

On arrival in India in 1915, Gandhi went to Gondal, to offer thanks to the Maharajah, personally for his munificence.

Ranchoddas Vrindavandas Patwari, the Dewan and Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri received prior information of his impending visit to Gondal. The Dewan promptly informed the Maharaja about this visit. Then His Highness instructed him to make arrangements for his reception.

On January 24th, 1915, on his arrival at Gondal, Gandhi was accorded reception in a befitting manner by the officials and the people of the State.

Next day, he paid a courtesy call on the Maharaja. There he met the State Officers and the prominent persons of the State.

On January 26th, he had dinner with His Highness and the members of the Royal family. In the evening he addressed a public meeting which lasted more than three hours.

On 27th January, in the early hours, it was announced that a public meeting will be held in the Rasashala Aushadhashram premises and the Vaidyaraj Jivaram Kalidas Shastri would accord reception to Gandhi on behalf of Rasashala Aushadhashram and present an address and give the title of Mahatma to him.

By nine O'clock, more than five thousand people, including about a thousand women, gathered in the Rasashala compound. At 10 A.M. Gandhi arrived with his family

members, and the audience stood up in reverence to receive him.

The Maharaja and the prominent people of the State were also present at the function. Dewan Ranchoddas Vrindavandas Patwari presided at the meeting. Vaidyaraja, now known as Acharya Shri Charantirth Maharaj read out his address thus :

"May lord Krishna and Shiva do good unto you :

First I express my deep gratefulness to you and to Kastur Ba for the great honour accorded to us and especially to Ayurveda by this gracious visit to Rasashala. I do not wish to deliver a long speech. The minute observation and perusal of your glorious character shows that you are another link in the galaxy of venerable heroes of Ancient India, Harishchandra, Ram Krishna, Maharaja Pratap, Shivajee Maharaj and the like, about whom Indians have sung and praised.

Your life and character are being extolled nobly in all quarters of the country, and have

gained reverence for you in every country of the world. How can I do justice to your qualities in the course of such a small address ? It would be fitting to say that the whole India is indebted to you.

Your good qualities of head and heart have inspired me to sing your praises in Sanskrit and as a Brahmin, offer my blessings to you."

The address ended with the words "Inspired by your good deeds, I, on behalf of this institution (Rasashala Aushadhashram), present to you this Address, containing the title "Mahatma"."

The Address was handed over to Gandhi in a silver casket. With the concluding speech of the president, the meeting dispersed and the people went their way amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai."

After this public appreciation, Gandhi became known as Mahatma Gandhi throughout India.



ON SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIAN PRINCES

R. S. MACHALPURKAR

Occasion for the above arose because of the overpowering progress of the East India Company in the territories of India and the equal relations sought to be established with the Indian Princes, as sovereign powers of their respective territories vis-a-vis the areas taken by the East India Company under its control in the beginning for trade establishment and further transformed into Company-administered units along with agreements and treaties for a common control of defence, communications and foreign relations.

The first legislation concerning the above matters we find in the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1858 and thence we have the gradual progress and process of confirmation and transformation through the various legislations viz. Government of India Act, 1861, Act of 1915, Act of 1919, Government of India Act, 1935, Provisional Constitutional Order, 1947, Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 1947, Indian Independence Act, 1947 and (1) the administration of Indian States Order, 1948, (2) the States Merger Order, 1949 and (3) the Constitution of India, 1950.

In all the above legislations, 'it is fully apparent that in India, there has been the "System of dual sovereigns" well recognised and well framed.

The provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, along with the Government of India Act, 1935, stand as basis for our constitutional set-up of to-day and the position of both the Acts have been very well expressed in A. I. R. 1950, All. 11 :—

"It seems.....that there is a case of

'legislation by reference' and the Government of India Act, 1935, has been in substance incorporated in the Independence Act. At any rate, it may be said that both The Independence Act and The Government of India Act, are enactments of the same constitutional nature and the two are therefore supplementary to each other.

"The Government of India Act, 1935 as amended by the Governor-General and the Independence Act, 1947, are inseparably connected with each other and must be read together."

Thus the Government of India, Act, 1935, commands a special attention for appreciating the system of suzerainty in co-operation to the Federation of India, as it existed prior to 1935 Act and also thereafter to this date.

Section 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 defines the terms (a) India, (b) British India and (c) Indian States, as under :—

(a) "India" means British India together with all the territories of the Indian Rulers under the suzerainty of His Majesty, all the territories under the suzerainty of such an Indian Ruler, the Tribal Areas and any other territories which His Majesty in Council, may, from time to time after ascertaining the views of the federal Government and the Federal Legislature, declare to be part of India :

(b) "British India" means all territories for the time being comprised within the Governors' Provinces and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces :

(c) "Indian States" include any territory,

whether described as State and an Estate, a Jagir, or otherwise—belonging to or under the suzerainty of a Ruler who is under the suzerainty of his Majesty and not being a part of the British India.”

This makes it clear that the territory under the Indian States was under the suzerainty of the Ruler thereof while the Ruler himself was for some specified matters—under the suzerainty of His Majesty and both were sovereign powers for respective purposes. Thus the theory of dual sovereignty is fully established.

Section 47 of the Government of India Act, 1935, further upholds the above theory :

“Whereas certain territory (in this Act referred as “Berar”) is under the sovereignty of his Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, but is on the date of the passing of this Act, by virtue of certain agreements subsisting between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness, administered together with the Central Provinces : ”

“Whereas it is in contemplation that the agreement shall be concluded between His Majesty and His Exalted Highness whereby, notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness over Berar, the Central Provinces and Berar may be governed together as one Governor’s province under this Act by the name of the Central Provinces and Berar” :

“Now therefore (1) while any such agreement is in force (a) Berar and the Central Provinces shall notwithstanding the continuance of the sovereignty of His Exalted Highness, be deemed to be one Governor’s province by the name of the Central Provinces and Berar : (b) Any reference in this Act or in any other Act to British India shall be construed as a reference to British India and Berar and any reference in this Act to subjects of His Majesty shall except for the purposes

of oath of allegiance, be deemed to include a reference to Berar subjects of His Exalted Highness.”

Sections 5 and 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provided for the establishment of a Federation of India as under :—

Section 5 :— “There shall be united in a Federation under the Crown, by the name of Federation of India (a) the Provinces hereafter called the Governors’ Provinces, (b) the Indian States which have acceded or may thereafter accede to the Federation : (c) There shall be included the provinces hereinafter called as the Chief Commissioners’ Provinces.”

Section 6 :— “A State shall be deemed to have acceded to the Federation..... by the Ruler thereof, where by an instrument of accession, the Ruler for himself, his heirs and his successors—(a) Declare that he acceded to the Federation as established under this Act, with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature. The Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of Federation, shall by virtue of his Instrument of Accession, but *subject always to the terms thereof and for the purposes only of the Federation, exercise in relation to his State such functions as may be vested in them by or under this Act.*”

And sub-section (2) further made it specific that.....“An Instrument of Accession shall specify the matters which the Ruler accepts as matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature may make Laws for his State and the limitations, if any, to which the power of the Federal Legislature to make Laws for his State, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in his State, are respectively to be subject.”

Sub-section 5 : It shall be a term of every Instrument of Accession that the provisions of

this Act mentioned in the second Schedule thereto may, without affecting the accession of the State, be amended by or by authority of the Parliament, but no such amendment shall unless it is accepted by the Ruler in a Supplementary Instrument, be construed as extending the functions which by virtue of the Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any other Federal Authority in relation to the State.

It is also provided by sub-section 3 that : "A Ruler may, by a supplementary Instrument of Accession executed by him and accepted by his Majesty, vary the Instrument of Accession of his State by extending the functions which by virtue of that Instrument are exercisable by His Majesty or any Federal Authority in relation to his State."

And it is in these circumstances that a State which acceded to the Federation is referred to as Federated State and the Instrument by virtue of which a State has so acceded is construed, together with any supplementary Instrument if executed, as Instrument of Accession of that State.

Thus it appears that the Scheme of Federation enunciated by the Government of India Act, 1935, proceeded on the basis of common welfare and better administration by delegated authority of two or more sovereign powers to a common control. Plainly enough, this common control was confined to the limited objects and specified subjects, it was not at all directed to wipe out or abolish the suzerainty of any State as such. This view is fully corroborated by the provisions of sec. 101 along with secs. 125 and 122 of the Government of India Act, 1935 :

Sec. 101 : "Nothing in this Act shall be construed as empowering the Federal Legislature to make Laws for a federated State otherwise than in accordance with the Instrument of Accession of that State and any limitations contained therein."

"Sec. 125 : Notwithstanding anything in this Act, Agreements may and if provision has been made in that behalf by the Instrument of Accession of the State, shall be made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of the Federated State for the exercise by the Ruler or his Officers of functions in relation to the administration in his State of any Law of the Federal Legislature which, applies therein."

Sec. 122 (3) : "Without prejudice to any of the other provisions of this part of this Act, in the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in any Province or Federated State, regard shall be had to the interests of that State or Province."

And it is in the light of the above controlling provisions that sec. 204 was inserted in the Act to safeguard the rights and the obligations of the Sovereign powers contemplated to proceed under the Federation.....

Sec. 204 (1) : Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Federal Court shall, to the exclusion of any other Court, have an original jurisdiction in any dispute between any two or more of the following parties i. e. to say, the Federation, any of the provinces or any of the Federal States if and in so far as the dispute involves any question—(Whether of Law or fact) on which the existence or extent of a legal right depends.

And thus the respective rights and the Sovereign powers of the respective units stand proclaimed and recognised even to the extent of agitating and vindicating the same through a Court of Law. To this State of affairs existing prior to the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, a recognition is also given by sec. 19 (4) of the latter Act.

Reference to the Government of India Act, 1935, include reference to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act and in particular, reference to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946 :

"India" where reference to a State of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed, but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by Sec. 311 of the Government of India Act, 1935 ;

Sec. 7 (b) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 proclaim only with this aspect very emphatically that :

"The Suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States—lapses and with it all the treaties and agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of the Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to the Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards the Indian States or the Rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority and jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to the Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise and

(c) and the lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas and obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas and all powers rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise ;"

"Provided that : Notwithstanding anything contained in paragraph (b) or (c)..... effect shall as nearly as may be continued to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand or by the Dominion or Province or other

part thereof concerned on the other hand or are superceded by subsequent agreements."

Further we find the position again recognised and proclaimed through the Instruments of Accession as also the Preamble of the Covenants executed by the Indian Princes with regard to their States on one hand and the United Kingdom and the Government of India the Union of India as the case may be, on the other hand.

The preamble of the Instruments of Accession reads as follows :—

"Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall set up an Independence Dominion known as India and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall with such omission, additions and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India."

"Whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adopted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof ;"

"Now therefore I..... Ruler of..... in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State, do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and....."

AND the Covenant proceeds with the declaration that—

"We the Rulers being convinced that the welfare of the people of this region can best be secured by the establishment of a State comprising of territories of our respective States, with a common executive, legislature and judiciary....."

"AND having resolved to entrust to a constituent assembly consisting of elected representatives of the people, the drawing up of Democratic Constitution for the State within the frame-work of the Constitution of India, to which we have already acceded to and of this Covenant :"

"DO HEREBY, with concurrence and guidance of the Government of India, enter into the following Covenant....."

Thus it will appear that there existed a special form of suzerainty in India. It was based on the treaties and engagements between the two sovereign powers i. e. the Indian Princes on the one hand and the East India Company, His Majesty, United Kingdom or the Government of India on the other hand. The general concept of the suzerainty could not be applied to it. Under the treaties and engagements, the East India Company, the British Crown His Majesty, had accepted the responsibility for external relations, defence and communication while the Indian Princess had full sway in the internal affairs and administration. Thus both were sovereigns in respective spheres.

Here it will be worthwhile appreciating the fine and material distinction of the relevant term.....

(a) Procured and secured Suzerainty

A N D

(b) Acquired and delegated sovereign powers.

It was a secured suzerainty of the Indian Princes and a delegated sovereign power for the British Crown; it was not procured suzerainty and not an acquired sovereign power, for the latter.

The set-up of the above type had given a secured suzerainty to the Indian Princes for their territories while the responsibility as to the external relations, defence, etc. had passed to the British Crown under various treaties and agreements as well defined and delegated on basis of equality and not as procured. Similarly the Scheme was not of acquired Sovereign powers but of delegation of specific powers for specific purposes.

It thus means the Indian Princes continued to hold their sovereign powers of administra-

tion and prerogative—rights as Rulers and masters of their territories with full scope as to external relations and defence and communications delegated to the British Crown on specific terms and when the British Crown quitted India declaring by virtue of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, Sec. 7 (b), that the Indian States were free to join any of the two Dominions—merely as an option or to continue even as Independent Unit without any imposition or restriction what so ever, the delegation has returned back.

The position of the Indian Ruler at the commencement of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, was of a suzerain power fully independent and free to join any dominion or strive as a separate unit. Sec.2 Indian Independence Act, 1947, declared...., "the territories of Indian shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which under sub. sec 2 of this sec. are to be the territories of Pakistan....."and Sub-sec. 4 provided :—

"Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-sec. 3 of this sec. nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions."

This was on the back ground of the express statement of recommendations by the Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy in 1947, in regard to the basic form of "Constitution for India." We recommend that the Constitution should take the following basic form :

(1) There should be a Union of India embracing both the British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

The recitals from the then Home Minister of India, Hon'ble late Sardar V. Patel, as published in the book White Paper on Indian States, further clarify the position :—

“The so-called lapse of paramountcy was a part of the plan announced on June 3, 1947, which was accepted by the Congress. We agreed to the arrangement in the same manner as we agreed to the partition of India..... While there was recognition in the various announcements of the British Government of the fundamental fact that each State should link up its future with that Dominion with which it was geographically contiguous the Independence Act, released the States from all the obligations to the British Crown. In their various authoritative pronouncements, the British spokesman recognised that with the lapse of the paramountcy, technically and legally, the States would become Independent. They conceded that theoretically the States were free to link up their future with whichever Dominion they like.”

The situation was indeed fraught with immeasurable potentiality of disruption, for some of the Rulers, did wish to exercise their technical right to declare Independence and others to join the neighbouring Dominion. If the Rulers had exercised their right in such an unpatriotic manner, they would have found considerable support from influential elements hostile to the interests of this country.”

“It was against this unpropitious background that the Government of India, invited the Rulers of States to accede to three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. At the time, the proposal was put forward to the Rulers, an assurance was given to them that they would retain the status quo except for accession on these subjects. It had made clear that accession did not imply any

financial liability on the part of the States and that there was no intention either to encroach on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the State or to fetter their discretion in respect of their acceptance of the new Constitution of India..... There was nothing to compell or induce the Rulers to merge the identity of their States.”

“If the Rulers had elected to stay out, they would have continued to draw heavy civil list which they were drawing before, and in a large number of cases they could have continued to enjoy unrestricted use of the State Revenues. The minimum which we could offer to them as QUID PRO QUO for the parting with their ruling powers was to guarantee them Privy Purses and certain privileges on a reasonable and defined basis...”

This very line of thought, this very basic principle of Federation has been adopted and carried further by the Constitution of India in Art. 2 and 73.

(2) The Parliament may by Law admit into the Union or establish new States on such terms and conditions as it thinks fit.”

Art 73..... Subject to the provisions of this constitution, the executive power of the Union shall extend.....

(a) to matters with respect to which Parliament has power to make Laws ; and

(b) to exercise of such rights, authority and jurisdiction as are exercisable by the Government of India by virtue of any treaty or agreement.....”

That the Indian States had become completely independent and sovereign on the 15th August, 1947 and it was so contemplated, accepted and admitted by all the concerned highest authorities at the relevant time, will be apparent from the following recitals as well :

(1) “The rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and.....all the rights

surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one hand and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them. "(Memorandum dated May 12, 1946, issued by the Cabinet Mission sent by the British Government of India).

(2) "The paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the New Government." (Cabinet Mission's Plan announced on May 16, 1946.)

(3) "His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that..... their policy towards the Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May, 1946, remains unchanged". (British Government's Statement of June 3, 1947, which was accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League and formed the basis of the method of transfer of power to the successor Governments.)

(4) "The States have already accepted the basic principles that for defence, foreign affairs and communications, they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more of them than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the Country are involved. In other matters, we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence." (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's statement on July 5, 1947.)

(5) "Withdrawal of paramountcy would enable the States to regain complete sovereignty.....Now the Indian Independence Act releases the States from all their obligations to the Crown. The States have complete freedom—technically and legally they are independent." (Address of Lord

Mountbatten, the Viceroy of India, to the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947.)

(6) "Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State or save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority or rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State." (The Instrument of Accession which the Indian States signed when they acceded to the Union of India prior to August 15, 1947.)

(7) "The Indian Independence Act, 1947, released the States from all their obligations to the Crown. It was evident that if in consequence the Indian States became separate Independent entities, there would be a serious vacuum not only with regard to the political relationship between the Central Government and the States, but also in respect of the co-ordination of all-India policies in the economic and other fields. All that the Dominion Government inherited from the paramount power was Proviso to sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act, which provided for the continuance until denounced by either of the parties, of agreements between the Indian States and the Central Government and Provincial Governments in regard to specified matters, such as customs, Posts & Telegraphs, etc." (White Paper on Indian States p. 32)

The legal position stands well recognised by the Bench of seven learned Judges of the Supreme Court in the case of State of Gujarat Vs. Vora Fida Ali and others, A. I. R. 1964, S. C. 1043 :—

"The Native Indian Rulers were undoubtedly sovereign in the territories under their jurisdiction ; and they parted with their sovereignty in stages, first on accession, then on integration and finally by what has been falaciously termed in the White Paper on Indian States as" Unionisation i. e. by the States territory becoming part and parcel of

the territory of the Union of India which meant the complete extinction of their separate existence, as individual sovereignty and of their States as separate political Units." (per B. P. Sinha, C. J. and Rajagopala Ayyangar, J. Under sec. 7 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the suzerainty of the British Crown over the States lapsed, with the result that the Sant State became a full sovereign State. (per Subba Rao, J.) The former State of Santrampur (also called Sant State).....was an Indian State and the Ruler attained independence and sovereignty on August 15, 1947 on the ceasing of the paramountcy of the British Crown." (per Hidayatulla, J.)

"This State along with other ruling States in India became an independent sovereign State in the year, 1947 when the Dominion of India and Pakistan were constituted." (per Mudholkar J.)

"The first question to consider is whether there took place either in Law or in fact. It takes place in Law, when there is a judicial substitution of one State for another. It takes place in fact when there is (a) annexation (i) or, (b) cession (ii), or (c) fusion of one State with another (iii), or (d) entry into a federal Union (iv), or (e) partition (v), or (f) separation or secession (vi). It will be seen that on the 26th January, 1950, there was no succession in fact because none of these events took place."

"In this sense, though the people of India gave themselves a Constitution, there was no State succession in so far as the people of the Sant State were concerned. For them, the State succession was over some time before. No doubt, when the Dominion of India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, there was a breaking away from the British Crown, but that there was a State succession in a different field. We are not concerned with the succession of India from the British

Crown but with the State succession between the Sant State and India and there was no second succession in 1950. Whatever had happened already happened in 1948 when the Sant State merged with the Dominion of India. The Act of State which began in 1948, could continue uninterrupted even beyond 1950 and it did not lapse or get replaced by another Act of State. The Constitution no doubt guaranteed the rights of the citizens."

All this goes to prove beyond doubt the indisputable position that right from the days of the East India Company to the present working under the Constitution of India, there has been in India "the system of two sovereigns" well preserved and well framed, well recognised and well followed; the Indian States recognised as sovereign powers and the East India Company and His Majesty, the United Kingdom, the British Parliament and then the Federation of India attending to the specific administrative matters, under delegated authority may be through treaty, agreement or engagement or may be through instrument of Accession or Covenants all meaning and leading to and contemplated for one result viz.—better administration under common control.

As specifically referred to above, the glaring fact that by virtue of the Merger Agreement what the States have done is that the States have ceded, in fact entrusted their territories to the Union of India, fairly and squarely with the sincere and honest intention of enabling a better administration and welfare of the public as a whole, under a democratic Scheme of one Rashtrapati and one Parliament, a common legislature.

It is thus that the so-called paramountcy of the Parliament of India, in fact flows from the suzerainty of the Indian Princes through the medium of the Instruments of Accession, the Covenants, the Merger Agreements; it

is neither procured nor acquired one. It stands on the conception of existing sovereignty with States and not on the principle of abolition thereof.

True, it has been held in 1950 All. p. 11 that there can be only one Sovereign in the Country but it has to be respectfully submitted that it is distinguishable in so far as it does not proceed on the consideration of the above material aspect of the political set-up.

The aforesaid factors are not only material but are of a decisive nature and it is on the background of the above set-up, the aforesaid system of dual sovereignty, that the problem of existence and continuance of the Privy Purses and special privileges as also the continuance of the Indian Princes in the political set-up of India, will have to be appreciated.

P. S. :— And now

The *Majority Verdict of the Supreme Court* further corroborates and strengthens the above position of the Indian Princes by the *findings* :-

1. Article 291 gives rise to an obligation to pay the Privy Purses independently of the Covenants and agreements. The Constitution imposes upon the Union Government a directive to pay the Privy Purses.
2. Article 291 of the Constitution in terms recognises and accepts the obligations of the Union to pay the Privy Purses to the Rulers. The words clearly raise an obligation of the Union to pay the Privy Purses.
3. The rights given to the Rulers by Article

291 of the Constitution do not relate to the Covenants or agreements and hence Art. 363 does not bar the jurisdiction of the Courts.

4. An order merely derecognizing a Ruler without providing for continuation of Rulership which is an integral part of the Constitutional Scheme is plainly illegal.
5. The claim that the President could by exercise of a Political Power or a Sovereign power or an act of State derecognize the Rulers finds no countenance from the Constitution.
6. The power and authority which the Union may exercise against its citizens including the Rulers are strictly circumscribed by the Constitution and cannot be supported under the shelter of Paramountcy.
7. Article 363 does not bar a claim to any rights or privileges granted to the Rulers under the Statutory provisions and enactments.

Thus the status of Rulership and the obligations to pay Privy Purses to the Rulers under Article 291 along with the continuance of the special rights and privileges stand duly recognized by the Supreme Court and are under the Constitution nothing but absolute and even the right to claim the same when due, subsists in each Ruler,

And a thought contrary thereto is both neither desirable nor deserving and much less justifiable on any count.

U THANT'S PEACE PHILOSOPHY

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The United Nations and its subsidiary institutions, e. g. WHO, FAO, UNESCO, etc., symbolise the hopes and aspirations of all mankind for lasting peace on earth, based on social and economic justice to all men. It is fortunately headed by U Thant as Secretary-General. He is respected for his political and moral integrity, and courage to speak out on vital issues. As a Buddhist he symbolises the Buddha's concept of compassion (*Karuna*) and loving kindness (*Maitreya*).

U Thant recognises further that the way of establishing peace on earth is not through force and compulsion, but through making man's heart the fountain of compassion, not of hate. Thus he recognises the need for man to study and practise the ways leading to extinction of hate, greed and delusion. The Buddhist law (*Dharma*) shows the way of destroying evil, and Emperor Asoka has shown man that by accepting the law of the Buddha, war, sorrow, greed, hate and destruction can be avoided. Asoka (3rd century B. C.), realising this law (Buddha Dharma), gave up warfare after victory to dedicate the rest of his life to the welfare not only of the citizens of India, but of all mankind, to become one of the greatest, if not the noblest monarch in the annals of history.

Violence and Hate

U Thant, like the Buddha, recognises the

folly of trying to settle the difference among men through violence, because violence always begets hate and hate makes both those hated and hating unhappy. Justice to mankind cannot be brought about under the influence of resentment, anger, ill-will and hateful retaliation.

As the Buddha has said :

"Through hate, by hate overwhelmed, fettered in mind, one leads an evil life in bodily deeds, words and thoughts, and understands neither one's own welfare, nor the welfare of others, nor the welfare of both sides, according to reality. If however, hatred is overcome, neither in bodily deeds, words or thoughts does one lead an evil life, and according to reality one knows one's own welfare, the welfare of others and the welfare of both sides."

According to the *Samyutta Nikaya*, politics should be advanced "without killing, without hurting, without conquering, without making sad, only by complying with the law (*Dharma*).". Thus to the secular world they advocated the ideal of the realisation of peace.

When Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara and patricidal King of Magadha, wanted to attack the Vejjis, his neighbouring State, and sounded out the opinion of the Buddha through his minister Vassan Kara, he admonished him not to wage war (*Mahaparinirvana Sutta*).

USA and the UN

When President Nixon visited the United Nations headquarters as President-elect of America in January, 1969, and assured the Secretary-General, U Thant, of America's co-operation in bringing peace to the world through the United Nations, it was a great occasion for mankind and the United Nations. The Super Powers have been flouting the United Nations Charter by their selfish activities in Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Vietnam, and even in the Middle East.

The Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference is continuing its work in Geneva. On one hand, its work will be strengthened by the US Senate ratification of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, while on the other handicapped by the recent announcement by President Nixon to deploy a thin ABM system in the USA. It is said a "thin" ABM system would not enhance the nation's military security, and might well diminish it. The system would not be fully operational until 1973. By that time Communist China is likely to have more sophisticated weapons which could penetrate an ABM defence. No one disputes that the Russians already have the offensive power to break through Sentinel.

Therefore the decision to deploy an ABM system in the USA is most discouraging, as it would place her at a disadvantage and rather tend to escalate the arms race. Besides, the 8 billion dollars to be spent on this ABM system is badly needed to help the US ghetto people and the underdeveloped peoples of the world.

The Vietnam War

U Thant has made several proposals to end the Vietnam war. He called it the most barbarous war in history. He also stated that

the Vietnamese are fighting for national liberation and unification of their country. He believes it is nationalism not communism that animates the resistance movement in Vietnam. But the war goes on and on, destroying cities, villages, and killing and maiming people with endless hate. Not only are the Vietnamese people getting massacred: the cream of American youth is getting killed and wounded in battles over Vietnam. U Thant, other world leaders and Hindu and Buddhist Asians ask for peace, but this terrible war seems endless. Karma seems to taking a heavy toll of life, causing miserable living conditions to millions of the old and the young. Pictures of women destitute, with children around them, appear frequently in magazines and newspapers around the world.

Peace in South-East Asia is essential for her social and economic development. The United Nations cannot initiate peace discussions here as both Vietnam and China are not members of the UN.

Free elections based on the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam, its neutralisation and mutual troop withdrawals of both North Vietnamese and American troops, are all essential for peace and stability in this region.

The Middle East

Waves of change in Asia have been stirred by nationalism and not by communism. America or any other Power should not become the Policemen of Asia, where more than half mankind lives. The Great Powers should support legitimate aspirations of the Asian people rather than support *status quo* and reactionaries.

U Thant recognises the need for peace in the Middle East. A home for Jews should be assured, but should this be at the expense of the Arabs? What U Thant has in mind is

not narrow Jewish or Arab nationalism. Today, Jews live in Israel surrounded by a sea of Arab and Moslem hate and vengeance, and nearly four million Arabs ousted from their homes live in abject poverty and cruel misery. Jews who have suffered for long years in Christendom should recognise that they should extend their goodwill, charity and benevolence to the Arabs.

Perhaps it is these facts of life that were brought to the attention of the Quaker Congress in New Jersey, when it was stated by U Thant that the sovereignty of the individual is greater than the sovereignty of a State. The audience was reminded that there cannot be peace in the Middle East without providing adequate compensation to the Arabs ousted from their ancestral lands by the creation of a Jewish state.

Duty of Great Powers

Middle East tension is not a private affair between Arab and Israeli. It is a danger to the whole world, and of legitimate concern to the whole world. And this world has both the right and the duty to protect itself against this tension getting out of hand, through the UN and the Great Powers.

The "Big Four Powers" of the United Nations Security Council (France, Soviet Union, United Kingdom and the United States of America) have agreed to initiate talks on the Middle East.

Under the United Nations Charter, U Thant said in a statement, the permanent members of the Security Council operated effectively in a crisis situation like that prevailing in the Middle East. In his view, the Council could perform its functions in the Middle East only with the involvement of the Big Powers and the co-operation of the parties directly concerned in the conflict.

This is welcome news to mankind, and with the assistance of Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Big Four Powers could bring peace and stability to the Middle East, based on the 1967 Security Council resolution.

China's Isolation

The non-admittance of communist China to the United Nations is another threat to world peace. China, which represents one-fourth of mankind, is one of the greatest civilisations of mankind. In her isolation she has become paranoid and bitter. Those who act to keep her isolated do so in fear, hate and greed ; consequently there is tremendous tension in the Far East as manifested in wars in Korea and Vietnam.

Professor Reischauer states on China : "America should be less negative and defensive. America's attempt to isolate China has cost her dearly. America should respect Chinese nationalism and pave the way for China's entry into the world and UN."

U Thant feels that narrow nationalism is one of the prime obstacles to world peace and he chastises the members of the United Nations for jealously guarding their sovereign rights to the detriment of the common good of the international community. "*It is not the Charter of the United Nations that has failed the international community,*" he said once. "*It is the international community that has failed to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter.*"

The United Nations has no sovereign status over selfish national States. To some extent it has become a debating society and is sometimes manipulated unjustly for the selfish ends of some powerful States. This is a dangerous situation when man is living in the shadow of the all-destructive Hydrogen Bomb.

Men of Peace

U Thant states that world leaders, to have an honoured place in human history, must

appear as men of peace and not as mere victors in war. This fact has been amply proved before, when the Buddhist Emperor Asoka gave up warfare after victory and was the only monarch in history to do so. H. G. Wells writes of him in his "Outline of History": "Amidst the tens and thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone—a star. From Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

Racial Conflict

The Buddha said 2512 years ago that :

No man is noble by birth

No man is ignoble by birth

Man is only noble by his own action

Man is only ignoble by his own action.

Therefore, the racial conflict in South Africa where apartheid is practised is a threat to world peace. It denies to the native black African the basic human rights. He is relegated to an inferior place due to the pigment of his skin, and in consequence fraternity, freedom and human dignity are denied to him. U Thant is deeply concerned, as the United Nations has always demanded equal justice to all humanity.

U Thant stated to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee:

"In Particular, it is a source of grave and general concern that the colonial problems affecting the southern part of South Africa have increased as much in difficulty as in gravity; they do indeed present the most serious challenge to the collective will of the United Nations to ensure the elimination of

the vestiges of colonial rule. For this is a situation where millions of dependent peoples are denied the most fundamental human rights; their desire to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination is being stifled through the use of repressive measures by the authorities concerned, who would seem to be acting in collaboration with one another and with the acquiescence and assistance of certain powers. It is my view and confident hope that the Special Committee can, by following up the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, by reviewing the situation regarding these problems, and by recommending further action as necessary for the attention of States and the competent United Nations bodies, make a constructive contribution to the application of effective solutions."

The great roles played by UN subsidiary organisations to world peace should be stressed, such as FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNICEF, indeed the whole UN Development programme. UN forces have helped to bring peace and stability to Congo and Cyprus. The United Nations needs a permanent peace and police force, to help to keep peace in troubled areas and help mankind in natural disasters.

The growing economic gap between the industrialised and developing nations has been the deep concern of U Thant and the United Nations. As prices of manufactured goods become dearer, and the prices of primary agricultural commodities fall, rich countries consequently become richer and poor lands become poorer. U Thant has at all UN economic conferences emphatically demanded a world-wide synchronised economy. The poor nation demand redress primarily in three economic fields :

- (1) Trade relations with rich lands,
- (2) Prices for primary goods,

- (3) Economic aid without strings attached.

When there is poverty in one area of the world and opulence in the other there is tension.

In the Buddha's words, if there is to be a victory, all sides have to be victorious. This is true today if we can solve all human problems, and bring peace and plenty to all mankind.

Albert Einstein, with the foresight characteristic of a genius, had this to say at the dawn of the Nuclear Age: "*The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking.*" Thus we are drifting towards a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a substantial manner of thinking if mankind is to survive, says Professor Charles Osgood of England.

A visit to the United Nations Security Council meetings would indicate that man has not changed from his primitive time. He lives today with far more fear, hate and greed.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, yearns for peace on earth and strives hard to change the thinking of mankind. But as a Buddhist he is fully aware of the difficulties that confront him in this search for peace.

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THE QUINTESSENCE OF LITERATURE*

SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

Is there any need for any literary theory? The first reaction would be to deny the same. The logic behind this denial is that theories are never perfect and they never remain unchanged. Therefore they can never serve any useful purpose. Yet a little reflection would expose the fallacy in the argument. Theories are an intellectual effort to comprehend the reality. If the reality changes as it does, theories cannot remain unchanging. On the other hand the very fact that theories do not remain static but are always willing and capable of taking into account changes in reality shows that theories can serve as an invaluable aid to a fuller understanding. Dr. Nagendra's account shows how the theories of *rasa* in Indian literature have undergone modification and a wider transformation. In as much as the nature and the content of literature have changed and literature itself has undergone a revolutionary transformation in size and diversity, it is only proper to expect literary theories to be changing much in the same manner as the scientific theories are changing in response to new knowledge gained in course of time. Theories are the preoccupation of a cultivated mind and develop as culture develops.

The danger lies in the fact that sometimes theories refuse to change even when a change is indicated by developments. The theory then becomes a dogma and tends to stifle all intellectual development. It is the phenomenon of dogmatism, which seeks to sanctify a

particular theory as a cover for the protection of some vested interest, that is to be decried and not attempt at generalization that the theories represent. We may illustrate this point from an example from Bengali literature.

Rabindranath Tagore was initially very much critical of the literary qualities of Michael Madhusudan Datta's epic poem *Meghnadbad Kavya*. Tagore made a painstaking study of the poem to make his criticism and gave copious argument in favour of his stand. Nevertheless the moment he himself came to the realization that he had not been wholly correct in his appreciation of *Meghnadbad Kavya* he never hesitated to make his point clear to all. Again and again he referred to the positive aspects of *Meghnadbad Kavya* in his various essays and addresses (I am afraid Dr. Nagendra refers to Tagore's initial criticism of *Meghnadbad Kavya* but does make no mention of Tagore's later revaluation of the epic.) In Tagore we can see a truly constructive literary critic and theoretician.

What is *rasa*? There are many definitions and Dr. Nagendra has discussed them in detail. Perhaps it would not be out of place to mention here what one of the greatest of modern poets has said on the subject. Rabindranath Tagore writes: "What is *rasa*? It is what is revealed to our hearts in one way or the other; that which is revealed only to our mind is not *rasa*. But is every *rasa* relevant in literature? I do not think so. The happiness that is generated by a sumptuous meal is not matched in its widespread appeal to mankind by any other *rasa*; it reigns supreme over the young and the old alike. Yet the pleasure of the gratification of the palate has made itself a laugh-

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ing stock in literature by clinging to the courtiers. The majesty of this rasa is not to be found in lyrical poetry, it is frowned upon in the society of epics. Yet a secret investigation would not disclose even the enemy of poets as saying that the poets are inept in the art of eating or are in any way averse to the pleasure to be derived from a good meal. There is a reason. The pleasure of eating almost exhausts itself in the process of filling the stomach. Nothing much of it is left afterwards, The rasa that does not spill over (after serving its immediate purpose—SCS.) never experiences the eagerness to express itself. The rain that is wholly absorbed by the earth can never flow as a current. For this reason the sufficiency of rasa does not make a literature ; it is the overflowing of the rasa that creates the literature.....The rasa that seeks an outward expression after meeting all the general needs of mankind is the rasa of literature. What is more than is needed is called wealth. Literature is the wealth of the human heart“(From the article “Sahitya sammilan” (Literary gathering) written in Falgun 1331 BS—over sixtyfour years ago. Translated from the original Bengali by the present reviewer).

A study of the evaluation of the theories of literature may reveal the evolution of the human mind and understanding, as a study of the history of science or philosophy does. From this point of view, Dr. Nagendra's *Rasa Siddhanta*, originally written in Hindi, is a major intellectual work. I advisedly use the word “intellectual” ; for here we see an example of creative scholarship. The author has used his vast knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindi literatures to illuminate rather than to obfuscate. For a Bengali with a smattering of knowledge of the Hindi language, like the present reviewer, Dr. Nagendra possesses an excellent style which facilitates understanding

of a very complex subject. Indeed I am very biased in favour of such genuinely critical writing which—alas !—few of our modern academicians are capable of, or even interested in, producing. While going through Dr. Nagendra's volume I am again and again struck by the similarity of some of the ideas—particularly with reference to the evaluation of Rama in the Ramayana—of Dr. Nagendra with those of Tagore, who died nearly a quarter of century before *Rasa Siddhanta* was published. I wish in particular to refer to Tagore's article entitled *Sahitya Shrishti* (creation of Literature) written in 1314 B. S. sixtythree years ago. Of course Tagore's ideas are spread over many articles written earlier than 1314 BS and after that time as well. But Dr. Nagendra, having started with the purpose of writing a treatise on the subject, is more thorough and comprehensive in his treatment of the subject. Dr. Nagendra's conclusion is that so long as literary creation can never transcend the bounds of humanism (whatever form it may take from age to age) *Rasa Siddhanta* i. e. the theory of literature is bound to remain relevant and necessary. There would be general agreement with this observation of Dr. Nagendra, although the particular *Siddhanta* that one may adopt may differ from the one adopted by another.

The translation of Dr. Nagendra's work into Bengali is an event of some importance. Every year a number of translations appear in Bengali. But not every year is the Bengali literature enriched by the addition of such a major intellectual work. I suppose there is a need for observing some caution in translating books. While a rich literature like English can afford to be careless about what is being translated, since there would be in all probability one or more books on the subject to which the translated work may relate, the

same degree of carelessness exhibited by translators in a literature which is not as well developed as English may cause great harm. For, following the law that a person would generally prefer to read first the books available in his own mother tongue, the members of a literature may be tremendously influenced by a translation of a book which may be dealing with a theme which has not been dealt with before in that literature. Therefore if a wrong book is selected for translation it can do incalculable harm which it could not do in its original literature where it might be competing for public favour with a dozen or a score of other books on the subject. At the moment when the craving for knowledge is great and when the desire of a few to dominate over others is very acute a translation of a wrong kind of book can do great harm. Viewed thus the translation of Dr. Nagendra's very scholarly and illuminating book would be widely hailed for its solidity and sagacity.

The translation is an excellent one. It is difficult for those who have never undertaken a translation to imagine what are the dangerous pitfalls with which a translator has to contend. We see persons committing grave errors even in translating a novel which, after all, never contains many sentences with complex ideas. But a work of theory is nothing, if not full of complexity of ideas. Properly so, because theory helps us to refine and

sharpen our intellect. While it is not even easy to commit to memory the theories it is less easier to translate the same into a language in which there have not been written many books on the subject. Considering all the factors, Dr. Indranath Chowdhury, the young translator of this volume, calls for our unstinted praise and admiration. We should hope that he would contribute further to the Bengali appreciation of the highly dynamic and fast growing Hindi literature by translating many such works of merit from Hindi into Bengali.

A book becomes meaningless unless it can find readers. And the difficulties of an author to find readers—particularly of works of serious criticism—are legion. They are not so much due to the fact that there are not good readers—undoubtedly they are there—as due to the difficulties of finding a publisher capable of, and willing to publish the book and arrange for its proper distribution: Few publishers in this country have an idea of designing publication to suit a particular book. There is a wide difference in the readership of a novel and a serious work of criticism. The two publications deserve two different treatments from the publishers. Hopefully enough in Mr. Mohit Mohan Bose of Bharati Bhavan, Patna we seem to have such a perceptive publisher in Patna. Speaker after speaker was praising him the other day when the translation of the book was presented to Dr. Nagendra at a function in Patna,

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Termez

It was early December and a bit cold, but we were warmly clad. After I had accompanied Dr. Noor Mahammad and he lay down for rest in one of the two rooms on the ground floor, which had been rented for us, I started out for a little walk in the streets. Maulana Obeidulla was already back in the room, after loitering in the streets lighted by electricity for a while. The brick built houses, mostly one storied, and the numerous tea-shops well lighted with crowds of people sitting there and drinking rounds and rounds of green tea and gossiping endlessly, were sights which must have reminded Maulana of Delhi and Lahore, which he had left long eight years back in 1914. Termez was a small town of 10 to 15 thousand only, but it compared favourably with Kabul, as brick-built houses and shops were rare in Kabul.

Tea Shop

I went out with two of the youngsters who had accompanied the Maulana and they volunteered to act as my guides as they had come to the town about an hour before me, after getting down from the ferry boat, when I was waiting at the river bank with Dr. Noor Md., suffering from colic pain. We entered into a small shop, where Maulana had also taken tea and snacks. It was crowded with people sitting on chairs and benches, with their tea-pots and cups on the table. We found a place in a corner and ordered tea and snacks. There was no difficulty in talking, with the youthful shop assistants who spoke a dialect of Persian which I could understand and also Urdu. The people in the shop, the tea

drinkers spoke in Persian and I could follow their conversation. The dresses were of the same type as in Afghanistan with loose shalwars, shirts and turbans. They seemed to be better dressed, at least more clean, than in shops in Kabul or Mazar-i-Sharif. The attending boys were cleanly dressed. We spent some time in the shop, watching people and nobody seemed to be in a hurry to go home. Tea etc. were properly and promptly served, but we took them leisurely. We were talking in Urdu or Hindusthani, but that did not attract anybody's attention, at least nobody showed much curiosity to enquire who we were etc. Termez being an International Traders Town on the frontier, they were naturally accustomed to see people of many countries including India frequent these shops.

I Become Multi Millionaire !

When we asked for the price at the time of payment, we were astounded by the demand of some astronomical figures-a few millions ! We had Afghan Silver coins, which they accepted gladly and gave as change fifteen or twenty million roubles of paper money. The price was reasonable. By paying a Kabuli rupee, I became a millionaire immediately in Soviet Land, where they had liquidated all millionaires mercilessly. A cup of tea cost 2 million roubles and an egg ten millions. Fantastic ! We went back after a little stroll in the streets. I reported to Maulana that I had become a Millionaire ! He usually did not handle any money. His nephew or some one else used to do it. I showed him a few million rouble paper bills. They were dirty by much use and also crumpled by careless handling. I opened up one and unfolded it and showed

Moulana, 1 Rouble followed by six Zeroes. The rest was printed in Russian and I could not understand what was printed on it. I presented a ten million Rouble bill to Maulana and transformed him also to a multi-millionaire! He was amused but he knew about this development from the news papers, he had read. I had also read about it but reading was one thing and to have in your pocket ten million or a crore of Rouble Bills was quite another sensation.

Inflation

Soviet Russia had no gold backing for the Rouble (about a rupee & a half), but to meet the expenses, specially of the War, they went on printing Rouble Bills and naturally there was inflation and the price of the Rouble fell continually and precipitously. It had started even when the Czar was on the throne and continued, throughout the Kerensky period, and price of the paper rouble was about one-tenth of the Silver rouble at the time of October Revolution. But during the next five years, the fall in the price of paper Rouble was about a million times! Fantastic. It is said that Lenin once said in joke that in Soviet Russia, not only every body had become a millionaire, but even a multi-millionaire and billionaire. He also advised that as Zeroes had no value the Zeroes after the numeral 1, could be cut out and this was done afterwards. Instead of million rouble bills, they were printed as one rouble bills. Thus the prices stabilised at a million times the original price.

German experience

It was not in Soviet land alone that inflation became a nightmare, but in post war Germany, it was much worse. There the inflation was a billion times, compared to million times in the Soviets. From monthly wages, they changed over to weekly wages and then to daily wages also, even then the workers

suffered, as the prices in the morning and evening, were often two or three times more. Ultimately, they had to revert to "Commodity wages". From Germany, I had sent a Mark Bill of two billion Marks to my wife, which was then worth only two pice or a cup of tea. But if the Mark ever got back its original price, it would be worth 2000 crores of rupees. Astronomical figure! I explained to my wife, that if our family lived as economically, as my parents used to do, this sum would last our family for a million years, if of course the prices remained stable. Prices of Mark continued to fall and ultimately Germany knocked out ten zeroes from the Mark Bill, following what Lenin had done to the Rouble Bills by wiping out six Zeroes.

Black Bread

When we came back to the Flat, we found that neither the food nor the bed was ready. I unrolled my bedding, tied tightly by a rope. Hold-alls were not very common in those days. But my bedding, tied round with a Satrinchi, was in fact a hold-all, though not in name. I had all my articles of daily use, like towels, clothes, shaving set etc in the bedding. I tried to open up the bedding, in the room where Maulana and other elders were to sleep. I was not accustomed to make my bed, at least for months that I had been in Kabul and weeks, we were en route to Termez. The servants used to do it., but they were on the other side of the river Oxus and preparing to go back to Kabul. This service, we used to take for granted. But now I tried to help myself. One of the youngsters came forward to help me, but I declined the help at first, but on the insistence of the Moulana, I had to take the help.

We were sitting on our beds and I was comparing notes with the Moulana. We started talking of our first impressions. We were generally agreed on our first impressions

and they were good. The clean roads, brick-built houses, tea-shops and restaurants with electric lights, the clean dwelling houses, etc. gave a good impression of the town, which was after all only a small frontier town, having its main importance, due to the ferry service, with Afghanistan.

But when food was ready and served, both of us changed our opinion, very considerably. Food consisted of a meat soup, in which there was very little meat, black-bread and some boiled vegetables, with some fruits. It was a typical European meal of three courses, meant for the workers or poorer section of the people. We had been accustomed to rich Eastern food in Kabul and during the journey also. Whatever might have been the other hardships, the quality and quantity of food was quite good and above the ordinary, generally cooked by our own servants, who were well acquainted with our tastes. But the food served in Termez was quite new. We could manage the soup and vegetables anyhow, but the black-bread defied all of us. We had heard of the distasteful and uninviting black-bread, but we could never imagine that it was so very bad. Others revolted and refused to take it. Only Moulana, Ahmad Hossain and myself, bravely tried to tackle the slices of black-bread served to us. Moulana usually did not take much food and Ahmad Hossain had previous taste of it and had anyhow to make a brave show of eating the food of Russia, his newly acquired Father Land. The bread looked uninviting, though not quite black. It was deep brown, which to the white Europeans looked black. It smelt sour and tasted more sour. They are baked into solid cubes about 1 square foot with six inches thickness. The hard black crust was very difficult to cut through. It weighed also at least four times more than the baked bread we were accustomed to in India and Kabul.

The owner of the house was also to give us food and he gave quite a basketful of black-bread in thick slices. I managed to gulp down the bread with the soup, showing no outward sign of displeasure or repulsion. But at least three fourths of the slices given for our consumption, remained untouched in the basket or half-eaten on the plates. The arrangement for food with the owner of the flat had been made in haste. Immediately after the meals, unanimous decision was taken to change this arrangement and take our meals in the Restaurants or eating houses. There also, the black-bread was unavoidable, as no White-bread was available any where there. But we could get rice preparations as fried rice or biriani or Pillaow though at a much heavier price. These are common amongst the Muslim population, all along the line, from Calcutta to Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar, Kabul, Termez, Bukhara, Tashkend and even in Moscow and beyond. Along with Haluwa, Pillaow of some kind was the symbol of cultural conquest of the East. However, these were thoughts and plans for the morrow. All of us went to bed, half-hungry and naturally not in the best of moods.

Two First Nights

Lying on the bed, where I tried to sleep with half empty stomach, sleep eluded me. It was unusual. After my supper, I generally fall asleep in two or three minutes. People say mischievously that I am already half asleep, when I am half through the supper. That night I had a bit of retrospection. I was comparing my first night in Afghanistan and also in Soviet Land in Termez. Both were unpleasant to a degree. At Dokka the first night halt in Afghanistan, everything went on very well. Both Moqbul and myself were accorded a very warm welcome by the Commander of Dokka. We were given tea and fruits also. But after we returned to the Caravan-sarai,

a fierce dust—storm overwhelmed us for hours. After it subsided, I could not find any food easily and took some bread with tea and lay down to sleep, with half empty stomach. It was a natural upsurge and I had to put up with it. I consoled myself with the thought that the atmosphere of Independent Afghanistan, perhaps tried to test my endurance and determination and see whether I was tough enough to live there. This also reminded me of the old practice in Sparta, to leave the new-born child on a hill for two three days, to test the stamina of the child.

But in the case of Termez, there was no such consolation. This was all man-made or comrade-made. The arrangements were made in a hurry. Otherwise we could have taken our accustomed meals in the Eating houses, perhaps at a higher cost. The New Economic Policy, which threw us to our own resources, might have been responsible partly to this hasty but cheaper arrangement.

Contrast with Previous Receptions

There was another very solid and strong reason for our disappointment. Two members of our group had been to Soviet Land before with the Mahajareens. They had been given grand receptions, with garlands, bands and gun salutes, describing them as Indian Liberation Army. But they were ordinary religious refugees or Mahajareens. We had heard of several other reports of the same kind of reception to Indian Mahajareens. Naturally, we had expected a much better Reception, than we actually received. It was also quite different from what we had received from the Russian Embassy at Kabul or even at the Russian Consulate in Mazar-I-Shareef. We were real Indian Revolutionaries, fighting for the Liberation of India and moreover, we were Fraternal Delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Third Communist Internation-

al where Communist luminaries from all over the world, dominated by the German Communist Party, which was the 'second biggest in the World, the first, was of course, the Russian Communist Party. On the top of all these, Moulana Obeidulla was the Home Minister and the De Facto Prime Minister of the First Provisional Government of India, headed by Raja Mahendra Pratap. Moulana's name and fame had spread throughout the world as the author of the famous Silk Letter Conspiracy Case and other Conspiracies with Germany and Turkey and then Russia. All these and the high hopes raised by Ahmad Hossain, about our, specially of Moulana's reception in Soviet land, all fell to the ground. We were treated like any other caravan coming from Afghanistan for personal trade or commerce. (Our big and numerous Channandans or Sanduks another name for big boxes) might have led the people to suspect us as such. In any case it was quite inexplicable to me and shapes of things to come, worried me and others also. Some had spoken out and Moulana kept a smiling face outwardly, but his worry must have been the worst. It was like a leap in the dark, on the glowing assurances of Ahmad Hossain, the only real link with Soviet Russia. He tried to explain, that information about Moulana's coming to Soviet land, had not somehow reached the Customs and other Officials of Soviets in Termez. Moreover, it was late evening and the responsible Officials could not be contacted. However, we expected, better treatment next day, and suppressed our disillusionment as best as we could. The net result was that the First night in Soviet Land was indeed, tormenting, physically, but much more so mentally. What had actually happened, whether it was due to the New Economic Policy or some one had bungled, I never knew up to the end.

Sikh Receptionist

On behalf of the Soviet, only a Sikh comrade had come to welcome us. He was in Red Army Uniform. He had no beard or moustache, nor long hair. But he had his Kara or iron bangle and his medium sized Kripan or sword, dangling by his side. He was coarse in his behaviour and was more amusing to us than helpful. His antecedents, he did not disclose and we thought it prudent, not to ask many questions about him. He tried to show his authority by shouting slang abuses in Russian and Persian. He used one expression "Shalta, Balta" very profusely, but I never could know the meaning, either from him or from anybody else. It was neither Persian nor Russian and was perhaps coined by himself. Anyhow, his Khichuri language of Punjabi and Urdu, was very helpful to me at least.

First Dawn in Soviet Land

As is usual with me, I got up at about 4 a. m. though, I had slept very late, quite refreshed by a few hours of sleep. I went to the Lavatory and I was agreeably surprised to find that the Lavatory, was of flush system. It was a real improvement to the Kabul system, not to speak of easing oneself in the fields, as is still prevalent in lakhs of villages in India, Afghanistan and also in Eastern Russia. It was some consolation to find signs of modernisation, at least starting from the Lavatory. I went out alone for a walk. The others were still fast asleep; even the Moulana who usually got up early was delayed that day, to say his morning prayers at Dawn. It was a little unusual. I was keen to have a second look at the town of Termez, the first piece of Soviet Land I was destined to see. The look at night was, under adverse circumstances of strain of both body and mind.

The the-shops were already open and I had two full cups of tea, in rapid succession and

some snacks, spending a few more million roubles (paper). The shops were yet mostly empty. Even the young shop assistants were not all, fully awake. However, I felt quite refreshed and in very good spirits. The morning walk in the crisp December dawn, after two cups of steaming tea, made me more fresh. With the rising of the Sun, I felt still more fresh and buoyant in spirit and the gloom of the "first night" completely vanished and I was ready to face any adventure with patience and determination. The town looked more clean and inviting. The chirping of birds, was welcome and even the cawing of crows, did not seem very jarring. I kept to the main streets or Bazar, avoiding the lanes and by-lanes. The rows of brick-built houses, mostly one-storeyed seemed to be more properly arranged than it appeared the previous night. Most of the houses were brick houses, white washed and with good doors and windows. The dress of the people was just the same as in Afghanistan, on the other side of the Oxus. If not told, one would not know that one was from ancient Afghanistan and the other was from modern Soviet Land.

After an hour or so, I returned and found Moulana up and ready, but some of the youngsters were still in their beds.

We had tea in the shop near by and also boiled eggs, Shami kababs and biscuits (avoiding black-bread, which was as dreadful yet, as imaginable) and had a good breakfast. It was actually my second, the first one was by myself and a light one. After breakfast, we all went out. Ahmad Hossain and Jaffar Hossain to contact the Soviet authorities to make arrangements for our journey to Moscow and to make a little better arrangements for our stay in Termez. Moulana, Sadai, the School teacher and myself formed the elderly group and went out in one direction. The younger ones, went out in another direction, to

see the town. We advised them to find out the condition of the Railway and River transport, for we knew that both these forms of travel were available before the Revolution. Dr. Noor Md had fully recovered from the colic pain, under his own treatment, assisted by my injection (?) possibly. But he remained in the Flat for taking complete rest.

We went out and walked at random, but we were interested in seeing, the market place, as also the office of the Soviet Govt. Police out post, Office of the Communist Party etc. and specially the Ferry station, where we had landed, the evening before. We found some of them, but cannot remember any of them, as they were nothing extra-ordinary, and what struck me most was that there were few Russians around. But the Port or the Ferry Station impressed me much. There were a large number of boats, mostly open boats. There was also the Steamer Ghat and the Office, but no sign of any Steamer. We learnt that the Steamers did come and passengers embarked and disembarked, but they were very, very irregular. Sometimes no steamer, either up or down, came for days or weeks and then two or three steamers come one after the other in a day or two.

Russian Fishermen

But the most interesting sight for me and others, was a large number of Fishermen, about one third of whom were Russians, numbering about two dozens or more. They were mostly old with grey beard, with wrinkled brow and skin on their half bare bodies, their milk-white slav skin turned by Sun's rays to deep red or even copper hue. They had been plying this trade for generations and were expert fishermen with long experience and also with better nets equipment etc. they used to make a good living there. While most of the Russians had left Termez, they continued to

stay and ply their hereditary trade of fishing in the Oxus. Some of the boats were catching fish in the river, while the others were anchored at the Port, drying and repairing their nets. Their womenfolk also tanned like the men, came to take the catches of fish home or to the market. A few children, still milk-white in complexion also accompanied their mothers to the boats of the Russian Fishermen. Their chubby faces and blond hair, made a cheering contrast to the other children assembled there. In Termez, rarely any Russian was left, except these fishermen, who decided to stay on after the Revolution, for they thought, they could not make anywhere else, as good a living as they were making there. They were mixing freely with the non-white fishermen and one could not find any difference between the two sets, except their complexion and better physique. No other Russians were visible anywhere in Termez, except the Fishermen and their families. I wondered, how long they themselves could manage to continue to stay there and ply their trade. We read in the newspapers, that the Termez Port has been lately developed into a very big and up-to-date Port, able to handle huge quantities of merchandise and also Motor Cars and heavy Motor Trucks and big machinery with the help of powerful cranes. We tried to buy some fish from the fishermen at the Port, but these were not available. The Port was a good one and much used. The landing place, shifts, up or down, due to the change of seasons. I wondered, why we were left, last evening, in an out of the place, an isolated corner, which also had caused much of my depression. We could see the Afghan shore and the houses and trees, across the Oxus, where we had our tea etc. served by our own servants, only about 12 hours back. I do not think, anyone of us cast any wistful look behind to Afghanistan, even the Moulana, inspite

of all our difficulties and disillusionments. We had our lunch in eating houses, according to our choice and retired at noon to our residence to find out whether there was any news for our journey onwards. There was none. We learnt that, urgent messages had been sent to Bukhara and Moscow about our predicament and no news was expected, at least for 24 hours more. We decided to stay for another full day at Termez. We learnt also that Railway travel was out of question. The Ry. Station was there no doubt, but only the shed and that also in a battered condition. No rolling stock and even the Ry. lines were torn out and thrown helter skelter. Each retreating army, either of Revolution or Counter Revolution, destroys the Rys., so that advancing army following them, may get the least help of the Rys. to follow them. It is the time-old practice and also good common sense. For miles there was no trace of the Ry. lines even. Repairs had started from Tashkend southwards, but were still far away from Bukhara itself, about 150 kilometers off.

For three nights we lived in Termez. Amongst the orthodox Hindus, there is a belief that one must live at least for three nights in a religious place to get the full effect of the pilgrimage. We stayed in Termez for three nights and two full days, not for getting the full effect of the pilgrimage in Soviet Land Termez, but circumstances, so conspired that we had to stay there for that period, to get a final reply from Bokhara. But as no reply came either from Bokhara (or Moscow), we decided to proceed to Bokhara and find for ourselves, what the position was.

Communism in Termez

We had spent about 60 hours in Termez and naturally, I wished to see for myself, how Communism functioned and how the Soviet system differed from Capitalist system, which

operated in India and Afghanistan. I could not see any difference at all, nor could Ahmad Hossain show me or Moulana any difference whatsoever. The mode of living and attitude to life were absolutely the same, as in other countries, we knew. We found, the same cut-throat competition, the same master and servant relation, the same shameless exploitation of young tea-shop boys, some of whom were mere children under 10 or even 8 years, working 14 to 16 hours a day. It was exactly the same as in India or Afghanistan.

We could not see any signs of Communes or Communistic living anywhere. The few Communes, which had been started under War Communism in the hey-day of Communist expansion had been dissolved on the advent of New Economic Policy. There was very little expression of Communist Theory or Practice in Termez in those days of Communist transformation or confusion. Unless one was told that he was living in Soviet Land, he would not know it at all, as there was not the least difference with the Capitalist land. It was the same story, when eating in the hotels or making purchases in the market. It was also a sad disappointment for me, as I had expected something different, a spirit of comradeship, common living, may be even of a poorer standard, but these were non-existent, at least I could not discern anything in that line. Our difficulty was further aggravated, as we could not ask these questions to anybody except Ahmad Hossain, who was our Friend, Philosopher and Guide in the Communist World. He was indeed a good and brave fighter, but did not seem to know much about Communist Theory or Practice. Moreover, he was most of the time out to try to make arrangements for our journey to Moscow. Putting inconvenient questions to anyone else, not belonging to our group, might lead to suspicion, and might be worse,



in the form of arrest etc. Ahmad Hossain would say, please wait, till we go to Moscow, where all questions could be discussed freely. He only pointed out that at Termez it was not a real Soviet. It was only a National Soviet under Faijulla Khoja, who had only driven away the Ameer of Bokhara with the help of the Red Army. The economic changes, as redistribution of land to the landless or land-poor peasants, living wage to the workers, work or relief to the unemployed, house to the homeless etc. would come in due course. Bokhara was after all a poor country, with primitive agriculture and cottage industries, with no heavy industry at all. People must wait for big results. This was like—"you will eat the pie, in the sky, when you die" kind of stuff. But I was however, pleasantly surprised to learn that there was no Russians bossing over the Uzbeks and they were free to read or write in their own language, Persian which had been taboo, under the Czars. The proportion of the highest and lowest pay had been reduced to ten to one, from hundred or more to one. This was a substantial achievement, but it meant really, sharing the poverty. Still it was a grand achievement. But I had been dreaming of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, specially in the economic sphere. Hence I was disappointed to a degree. It was much more painful, than the cold reception given to us, specially to the Moulana. However, I kept my queries in my mind, to be used for clarification, till I found some one who could satisfy me.

Journey by Boat

As the journey by Railway or Steamer was ruled out, we decided to proceed towards Bokhara by boat. The plan was to go by boat to Kirki Fort and from there to Kirshi by hackney carriage. We learnt that, we might get Railways to travel from there, to Bokhara. The Railway had been repaired

up to that point, about 30 or 40 kilometres from Bokhara. The other roads were not safe due to the inroads of the Basmachis or Turkoman Religious rebels against the Soviet State.

We had hired an open boat, with a very small shed as an apology, which could give shelter to barely two or three persons, from the Sun's rays. It did not rain there usually, in winter. Our luggage was brought by porters and placed in the boat. We also got in and the boat started early in the morning. There were four oarsmen and a helmsman. All were Turkomans or Uzbeks, as the Republic was called Uzbek Republic. In Bengali, a fool is called an Uzbuk. I do not know, whether there is any relation, between these two words. At least the Uzbeks are no fools, by any standard. The owner of the house who had lent his flat to us was an extra-ordinarily clever man.

An Oarsman Myself

I felt quite at home in the boat, which started early in the morning, after our heavy breakfast, which was to see us through to lunch. We took some provisions, including black-bread, from which there was no escape, as white-bread was not available in the market. We were going down the stream of Oxus or Amu Daria, which pours herself into the Aral Sea. It is really a lake, but because of its huge area, it is called Aral Sea, by courtesy. From the boat, we could see Soviet Uzbekistan on one side and Afghanistan on the other. We had been following the river Oxus, from its very source in the Hindukush. The river is not very deep there and the boat, followed the main stream, which was some times on the Soviet side or Soviet waters and some times on the Afghan side or Afghan waters. When the boat went on one side, we could see clearly the villages and the villagers carrying on their agricultural

occupation or grazing the sheep. There was absolutely no difference in their appearance, dress or activities, on either bank. The river is no doubt a natural boundary, but the different demarkation of the countries was absolutely arbitrary, but it is bound to remain, till we have created "One World".

After we left the Port and town of Termez, I had a childish desire to outline others as an oarsman, as I had shown my agility as a mountain climber, while crossing the Ifindiknsh. I requested one of the elderly oarsmen to hand over the oar to me, so that he could take a little rest. He was rather reluctant to do so, fearing, I might fall overboard. But when I insisted, I was allowed a trial. I immediately showed, that I was no novice and I was allowed to ply the oar, which I did in absolute unison or rhythm with the other oarsmen. Moulana, was a little apprehensive, but finding me an expert, watched my performance with evident delight. I had learnt to handle a boat, while very young, in my East Bengal home in Khulna. I had kept up the habit, even when I was a student in Calcutta University, by becoming a member of the rowing Section of the University Institute, in College Square. I knew swimming also very well and had actually crossed the Ganges at Chinsurah, while a student of Mohosin College, Hooghly. I found, however, I could not continue to row for more than an hour at a single stretch. I induced the youngsters in the group to try their hand and they also managed the oar fairly well, with an occasional, misfire, causing mirth to all others.

Night Guard

The whole day the boat plied forward either on oars or on sail. Our lunch as that of the oarsmen was managed on the boat, without stopping. The water of the Oxus was our inexhaustible source of drink. In the evening

our boat anchored at a market place or gunj, along with many other boats. It was for the sake of safety and security. Pirates from both sides of the river, could attack and take away the boat itself with all the goods or luggage, sometimes in connivance of the oarsmen themselves. We had four powerful revolvers, and four of us guarded the boat by turn, two from the boat and two from the shore. Lying on the shore was also dangerous. A river, usually and naturally, breaks the bank on one side and builds up on the other. If the bed was spread on the breaking bank, it might collapse, entombing the bed and the occupant under several feet of earth and sand. This would be not a very welcome experience, which might prove even fatal. There was the other danger. The Russian bears frequent these regions, and if some of them found a human being encroaching upon their hereditary habitat, they could be very nasty and dangerous too. Keeping night watches was an extra precaution but fortunately, nothing untoward happened.

Village Market

For two days, we plied between Afghanistan and Soviet Uzbekistan. On our way we found a village market, on the Soviet side. It is the same practice as we have in Indian villages, where weekly bazars are held. Out of curiosity, we anchored and went up to the market. We were relieved to find that about four or five Red Army men in Uniform had come to guard the market, where a few hundred people had gathered, both males and females in Borkha busy making purchases. We were told that people from five or six miles distance come for marketing there every week. Even some from the other side of the river, i.e. from Afghanistan also come for marketing there. How they managed the passport problem was anybody's guess. We bought some fruits, eggs etc and found them very cheap compared

to the prices in the usual markets. These weekly or bi-weekly markets had been also stopped, under War Communism, but they were thriving again under the New Economic Policy.

The Sacred Thread Thrown into the Oxus.

When I left India, I had the so-called sacred thread on my shoulder and I still had it when I was travelling by boat in the Oxus. I was not superstitious; in fact when I studied science I had become an agnostic, but the thread continued to be on my shoulder. While in the boat on the Oxus, a brain wave came to me. The Aryans, my ancestors, are believed to have come to Bengal originally from these regions of Central Asia and they had carried the system of wearing the Sacred thread, from these regions with them, wherever they went. Why carry the senseless thing still further and why not consign the same into the region, whence it was brought. I was in Soviet land (rather in Soviet waters) and I decided to consign my Sacred thread to the Oxus and I did so in the name of my forefathers. In Soviet land, deluged by Materialistic Philosophy, any artificial sign of difference between man and man, would be an anomaly, if not an ideosyncrasy. Hence the sacred thread went down the turbid and turbulent waters of the Oxus, floating for some time and then sank. One mere superstition discarded, I reflected.

Hunger is the Best Sauce

This is an age-old proverb, which we re-discovered in this boat trip on the Oxus. We used to stay at night in a Bazar or Gunj, take our meals there in a leisurely manner and also buy our provisions for the next day. One day

the men in charge forgot to buy the food. Next day the boat started early, before the shops opened. Boat journey is always pleasant in the morning. At about noon, the mistake was noticed and there was no edible in the boat. Somehow, Dr. Noor. Md, felt particularly hungry at lunch time. He searched for something to eat, but not a morsel of the condemned black bread even, was in the boat. He searched the bread-bag and collected a few crumbs of stone like crusts of black-bread. He collected some of them in a cup and soaked them in Oxus water, and started eating the same with a pinch of salt, which was fortunately available in the boat. He took it with great relish too. He asked others also to taste it, but none agreed to do so. Ultimately finding him forsaken and forlorn, I joined him, saying "Hunger is after all the best Sauce" Dr. Noor. Md., was usually the most fastidious about the taste of food, but this day was an exception.

Test of Communism

The river Oxus was full of shoals and the boat would often get caught in the sandy shoals and would not move. Oars failed and the long poles failed to extricate the boat. The oarsmen would jump into the cold water even in the dark and push the boat out of the shoal. I noticed it several times and asked Ahmad H ssain, what would happen, if the boat belonged to the State and not to the boatmen. They would rightly report, that the boat could not be extricated and was left at such and such place. He fumbled some reply, but did not convince any of us. I know the full and convincing answer now, but at that time I was a very hard critic and this simple problem which proved a stumbling block to my accepting Socialism or Communism.

Current Affairs

The Rolls-Royce Muddle

Mr. Edward Heath, Prime Minister of Great Britain does not appear to be as great an economic wizard, as he promised time and again that he would be. The trouble over maintaining the Rolls-Royce organisation in sound health, and without obtaining urgent financial blood-transfusions from the United States of America, has shown up the failure of the new conservative government of Great Britain to really do something about anything that badly needs to be done. Lockheeds apparently were ordering many engines from Rolls-Royce which according to British experts would cost about four times as much as it would bring in dollars from America. It was therefore not considered to be a very profitable arrangement. Lockheeds thought American concerns were in a position to build the required engines at about 1/4 the price that Rolls-Royce asked for. Worker's wages being much higher in the USA and other expenses too being, generally speaking, higher; this seems somewhat like propaganda. Moreover, if Rolls-Royce could sell engines to the USA before this, they must have done so in the face of American competition. Why, have they now become incapable of selling excepting at a 400% higher price compared to the price quoted by American competitors? There is something seriously wrong with the state of Great Britain. What is it? Not Mr. Heath we hope.

Polish Workers Becoming Dictators

Communism always asserts that communist states are ruled dictatorially by Workers,

Soldiers and Peasants. In fact communist states are ruled by the communist parties of different states and the workers, soldiers and peasants have little to do with the governance of the states. The communist parties, being single parties, without any competitors, their power is quite tyrannical. This had been the political order in all countries in which dictatorship of the proletariat prevailed; but, of late some countries had tried to break this tyranny and to introduce some public opinion into governmental plans or policies; but without much success. The first country which tried this was Hungary. Russian tanks, however, soon suppressed the Hungarian people and reestablished the tyranny of the communist party of Hungary. When Czechoslovakia tried to modify political methods and habits, the aforementioned tanks appeared in the streets of Prague and public opinion had to yield to the armed might of the Warsaw powers. But now the challenge has reared its head in Warsaw itself. Gomulka the ex-Prime Minister of Poland had to resign, because the workers of certain Polish cities started bread riots on account of the rising price of consumer goods. Gierek (Edward) the new head of the state, is or has been a labour leader. People say he instigated the campaign against Gomulka. But after the overthrow of Gomulka, Gierek did not try to give more power to the workers. The tyranny of the party was maintained in full force. Gierek made use of the workers to get rid of Gomulka; but not to establish a worker's *raj* in Poland. He wanted to be the head of the communist party of Poland

which ruled the country absolutely unopposed in an tyrannically despotic manner. The workers wanted higher wages and cheaper prices. They continued their agitation even after the resignation of Gomulka and Gierek tried to suppress them by force. He offered higher wages to the lowest paid labourers ; but the higher paid workers wanted their wages to be increased too. So, the situation remained unsettled and, although Gierek made scape-goat of one or two ministers, that did not appease the workers. The circumstances are therefore full of possibilities. Whether Russian tanks will appear in the streets of, Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin is anybody's guess. There are workers' organisations in Szczecin and Gdansk which had never been known to have been formed in the Iron curtain countries during their period of communist existence. If workers are allowed to express their opinion freely and fully, very soon all people will demand the same rights. And that will be the worst type of revision of the communist Absolutism.

West Bengal Politics

When the 14 party United Front ruled in West Bengal their solidarity was broken by want of rigid attachment to political principles and by changes in loyalties as expressed through floor crossings in the Assembly. To-day the number of parties which have any strength is not so many and no party has as yet begun to forsake their old associates. But the two groups, the Congress and the Communist Marxists, have not yet been able to come to any settlement with their supporting teams, so that neither of the groups have been able to form a government. The Congress (R), supported by the CPI, the Bangla Congress, the Congress (O), the Gurkha League, the Muslim League and other parties appears to be in a strong enough position to form a government. They will most probably do so

within a few days with Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee as the Chief Minister. They will, however have too many parties supporting them and will suffer from the natural weakness that develops when there are too many contributors to a vague and indefinite program of national progress. Sm. Indira has declared war on poverty. The West Bengal government too will take part in this war. Whenever there is a war one tries to discover and precisely locate the enemy. Sm. Indira's camp will naturally name some enemies and launch attacks on them. Will there be full agreement among the attackers as to the identity of the enemies ? Is there any chance that an enemy named by the Congress camp may be called a friend by the CPI or the Muslim League ? If some such thing happens will there not be a possibility of a breach ? Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee is a great puritan and a seeker after ethical solutions to all problems. There are people in the Congress who are known to be not so strictly and ardently attached to the moral aspect of things. How will that affect the solidarity of the United Front that the Congress will build in West Bengal ?

Then there is the question of the Communist Marxists continuing with their "revolution" or "guerrilla warfare" as they like to call their program of violence against party opponents. Will the new government take proper action against those who instigate murders and murderous assaults ? If they do not, what will be the image of the government before the public ? If they do, will they not be making martyrs of persons who do not deserve any such distinction ? These are matters which require careful and mature thinking. For, propaganda for or against a government, help greatly to establish or depose the people who form a ruling body. The Governor of West Bengal, under President's rule, has been rather lenient with those who

have carried lawlessness to greater heights than ever before ; and the backlash of that generosity of outlook will have to be suffered by those who will now try to reestablish law and order in this state.

British Help West Pakistanis

The British base of Gan in the Maldives is allowing Pakistani military aircraft to land and refuel there and proceed on to Dacca. In this way West Pakistani soldiers, armament and supplies are reaching the Martial Law administrators who are trying to suppress the Awami League freedom movement led by Sheikh Mujibar Rehman. It is well known to the British that the Awami League not only obtained a near cent per cent majority in the elections recently held in Pakistan ; but they have an absolute majority among all Pakistanis too. In the circumstances Yahya Khan's attempt to deny democratic rights of self-government to the people of Pakistan by setting up a military government is politically uncivilised, despotic, anti-national and destructive of all accepted ideas of human rights. The British cannot, therefore assist Yahya Khan in his act of brigandage without lowering themselves in the eye of world humanity.

The Indians and the Ceylonese have tried to make it difficult for the Pakistani general to put down the people of East Pakistan by the sword. The British have no business to allow their Indian Ocean base to be used politically by one national body against another. It was the fear of such interference by the British which prompted India to object to their building any bases in the Indian Ocean. Mr. Edward Heath is very conscious of what is Britain's own business and what is not. Why does he then try to curry favour with a military gang of the Indian sub-continent against a race of people of the same area who are trying to set up a democratic government ? This part of the world is certainly not Britain's business. Also when the British-Americans try to justify building bases in the Indian Ocean, they use arguments which involve alleged attempts by China and Russia to gain power in South Asia. In this case, the West Pakistanis are the allies of China and Russia and are believers in absolutism. Then, why does democratic Britain poke its highly logical nose into the affairs political groups which are utterly Un-British. If now, India demands the removal of British-American bases from the Indian Ocean, would not that be a very highly correct and just demand ?



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

We returned to Sudhakanto babu's place for lunch. I was feeling rather unwell after roaming about in that terrible heat, but as the assembled girls started to chat, I completely forgot my illness. Baroma informed Shailabala that a solitary Cheetah had appeared from somewhere, within a village near Bolepur. The agitated villagers had summoned Santosh babu to calm down the stricken panic people. Santosh babu used to keep a gun in those days and we had seen it several times. Shailabala was going to Calcutta that day and seemed quite upset after the news. She asked for more details but none was available.

Rabindranath left for Calcutta that afternoon. We could not go near him as there was quite a crowd around him. We stood at Dinubabu's balcony and watched him go, feeling very sad at the thought of not being able to see him again before he left for his foreign tour.

Later in the afternoon we were sitting at home and wondering how to spend our time, when Mulu rushed in to inform us that the cheetah-story was now a cruel fact. Two injured villagers had just then been brought in to the school hospital. They had been attacked by the animal, but the combined shouting and brickbatting by the villagers had forced it to take shelter in a bush, near a pond and no one had been able to drag it out of there. The tiny village was called Taltore and the neighbouring villages were also now in a panic. The ashramites were agitated and rumours began to spread. A professor's wife announced that she had heard the wild creature roar at night. We

were also told that Santoshbabu's giant buffalo had broken its shackles and rushed out after something last night. The Ashram dwellers had got used to sleeping out in the open terraces or balconies, gardens and even fields during the summer. The disturbing rumours naturally upset them. Some of the bigger boys of the Adya Bibhag set out for a leopard-hunt, with bamboo-sticks, daggers and even choppers as their weapons. Santoshbabu was confined to bed, with a broken leg, and therefore could not go anywhere. Gradually, the teachers, the smaller boys and finally, the infants of Sishu Bibhag marched to the battle front. Now when I think of it, I am amazed that no one had prevented them from going there. The average Bengali youth is not particularly eager to kill a leopard with his bare hands, nor is his guardian keen to encourage him in the matter. The Ashram in those days, was a unique place.

We did not visit Taltore, of course, but stood in our front yards or terraces, anxiously keeping watch. When it was getting dark, we heard Mulu shout from a distance that the leopard had been killed. We wanted to know who the hero was, but he rushed back without giving further details. Now we set out to gather more information. When we had reached the Ashram boundary, we heard a villager ask an Ashram worker, "who killed the cheetah?" and his proud reply was, "The boys of our school."

Suddenly we could see a throng of boys returning from the palm groves beyond the Khoai dunes. We could not see them clearly yet, but gradually could make out a bullock

cart surrounded by the boys. We started to walk across the field towards them. When we came nearer, we spotted a red 'gamchlia' or bath-towel, floating as a banner, from the bullock-cart. We realised, with relief, that the hunted animal was being carried back, not the wounded hunter. The bullock-cart stopped near Santoshbabu's cowsnied. The boys were shouting and talking so loudly that we could not follow what had happened. When the excitement had died down a bit, a little boy named Shyamkishore said, "Narabhup-da had killed the leopard, after a half-hour battle." The chattering started afresh! We heard so many variations of the cheetah-hunt. Some of the bigger boys dragged the dead animal down, stretched it out and showed it to all of us. It was a medium-sized cheetah, its head almost chopped off by a dagger. I asked Dwijen Mukhopadhyay, an Ashram brave, who had killed the animal? He said that five of them had attacked it, but Narabhup was the chief fighter. I do not remember all the five names now. With Narabhup and Dwijen, probably Kshitimohan babu's nephew Biren Sen and Kalimohanbabu's nephew had also joined hands. We could not see Narabhup, as he had been taken to the hospital for his severe cuts and scratches. Some of the others also sported serious wounds on their arms and legs. After all it was a cheetah, and the boys should have been given more than mere praise, for risking their lives to kill it with such simple weapons. We were also told that the son of a local zamindar had shot at the animal with a broken-down gun, but it could only graze its face. Later, the gun was presented to the Ashram boys, who ruined it further by using it often as a mace!

The bullock-cart moved off and came to a halt within the Ashram limits. All the others crowded around to see. The boys began a victory-song which did not seem to

stop. Rabindranath was informed about the adventure through a telegram and then a letter. He instructed us to send the wounded boys to Calcutta. A large snake was also killed in the Ashram that night. The whole day seemed an episode from a shikar story. From then onwards we would get regular reports of tigers seen in nearby villages, but fortunately these tigers remained unseen for us.

A few days later we went for a short trip to Calcutta. It must have been our unlucky day, for we had to put up with a lot of trouble during the voyage. The ladies compartments were full, so we had to travel in the general compartment. Our gentlemen co-passengers were hardly 'gentle' and positively unmannerly. Stiff with irritation, we suffered the ordeal till we reached Howrah. It rained throughout the journey and we had to use our umbrellas occasionally, inside the compartment. But we had not expected the rain to turn into a deluge in Calcutta. There were no carriages or taxis within the station compound—the porters said that the lashing storm and rain had driven them all away. There were two immobile taxis outside the station. After a good deal of shouting the porters managed to get one in a running condition. The taxi-driver—expecting a fat 'baksheesh'—piled us in with our luggage and set out, tooting his horn. But waves of stagnant water from the flooded lanes near Harrison Road, forced him to turn around towards a drier area. The nearby shopkeepers were not too encouraging in their helpful suggestions. Father asked him to take us somehow to Cornwallis Street. After this, an hour's ride, which I can not say was too entertaining. Calcutta was Venice for that night, and the taxi kept falling into waist-deep water, every now and then. We went through jute-godowns, buffalo-stables and all types of lanes and by-lanes. The rain dripped on, our wet clothes dried on us and

were wet again. A horse-carriage came suddenly from nowhere and almost crashed into us. The horse could have bitten us, if he felt like it. We realised soon that the taxi could not take us home and we would have to go back to the station. Finally the driver informed us that he had lost his way. We did return to the station however. The retiring-rooms were locked, so we sat on our boxes and beddings by the empty, stretching platforms, among the waiting porters. At least it saved us from the pouring rain. We appreciated our shelter even more now, after ploughing through the dark stretches of water for more than an hour, in that awful night—with a nervous Sikh as our companion! The driver counted his fare and left us. Another brave traveller got into the car and we could never know where the chariot took him—to which river or canal. We sat in our wet clothes, as there was no place where we could change into dry clothes. We did not feel nervous or anxious any more—the station was good—and we started chatting once again. When we are young, our physical resilience is astounding and our minds are visionary—the rude shocks of reality can not upset us too easily. I wonder how I would have stood the same experience today. The whole thing seemed so amusing

later. A railway official and a police sergeant had tried to help us, but could do very little. They took father to the English official who was in charge of the waiting-rooms. But he expressed his helplessness, as he had been fined Rs. 10/- once, for opening the rooms in prohibited hours. They brought along a carriage this time and the sergeant offered to guide us back home on his cycle. The coachman however refused to go, as his horse had lost its shoes. We dared not go with him either. Another three hours passed by thus. Two muslim youngmen turned up suddenly and offered to help us. They went out in the rain and fetched us another carriage. We climbed in again, with our bundles and boxes. We were still unlucky, as the carriage almost overturned near Mechuabazar Street. A wheel had almost gone inside an open man-hole. Anyway, we were saved from a watery grave for that time and finally reached home at three in the morning. It was daylight by the time we had arranged our things, changed our clothes and made the beds.

Some of our friends of the neighbourhood got married about this time, one after the other. Our days flashed past, inspecting their trousseau, listening to the gossip about the grooms and feasting with the marriage parties.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



WHAT IS LAWFUL IN PAKISTAN ?

A. C.

Government established by law, is a phrase that is used to describe the powers that be in any country that is governed by persons in lawful authority. This lawful authority arises from many sources according to political circumstances that prevail in different countries. In a monarchy that is absolute, authority is vested in officials by the king's will. In a constitutional monarchy the king's will is subject, in a manner of speaking, to the undertakings that the King has given to his subjects regarding the limits that have been set on his absolute power. In a republic, the people's will provides the legal basis to the authority that officials exercise over the people. A republic is by nature a democracy in so far as the people of a republic rule themselves according to rules and regulations that they themselves make. A republic over which a despot imposes his will as an absolute ruler, is obviously a paradoxical political organisation. The epithet republic cannot be applied to it in so far as the people of the so-called republic are not self-governing but are the subjects of an autocratic dictatorship. In a communist state a large number of party members rule the country by issuing directives to the officials. The party members no doubt obey some rules, regulations, codes and political principles ; but all that go by the name of ideology and cannot be called either the

laws or the constitution of the land. Communist dictatorships are different from other dictatorial autocracies in that they are dominated by a number of party members and not by one or more despotic individuals as one finds in Fascistic or other forms of tyrannies.

Pakistan was created by the British in response to the demands made by the Muslim agitators who followed the late M. A. Jinnah. Their propaganda was that the Muslims of India were a separate nation as against the Hindus of India who constituted the other nation. This two nation theory was based on a number of falsehoods viz that the Muslim nation had their own language Urdu and that all Muslims of India had a common culture and social system. In fact when Pakistan was created its people spoke Punjabi, Pushtu, Baluchi, Sindhi, Bengali but no Urdu. The Pakistanis began to use Urdu as a state language but that was opposed by the Bengalis who forced Pakistan to adopt Bengali too as a state language.

Pakistan had a constitution at one time ; but this was abrogated by a military coup d'état carried out by Major-General Iskander Mirza on the 7th October 1958. The chief of the Pakistan army Mohammed Ayub Khan thereafter assumed all powers and became the military dictator of Pakistan. He fudged up

some "basic democracies" (78720) the majority of which (49647) voted for him to confirm him in power. As Pakistan had no constitution at the time, all this make believe election and confirmation was totally fake.

Ever since that military coup Pakistan had been existing as a country ruled despotically by its commander-in-chief. The basic justification for the creation of Pakistan was the existence of a Muslim nation in India. But a military dictatorship was neither a muslim nor a national institution. The dictatorship therefore not only cancelled Pakistan's constitution but also cancelled the basic arguments in favour of creating a second state in India.

Pakistan is supposed to be an Islamic Republic. But it is neither Islamic nor a Republic now. For a military dictator cannot be considered to be anything Islamic like a Khalifa, a Paigambar, a Molla or a Pir. It is not a Republic, for obvious reasons, as it is governed according to the wishes of one person. Its government is absolutist in principle and that is fundamentally the opposite of republican. The people of Pakistan therefore are free to overthrow this dictatorial form of government in so far as Pakistan was never set up for the purpose of establishing a military dictatorship. The people of Pakistan owe no natural or constitutional loyalty to General Yahya Khan who is another self-appointed usurper of political power that rightly belongs to the people. Yahya Khan, in fact admitted the lawlessness of the power he exercised by having the elections in which Sheikh Mujibur Rehman came on top in East Bengal. Yahya Khan realised that he could not be the lawful head of any constitutional government in Pakistan. He therefore chose the path of lawlessness anew and refused to honour the undertakings he had given. Hence the

internecine war. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is not a rebel, for nobody is really the lawful subject of a person who has grabbed power and not secured it in a lawful manner, as Yahya Khan has done. Nobody owes loyalty to a person who has acquired power by illicit means as Yahya Khan has done.

So, when Yahya Khan accuses Sheikh Mujibur Rehman of treason, he forgets that he himself is guilty of high treason against his state and its people. For he was a subject of Pakistan, under oath as an officer in the Pakistan Army to uphold the government established by law in that country. He usurped power lawlessly, overthrew Ayub Khan lawlessly and also acted lawlessly all along the line and thus plunged his country into a terrible upheaval. If any one has committed a great crime, it is Yahya Khan and not Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. For Sheikh Mujibur Rehman began to set up a popular form of Government which he was entitled to do in view of the verdict of the electorate and which Yahya Khan was preventing by use of force. It was Yahya Khan who started shooting down civilians including women and children, who could not have been attacking the Pakistan Army. Nor could the aged politicians and University professors have been fighting the Army; but the Pakistan Army had shot down these eminent persons too. It may therefore be asserted without any doubts as to the correctness of such assertion that Yahya Khan's regime is illicit and based on brute force only. There is no legal or popular basis on which it can claim to rest. This lawless regime, therefore should be terminated as early as possible.

Summarily stated the facts of the case of Pakistan are as follows: That the Government of Pakistan being established by military coups d'etats, one after another, cannot be

considered to be a lawful government in the strictly acceptable sense of the term. The Pakistan constitution was abrogated by the military usurpers of political power; hence Pakistan has no constitution either. In the circumstances the legality of Pakistan's existence can be challenged by the world at large and the people of Pakistan can assume political power in that country as and when they choose to do so. The military despots of Pakistan can not lawfully oppose any such move for the reason that their political power was not granted to them by law or by popular will. They did not earn it by inheritance or treaty either. The Army raj in

Pakistan is not in accordance with the purpose for which Pakistan was created in 1947. It is therefore constitutionally, legally and historically null and void. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 which was passed by the British Parliament was the lawful basis for the creation of the Dominion of Pakistan on the 14th August 1947. The military coup of 1958 was lawless, arbitrary and unacceptable as a justification for abolishing the constitutional rights of the peoples of Pakistan. Russia, China, the USA and the UN cannot make lawlessness lawful by condoning the acts of brigandage perpetrated by their henchmen of the Pakistan army.



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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Indira's Socialism

Mrs. Indira Gandhi has said that her aim is to establish a socialist state in India. But she has not said what she means by a socialist state. Will there be private property in her socialist state? There may be ceilings to different types of private property; but she surely does not think that private property should be entirely done away with. Dr. Niranjan Dhar thinks that Sm. Indira should be enlightened about the basic usefulness of private property in human civilisation. He writes in **Swarajaya** :

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her associates appear to have taken the sole trademark of progressivism in this country. They miss no opportunity to declare themselves as progressives while those who oppose them are chastised by them as reactionaries. The hallmark of their progressivism is, of course, socialism which seeks to reduce the self-reliant men and women to the cogs of the huge State-apparatus.

Now progress entails the idea of advancing forward. But in so far as Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her friends stand for State socialism or communism, it amounts to staging a return to the primitive state of mankind. We know that the primitive man used to live under some sort of communism and human civilization began only with the institution of private property.

Progress, however, does not connote merely the idea of going forward. It also involves certain values which, in the present context, mean the socio-economic betterment of the country and the freedom of the individual. In sustaining both history has shown the importance of private property.

So far as individual freedom is concerned, it is private property which gives the individual a "standing" on which he can base his personal decisions and a "sphere" within which he can exercise the powers and faculties of a free man. Human freedom is thus inextricably connected with property. Property rights alone can ensure the proper enjoyment of the higher rights making for the quality of human life.

The security of property is thus the primary duty of a civilized community. Elmer More is of the opinion that greater importance should be attached to property than even to life. Property is the distinguishing mark of man and is the means of his civilization. It is true that where there is full scope for making property some will make more than others. There is, however, nothing wrong about it. Fortunes cannot be equalized any more than the brains of different men can be equalized. We may evolve a scheme by which property is more widely distributed; but in no case should we aim at its total abolition. The abolition of private property

giving birth to a Leviathan cannot, therefore, be regarded as the hall-mark of progocessivism.

We may now turn to the question of socio-economic betterment of the country. Modern sociologists visualize the achievement of social progress in the genetic or passive-dynamic way as against the telic or active-dynamic way. According to them, a society can advance rapidly through the unconscious interplay of social forces and it is called genetic progress. But for achieving social progress an attempt is now often made to guide the social forces consciously. It is called the telic way with which the concept of economic planning is associated.

It is clear that the telic method can be fruitful only for the physical-chemical world. Human behaviour is largely unpredictable and does not follow a specifically determined course. Social forces, therefore, are generally not amenable to direction in a particular war. Their gigantic scale also does not permit such a direction. Socio-economic development can, therefore, be best achieved when it is left largely to the operation of unregulated forces under the framework of common good. The genetic way of socio-economic development is also free from corruption and oppression.

For achieving the material betterment of the country Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her associates advocate the telic method. As we have just seen, it is not a progressive method; rather, it is regressive and highly reactionary in nature. Let us not therefore be tyrannised by words.

A Downward Spiral in Britain

The Guardian weekly comments :

"Like the offensive at Passchendaele and the Somme the Government's economic policy is running according to plan. The casualties,

of course, are colossal. Rolls-Royce is bankrupt and so is the Vehicle and General Insurance Company ; Imperial Chemical Industries and Shell are both cutting major investment programmes in Britain ; ship building, the motor industry, and engineering are likely to produce both cuts in investment and some painfully lame ducks. The retail prices index has been rising faster than at anytime since Labour's worst days. Rail fares are going up steeply, while rural bus routes are being closed. The incidents of strikes is more damaging than ever before and could become worse when the Industrial Relations Bill is law. Unemployment at 721000 is the worst for 31 years and more redundancies are forecast. Share prices, not surprisingly, have slumped. Mr. Heath and Mr. Barber, like brasshats in the 1914-18 war, contemplate the scene with unruffled calm. Is it, though, just what they projected ?

"A bracing climate and the discipline of market forces ; these were foreseen. Raging inflation combined with the conditions for a major recession : these were not. The Prime minister by now must be sick of having his election statements thrown back in his face—especially that of June 16 in which Labour's freeze squeeze, and potential further devaluation, were condemned while the Conservatives were at a stroke" going to "reduce the rise in prices, increase production, and reduce unemployment." These promises nevertheless carried weight in winning the election for Mr. Heath and the Conservatives : and to-day the Government cannot complain when people ask where the country is now being led. The answer, in spite of Downing Street's stoic calm, is that we are being led into a downward spiral from which it will be difficult to pull out. Production is not increasing at the expected rate ; prices are moving in

the wrong direction ; and unemployment is going up. The nation's manufacturing resources are not being put to proper use. Nor is the Government yet turning towards that combination of measures without which recovery is unattainable—namely a strategy for growth, a voluntary agreement on restraint of prices and incomes, and a return towards social justice.”

Rammohun Roy

Shi Sudhanshu Mohan Banerji writes in **The Indian Messenger** :

Though Rammohun was, by any standard of any age, a remarkable person, far above his contemporaries and could see ahead, straight into the future, he had to contend against many odds. His versatility was undisputed. His interest in affairs mundane and spiritual was unlimited. His encyclopaedic mind could grasp the problems, in their roots. He was mostly a self-educated man. He was initiated into Arabic and Persian as usual, learnt Sanskrit at Benares and later English, Hebrew and Latin. He travelled a lot. He was in Tibet and was conversant with Lamaism and Buddhism. His work with Digby at Rangpur whose Dewan he was, gave him an insight into the problems of land management, land tenures and revenue collection and he became an authority on these subjects. He acted as an interpreter of tradition of law “bawasta” as they were called. His petitions against Press Regulations and other matters, his championship of the cause for the freedom of the Press (He was once nominally convicted also along with Dwarkanath Tagore and others by the Supreme Court) his advocacy of European settlements in India because of his belief that by such contacts with the British, India would benefit socially, economically and culturally “course which would seem out of court to

many), his advocacy of free trade and abolition of charter rights of the East India Company, his protest to Parliament against certain provisions of the Indian Jury system all show in broad relief Rammohun the liberal, who had drunk deep from the founts of Bacon, Voltaire and Volney, of Locke, Rousseau and Tom Paine and the protagonists of the American and French Revolutions. In addition he was versed in the lore of Upanishads and the Vedanta, of the Koran and the Bible. His *Tufhatul Muhawahiddin* (a gift to Monotheists) was a protest against superstition and priestcraft. His *Atmiya Sabha* was nothing less. The *Precepts of Jesus* and the *Guide to Peace and Happiness*, his appeals to the Christian Public were not only neo-liberal humanistic instincts borrowed from Europe but were attempts to find points of rapport to support a synthesis of faiths and social ideals with the ultimate object of finding a common ground for the meeting of the East and the West, the bridge of understanding which Thoreau and the Transcendentalists tried to bring about in a *Joint Bible Ex-Oriente Lux*.

Mines in Raniganj Safer

The **Coal Field Tribune** gives us the following information relating to accidents in coal mines in Raniganj coal fields of West Bengal.

A provisional compilation of the number of accidents that took place in the Raniganj Coalfield and adjoining coal mining areas in 1970 indicates that the number of 1970 fatalities is about 37 per cent less than the previous year's figure according to official sources. While during 1969, 68, persons lost their lives in coal mines in this area, the figure for 1970 was 43. The corresponding figure for 1968 was 64. One significant reason for this low incidence during 1970 was the providential absence of any disaster involving a large number of lives.

Of the 43 lives lost in 1970, 22 were lost in accidents involving fall of roof or side (compared to 45 in 1969) and 9 on haulage below ground—same as the year before.

Viewed in the background of the highly strained industrial relations that existed in mines during the year in this area, militant inter-union rivalries and growing indiscipline (including a more or less general disregard for safety instructions), these figures speak well of the safety status in these mines and are an index of the sustained effort that is being made in this field.

The corresponding serious injury figures are 257 (provisional) for 1970, 341 for 1969 and 287 for 1968.

Israeli Discovery for Cancer Detection

We reproduce the following information from *News from Israel*.

Dr. Tal was born in Jerusalem and graduated at the Hebrew University. She worked from 1949 for several years at the Rockefeller Institute, and began to work on immunological response to cancer as long ago as 1952. From 1955 onwards she has done research as a member of the staff of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre, apart from working during sabbaticals in the Rockefeller Institute and the University of Tokyo.

Considerable interest has been generated in medical and scientific circles abroad by the report of a new technique for the early diagnosis of cancer, which has been evolved by Dr. Chloe Tal, of the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Centre, a member of the Oncology Department headed by Professor Abraham Hochman.

Dr. Tal found that a serologically distinct protein, which she calls T-globulin (Tumour-globulin) is present in the blood serum of cancer patients and pregnant women. When the test that she worked out is positive and

T-globulin is found to be present, it can be concluded that the person tested, if not pregnant, is suffering from cancer. Dr. Tal has discovered that the reason why pregnant women show the presence of T-globulin in their serum is because the primitive cells of the placenta in pregnant women stimulate the production of T-globulin in the same way as tumour cells do.

Dr. Tal published the first report of her work in the "Israel Journal of Medical Sciences," in the issue of November-December, 1970. The "New York Times," in an article by its Israel correspondent, Peter Grose, added comments by various medical scientists in the U.S.A. and Canada. All agreed that Dr. Tal's new test could be of great importance in the early detection of cancer, as scientists have been searching for a universal, simple test for 50 years.

All kinds of cancers

The scientists suggested that the work would have to be considered in the light of various questions which would probably arise in the future. Will the test be confirmed when it is applied to thousands of people taken at random? Does it apply to all kinds of cancers?

In an interview, Dr. Tal answered the second question affirmatively. With regard to the first question, the next stage of her work is to apply the test on a large-scale basis. Since she published the article in the "Israel Journal of Medical Sciences," she has discovered a way of simplifying her technique so that it should be easy to carry out the test in any laboratory. Professor Hochman has applied to the Israel Cancer Association, which contributed towards Dr. Tal's research, as did Hadassah and the Hebrew University, to cooperate in large-scale testing.

"I suspect that all people are exposed all the time to cancerous cell mutations, but only a certain number get cancer," said Dr. Tal.

"This, I believe, is due to an immunological response. The test shows when this response is not working satisfactorily, and T-globulin is found in the serum."

The test is based on a technique evolved by Dr. Tal for the preparation of a T-globulin enriched fraction from the pooled serum of cancer patients. This enriched T-globulin is then used for immunizing rabbits. Anti-T-globulin serum is thus produced. The diagnostic test procedure involves testing patients' serum against the anti-T-globulin serum: if the test is positive and T-globulin is present in the serum, a single isolated precipitio line is formed. When T-globulin is absent from the serum and the test is negative, no precipitate is formed.

Enzymatic change

The new test was used by Dr. Tal on serum samples of 520 patients selected at random in the various departments of the Hadassah University Hospital. These samples were tested for T-globulin with the anti-serum: 356 samples gave positive serological results and were subsequently found to have been

obtained from 350 verified cases of cancer, three cases of suspected but non-verified cancer, and three women during pregnancy. It is noteworthy that in 12 cases where the serological results were positive, these had not been diagnosed at the time that the blood samples were taken. Within one year, however, the diagnosis of cancer was confirmed.

Of the 164 cases negative serological results, 163 proved to be from patients with a wide variety of non-malignant conditions and from one patient with a non-malignant tumour of the breast.

The Hadassah scientist believes that when a neoplastic mutation occurs in a cell, it also results, among other changes, in an enzymatic change causing the production of a specific antigen in the cell membrane, which, in turn, stimulates the production of the serologically distinct T-globulin as an antibody. It was found that all types of cancer tested stimulate the production of T-globulin, probably as an antibody, regardless of age or sex. Dr. Tal suggests, as a possible hypothesis, that the

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Γ-globulin has an immuno-suppressive activity on initial cancerous growth and that the cases of cancer which do however develop are an expression of immunological failure. The present findings lead to the consideration of possible treatment based on the boosting of immunological responses by using various types of adjuvants of BCG vaccine in cancer patients, who may be regarded as being sluggish in their immune responses.

The presence of the T-globulin in the patient's serum may also prove to be of important diagnostic value.

Democracies should be Partyless

The Atheist of Vijaywada is of the opinion that political parties are an obstruction to the natural growth of democracies:

Democracy has been evolved as the best form of government in order to solve the problems of the people. In fact, every government belongs to the people inasmuch as it depends for its revenues on the taxes which people pay and for its authority on the cooperation which people give. If a considerable section of people take to no-tax and non-cooperation any government is bound to collapse. Democracy forges another link between the people and government, besides taxes and cooperation. The new link is the Vote. A democratic government is formed by the representatives of the people who are elected by the votes which people cast. On account of the extra relation democracy ought

to belong to the people more than the other forms of government. But, in practice, democracy is not solving the problems of the people any better than monarchies or dictatorships. Evidently the reason is the party structure of democracy. Instead of belonging to the people a party-ridden democracy is belonging to a section of the people to which the ruling party belongs. The partisan character of modern democracies is rendering the government sectarian and partial in administration. So modern democracies are failing to solve the problems of the people as a whole. On the other hand, the party system is encouraging splits among the people in their associations and homes as well. Hence partylessness is essential for the proper functioning of a democracy.

Political parties find no reference in any constitution. They are extra-constitutional conventions which have come in with the ostensible purpose of helping the politically ignorant masses of people in running their democratic institutions. But, as all middle men do political parties are exploiting the political ignorance of the people and are promoting their own ambitions of power and facility rather than serving the people. So political parties have proved to be a hindrance to democratic progress.

Political parties rise and thrive on propaganda. They can be removed by propaganda too without the need of change in the Constitution.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Badruddin Tyabji : By A. G. Noorani, published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, in their Builders of Modern India series. Db/cr I6VO pp 202+XIV one plate paper cover Price Rs 3.75. Badruddin Tyabji was born on October 10, 1844 in a family of merchants. His father was a progressive person and sent his sons to England for their education. Badruddin became an eminent barrister and jurist and took a leading part in the political life of the late nineteenth century. He presided over the third session of the Indian National Congress which was held in Madras in December 1887.

The World is My Family : Biography of Rev. Ramkrishna Shahu Modak, by Manorama R. Modak Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd. 18-20 Rampart Row, Bombay-1 Demy Oct pp 266+X Illust. Cloth gilt, art jacket price Rs. 28.00. The Rt. Rev. R. S. Modak D. D. was well known for his activities for nationalising the Christian Church in India. He was Founder President of All India Federation of National Churches, President Indian Christian Conference of Bombay, Member Bombay Legislative Council for seven years ; and was prominent in various other fields of work. He lived in New York for some years and carried on his work in connection with freeing the Christian churches in India from foreign control. The writer, his wife, participated in his work for 35 years and has thus

been in a very good position to relate the life story of her eminent husband.

Patna District Gazetteer : By N. Kumar Bar-at-Law published by Government of Bihar, Patna, 1970 Crown Qrto pp 674+XVIII+XXVIII, plates, Maps, cloth gilt, illust jacket Price Rs. 15.00. The book gives many tables, statistics and general information relating to the District and its people. Certain historical facts also have been incorporated in it. It is an official publication and is therefore a book of reference which will be found useful by students, businessmen, professional persons, journalists and others who are interested in matters connected with the Patna District.

Socio-Psychological Factors Influencing Industrial Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas, a case study in Tanuku Region of West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh, by V. R. Gaikwad and R. N. Tripathy published by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. Crown Qrto pp 136+X, 20 Tables, Paper cover, price Rs. 6.00. A study of sociological and economic factors which led to the industrial development in West Godavari district, with special reference to the environs of Tanuku.

Crop Loan System, a study in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab by T. P. S. Chowdhari and J. N. Sharma. National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. Crown

Qrto pp 101 Cloth Bound, Art Jacket, Price Rs. 12.00. The financing of agricultural production is a very vital problem in India. A study which gives a factual picture of such financing in predominantly agricultural areas will have high documentary value. The book will therefore be found useful by students and by persons interested in agricultural economics.

Asian Social Science Bibliography by N. K. Goil, Librarian Institute of Economic Growth, published by Vikas Publications, Delhi—Bombay—Bangalore. Royal Qrto. pp 490+XXIV Cloth Art Jacket price Rs. 75.00. The author is a well qualified person and has carried out his work in a thorough and precise manner. The **Bibliography** covers the following branches of social sciences: 1) Social Science—Social Data. 2) Education and Communication. 3) Political Science. 4) Economics. 5) Sociology, Social Anthropology and Social Psychology. 6) Demography. A Very useful book for research workers.

Regional Planning for Social Facilities An Examination of central place concepts and Their Application—A Case Study of Eastern Maharashtra. Author Sudhir Wanmali published by National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad—30E Royal Qrto. Pp. 96+VIII Maps, Tables and charts, diagrammes etc. Cloth bound art jacket Price Rs. 12.00. The author was a Commonwealth Scholar at the London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London. He acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Michael Wise for the invaluable advice he gave to the author on various aspects of the research that he was carrying on.

“Local Government Institutions in Rural India.”

Edited by R. N. Haldipur and V. R. K.

Paramhamsa, published by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad-30, and printed by F. Wiesinger of Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, 52, at Examiner Press, Fort, Bombay-1 (price Rs. 30).

This publication is a compilation of the proceedings of the Seminar on Panchayati Raj, held at the NICD, Hyderabad (from October 13th to 16th. 1969), as also the background papers prepared by the Institute for the benefit of the participants.

In his speech welcoming the Academicians Administrators policy-Makers, and Leaders of the Movement taking part in the Seminar, S. J. Haldipur, Dean of the National Institute of Community Development stated that the future of Indian Democracy as envisaged by Mahatma Gandhi “will depend upon our ability to translate the aspirations of an awakened peasantry into proper institutional norms, “because”, men learn administration fastest in countries where self-governing institutions are most wide-spread.” But although there are to-day 2,14,935 Panchayats, 3297 panchayat Samitis, and 253 Zilla parishads, all over India, we are still a very long way from evolving adequate representation at local level throughout the country.

The compiled papers of the participants analyse various causes for the decline in the development of Panchayati Raj. These can be briefly stated as follows.....

1. The interference of State Government in panchayati matters.

2. Insufficient financial assistance provided by the State and Union Governments to these local Institutions.

3. The lack of harmony in the relationship among the functionaries of these bodies.

4. The revival of feuds and family rivalries in the rural areas as a result of the impact of of these Institutions, politically and economically.

5. Lack of proper control over the functioning of the Panchayati Raj institutions because at all levels these institutions being statutory bodies, (i. e. the Zilla board, the Panchayati Samiti level, and the Gram Panchayat,) there are consequent difficulties in making the higher bodies supervise the lower ones.

Most of the concentrated discussion deal with the problems connected with levels of decentralisation of powers and functions of Panchayati Raj, Mobilisation and Utilisation of Resources, Administrative Organisation, training and orientation, Socio-Political implications of Panchayati Raj, Community development and Co operative movements under Local self-government, and Bureaucracy and Elected Representation. Most of the participants were agreed in the

main that the interference of state government should be in the minimum, that Panchayati Raj institutions should be free from the influence of political parties, that delegation powers should not be mistaken for decentralisation and that the functions to be performed at any level should be related to the resources that can be commanded at that level.

This collection of papers provides excellent background for students and administrators interested in the manifold problems connected with Local self-government. And they are of interest to all citizens of India upon the balanced development and functioning of these institutions depend the progress of a vast section of the population in country.

L. Chatterji



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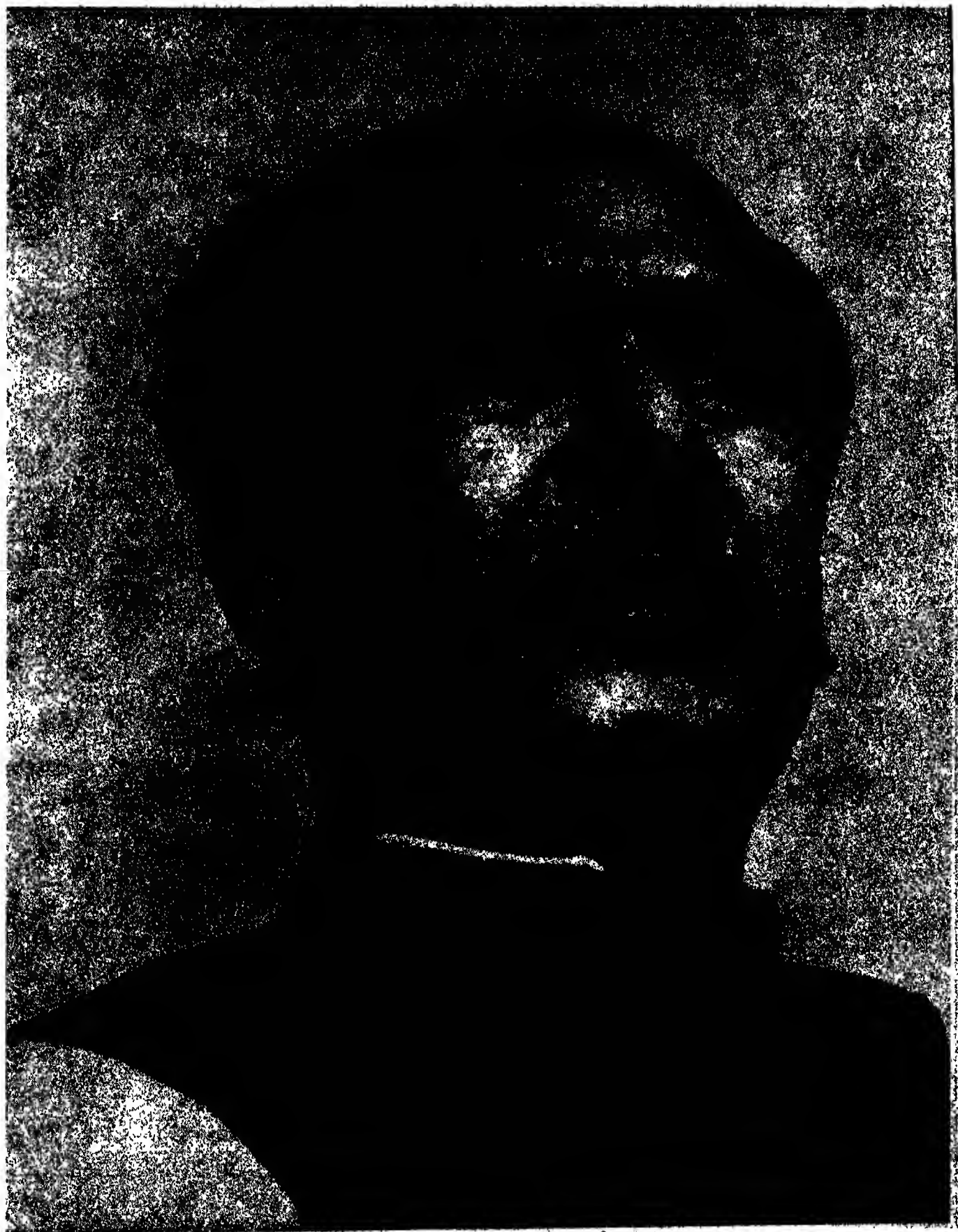
CONTENTS FOR MAY 1971

WHOLE No. 773

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 321 |
| Act now to save Bangla Desh—Subhash Chandra Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 329 |
| Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews—J. L. Das | ... | ... | ... | 332 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 335 |
| Fine Arts in the Jatakas—Dipak Kumar Barua | ... | ... | ... | 343 |
| A Bi-Centenary Review : the movement that Wordsworth Led—D. D. Agarwal | ... | ... | ... | 348 |
| The fire that was—Santosh Chakraborti | ... | ... | ... | 350 |
| Professor Mohit Chandra Sen—Prof. Salil Kumar Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 352 |
| Population of porus's kingdom in 326 B.C.—Jatindra Mohan Datta | ... | ... | ... | 356 |
| China Accuses India of interference in Pakistan affairs—A. C. | ... | ... | ... | 362 |
| Tagore in Switzerland—P. C. Roy Chaudhury | ... | ... | ... | 366 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 371 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 376 |
| One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich—P. M. George | ... | ... | ... | 380 |
| Smiti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 385 |
| Social Justice or Show-Socialism— | ... | ... | ... | 391 |
| Dream—Bimal Jyoti Das | ... | ... | ... | 392 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 393 |

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NOTES

Bangla Desh vis a vis Pakistan

Bengla Desh i. e. East Pakistan or East Bengal, has broken away from the British created Dominion of Pakistan. The officials representing Pakistan in Delhi and Calcutta have in large numbers disclaimed loyalty to the military government of Pakistan. That government recently organised and held elections in East and West Pakistan with a view to abolish the martial law regime and to establish a democratic government in those countries. The result of the elections was astounding. In East Pakistan, the Awami League party won 195 seats out of 198 and in West Pakistan the strongest pro martial law party won 83 seats out of 144. That is, General Yahya Khan, the head of the despotic and autocratic martial law administration of Pakistan found that he had only 83 organised elected representatives to support him in a parliament of 342 members. He concluded that with a parliament largely opposed to the economic and political methods of exploitation and favouritism followed by the military clique ruling Pakistan ; he had to stop democratic growth in the country at any cost. He therefore pretended to hand over power to the leader

of the Awami League party and at a certain stage of their discussions, he, allegedly, got hold of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the chief organiser of the Awami League and whisked him off to West Pakistan under arrest, with a view to break the back of the democratic movement. The truth of this story however is not clearly known. But assuming that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman has been put under arrest ; by what right could Yahya Khan do this at a time when he was officially discussing the future politics of Pakistan with the Sheikh ? The "revolt" had not yet begun when this was done, so that the Awami League chief could not be charged with any defiance of any law of Pakistan for that. He had become the head of a political party with absolute majority in Pakistan by virtue of elections held under order of the martial law administration and he was demanding that he should be made the head of a civil government by dissolution of the military government. Surely, that could not be called treason by Yahya Khan who ordered those elections and convened the conference in which he was discussing matters with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman.

If the leader of the Awami League has really been arrested, that would be a very good

reason for his followers to call for an all out fight against Yahya Khan the self willed tyrant who could order elections and pretend to hand over power to a democratic government and then negate everything by a secret attack on the leader of the majority party. Yahya Khan simultaneously ordered attacks on all supporters of the Awami League which led to the massacre of hundreds of thousands of absolutely innocent men women and children. Yahya Khan's henchmen also killed many hand picked intellectuals of East Bengal ; abducted and raped women and burnt down houses in a manner which was utterly inhuman and barbarous. The people of East Bengal are under no obligation to be loyal to a military junta ; for the Indian Independence Act of 1947 created Pakistan as a Muslim State for granting fuller scope to the Mussalmans of India to realise their aspirations. Serving a brutal military despot cannot be described as muslim aspiration, nor can one call a military dictatorship a form of government of an Islamic type. So that the abolition of the democratic form of government in Pakistan and the abrogation of the constitution of the country by the military rulers were acts of treason against the Muslim Nation of Pakistan in so far as the military usurpers of political power overthrew the government established by law in Pakistan. That these people had been allowed to tyrannise the people of Pakistan for more than 12 years does not make their treachery less traitorous. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and their associates should be brought to trial for treason. Yahya Khan is further guilty of genocide and many other crimes against humanity. He began his unprovoked attack on the people of East Pakistan, for no reason other than for his criminal desire to destroy the Awami League and its supporters. The Awami League had just won a spectacular victory in the elections that Yahya Khan

had ordered to be held. Yahya Khan declared it an unlawful assembly because it defeated his supporters utterly and that left no doubts in anybody's mind that the people of East Pakistan did not want the martial law administration to continue for another day. Yahya Khan therefore first admitted that military autocracy should be terminated by ordering the elections. He thereafter changed his mind and attempted to continue his despotic rule over Pakistan by his attacks on Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his followers. Yahya Khan started a civil war in Pakistan by his foolish, barbarous and inhuman conduct. Civilised humanity should lose no time in declaring him guilty of a base and wanton crime against the people of his country and put a stop to his barbarous activities by organising concerted international action against his marauding.

The nations of the world should not tolerate the existence of a regime in any country in which the lives of the people, the honour of the women and the security of civilised institutions are not guaranteed by the administrators. In Pakistan the administrators not only do not guarantee any of the above things or any human rights of the people ; but they instruct their soldiers to shoot down unarmed men, women and children ; loot and burn down houses belonging to the civil population and to dishonour and abduct defenceless women. These things are unbelievable ; but they are true nevertheless. An entire country with a population of 75 million is to-day in shambles with more than two million persons killed, injured, dishonoured, kidnapped, deprived of all possessions and reduced to utter destitution due to the criminal lenacy of a bunch of sadistic mainacs who have acquired political control of West and East Pakistan by coups d'etats. Britain, America, Russia and China have backed these base cowards in the past. These men have

now began to play a brutal game with the destinies of the five races that inhabit Pakistan. The powers are still hoping for the best and saying nothing to Pakistan. Not that they do not know that the disease is beyond cure.

The *Guardian* weekly of Britain has been exposing the Pakistan affair ever since Yahya Khan suddenly began his assault on East Bengal and its 98% majority political party, the Awami League. In their 17th April number the weekly said editorially. "Pakistan is a nation in hock to the World Bank and to the aid-givers of the world: they are already turning away, gorged on brutality. Pakistani defence policy (and the whole existence of the generals) rests on confrontation with India over Kashmir. Pakistan alleges that India holds the Pakistani-loving Kashmiris in check by steel repression. It is the most ludicrous case now, as the junta of Islamabad openly exercises just such repression on 75 million bonafide Pakistanis. The United Nations will surely collapse in bitter laughter if Kashmir comes up again. The issue is as dead as the students of Dacca University.....The Bangla Desh affair...arose simply when a well conducted, peaceful election produced a result the army could not stand. Sheikh Mujib himself has not in any certain sense declared Bengali independence. He was not asking essentially for more than the programme he legally fought and won the election on.....This is not a Sino-Soviet slanging match about Marxist technicalities. It is, at root, a simple matter, of freedom, of morality and of humanity."

Another important British journal, the weekly "New Statesman", summed up the civil war situation in East Bengal in a very clear cut manner. It said, "If blood is the price of a people's right to independence Bangla Desh has overpaid. Of all the recent struggles to bring down governments and change frontiers in the name of national

freedom the war in East Bengal may prove the bloodiest and briefest. On this level alone, the East Pakistanis have achieved a record of suffering. But even if their movement is destroyed within a few days or weeks, it may only be a temporary defeat in a war of liberation which will eventually be recognised as just. In all such cases, establishment opinion is heavily weighted in favour of the status quo. The chances of any world power declaring support for Bangla Desh are minimal. The Bengali's case for statehood may be hard to refute, but it is inconvenient to everyone else. And yet, by an unusual combination of circumstances, Bangla Desh has managed to obey all the rules. So this may be the moment to consider what we, and other countries, mean by those splendid words which recur like a chorus in the United Nations charter: 'the right to self-determination of peoples; objectively or subjectively, in Chinese or English, in capitalist or socialist jargon, it is hard to fault the East Bengalis, or justify their abandonment by all the major powers.'"

Pakistan was artificially created "from above for reasons of political expediency"; rather to satisfy the religious fanaticism of persons who gave scant consideration to things like human rights or humane outlook. These people behaved in a rapacious and barbarous manner in the forties to force the establishment of Pakistan. Their descendants kept alive the spirit of self-seeking in their hearts to a degree which made it impossible for Pakistan to develop into an integrated nation in which the people respected each others rights and privileges of citizenship. In Pakistan it had been customary for the Muslims to terrorise and exploit the non-Muslims. The various tribes and castes did not hesitate to further their ends at each other's cost. The strong exploited the weak and defenceless according to the principle of might-is right. The West Pakistanis there-

fore thought that their more numerous presence in Pakistan's Army, Navy and Air Force entitled them to treat the peace loving people of East Bengal with disdain and contempt. Also to exploit them freely. The result has been this civil war which will probably destroy Pakistan.

Pakistan was created by the British in the hope that the Muslim mercenaries of the Punjab, the tribal territories where the Pathans live and Baluchistan would for ever assist and aid the British in their scheming in Asian countries. But unfortunately for them the Pakistanis found an ally in the Chinese who were openly and actively anti-Indian and were therefore the soul mates of the Pakistanis in that respect. Pakistan also developed friendship with Russia and America. Britain therefore no longer remained as attractive to the Pakistanis as one would expect; though the Pakistanis have migrated to Britain in very large numbers and the British too have economic connections of importance with Pakistan. These business relations centre in East Bengal where the British have a major interest in Jute and Tea. The civil war therefore has harmed the British more than any other foreign country. The Russians, the Americans and the Chinese have reasons to appease West Pakistani military men. But they will find it hard to do so where the Pakistanis are committing atrocities in a manner which is alienating world opinion against them. The British have created Pakistan and a section of the British people now wish to dissociate and break with that country. British businessmen also do not find it good policy to watch the destruction of Bangla Desh.

International Complications Caused by Pak Civil War

Pakistan, that is the official martial law administration of that state, would like to be

internationally recognised as the sole arbiter of the destinies of the Pakistani people and as the only statutory body which rightfully acts in their behalf. But much to the regret of the outside world the majority of the people of Pakistan have been declared rebels or members of an unlawful assembly by this official body and the Pakistan army is at present engaged in mass killing and punitive action of doubtful legality against almost anybody who lives in East Pakistan. Hundreds of thousands of East Pakistan people have been killed, injured, dishonoured and rendered destitute by the inhuman atrocities committed by the soldiers of the martial law administration of Pakistan and about half a million East Bengali men, women and children have fled over the border and taken shelter in Indian territory. Just before all this happened the Pakistan Government had organised and held popular elections in Pakistan with a view to terminate military rule and to establish a democratic and constitutional form of Government. The results of these elections showed that the voters of East Bengal outnumbered the supporters of the martial law administration by about 75 : 25 and that of the East Pakistan voters 98% were against the martial law administrators. Yahya Khan the martial law President of Pakistan, finding that democracy would see him out as well as all his crime ridden co-workers, precipitated a breakdown in the talks he was holding with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the head of the victorious Awami League, and declared the Sheikh guilty of treason and the League an unlawful assembly. In Yahya Khan's dictionary treason and unlawful apparently had special meanings which helped this lawless criminal to attach these words to anybody or any thing that stood in the way of his dictatorial wilfulness.

Yahya Khan is alleged to have arranged the capture of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman while he was discussing the officially proposed ter-

mination of the martial law administration at a conference which Yahya Khan had called officially as President of Pakistan. This act of perfidy as well as the attacks launched by Yahya Khan's soldiers on the population of Dacca, led to the declaration of independence by Bangla Desh, as Sheikh Mujibur Rehman named East Pakistan. The Awami League soon got the East Pakistan Police and the Bengali soldiers of the East Pakistan Rifles to side with them and these lightly armed men together with Awami League volunteers who carried rods, choppers, muzzle loaders, spears and daggers, put up a stiff resistance to the conventionally armed regiments of Pakistan. Many towns, air fields and railway junctions have changed hands more than once during the first four weeks of the civil war. The fact that the Pakistan army is mainly in occupation of certain towns only and that the Mukti Fouz or army of liberation controls vast tracts of the countryside everywhere, proves that these freedom fighters are not less than one hundred thousand in number and that they are carrying on guerrilla warfare quite competently and not without some semblance of success in many places. It would also suggest that the Pakistan army would not be likely to gain control of East Bengal easily and soon. The nations of the world, therefore are faced with a situation in which they have to choose between highly contradictory alternatives relating to the affairs of a country in which the population is divided in its loyalties in the ratio 45 : 75 and many of the people of both groups claim rights, assistance, protection etc. etc. from other nations and also request these third parties not to do this or that to help or assist members of one or other of the contesting groups. Where Pakistan, for instance is faced with officials disowning loyalty to the martial law administration, protests are being lodged with other countries not to counte-

nance such acts of defection ; but when three hundred thousand people run away from the onslaughts of the Pakistan army and enter Indian territory seeking refuge, the martial law administration can neither stop this exodus nor force these people to declare that they are loyal subjects of Pakistan and not of Bangla Desh. The Pakistan army is firmly entrenched in many places of East Bengal but that does not prove that their opponents have been decisively vanquished. The anti-martial law regime freedom fighters are everywhere in East Bengal and, it appears that they will gain in strength as time passes.

Bengali Muslims of Pakistan can be found in almost all countries of the world. Among them are common people working as sailors, factory hands, cooks, waiters, shop keepers etc. in large numbers. There are also many Bengali East Pakistani Muslim and Hindu doctors, teachers, technicians, musicians and others who are educated and trained experts in different lines of work. There are Bengali Muslims in India too who naturally have family ties with the East Bengal Muslims. Bengali non-Muslims of India and Pakistan would number 60 million or more and they are intellectually progressive and fairly advanced in many fields of work. The Bengalis in East Pakistan have been butchered and brutally oppressed by the Yahya Khan regime and they are not taking it lying down. The word has gone round all over the world that the West Pakistan army has committed terrible atrocities on the Bengalis of East Pakistan and that the Bengalis have renounced their loyalty to Pakistan and formed a new state which they call Bangla Desh. Foreign journalists, statesmen, scientists and other important persons are being approached by the Bengalis to tell the world about West Pakistani crimes against humanity. And many of them are giving publicity to the mass killing that the Pakistan

army has indulged in. They are also telling the world how the Pakistanis have killed foreign priests, nuns, nurses, students and well-known intellectuals. They have also told the gruesome tales of abducting 400 girls from a ladies' hostel, of shooting 300 school children and of the burning down of workers' dwelling in the poorer quarters of Dacca where the workers were shot down if they tried to escape or were pushed back into the flames to be burnt alive.

Many East Pakistanis are seeking asylum in foreign countries and declaring that they are subjects of Bangla Desh. In Calcutta the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan pulled down the flag of Pakistan and hoisted that of Bangla Desh. Seventy members of his staff disowned their connection with Pakistan. In Delhi some members of the Pakistan High Commission Office sought asylum in India with a view to join the newly created state of Bangla Desh. There are Bengalis in other countries too who will give up allegiance to Pakistan and join Bangla Desh. According to a press reports the Pakistani consulate in New York switched over to Bangla Desh some days ago. Over one hundred foreigners, who had been in Dacca and Chittagong during the earlier days of the genocidal attacks of the people of East Bengal, testified to the horrors of this terrifying episode as eye witnesses. Foreigners of undoubted position are now coming over to carry out on the spot enquiries. A fuller exposure of Yahya Khan's crime against humanity will soon come before the civilised world. The nations of the world will have to face the question of the dissolution of Pakistan by acceptance of Bangla Desh as a newly created state. The question of Yahya Khan's trial as a criminal too will have to be faced.

Five Weeks of an Unequal Fight

The war of liberation of Bangla Desh has now completed its fifth week of merciless kill-

ing of men, women and children ; shooting down of hand picked intellectuals ; burning of villages, industrial installations and the destruction of cultivation by the soldiers of Yahya Khan on the one hand, and the death defying band of freedom loving patriots of Bangla Desh resisting those beasts of prey on the other hand. This war has proved to be an amazing example of two thoroughly unequal sides battling relentlessly in the hope of gaining an upper hand, in a manner which has no comparison in military history. The army, navy and air force of Pakistan are well organised, equipped with modern arms, transport and supplies and are perfectly trained to fight any type of enemy on any terrain. The forces that the freedom fighters can command are mostly civilian volunteers who are unarmed or have an assortment of arms which they have secured from many sources. These volunteers are supported by some armed policemen and deserters from the regular army of Pakistan who being Bengalis have disowned loyalty to the "Islamic Republic". The Bangla Desh freedom fighters are therefore not an army in any sense of the term. There are men and women in it who are armed with swords, spears, choppers, sticks and primitive fire arms. There are small bands of better trained persons here and there who have limited supplies of modern weapons. Some have a few pieces of artillery, anti aircraft and machine guns. One might say that out of every thousand freedom fighters about two hundred have weapons of a conventional type. The others are armed anyhow and their best military assets are their undoubted spirit, unhesitating readiness to make the supreme sacrifice and intimate association with the people of the country and the land they are trying to wrest from the army of invasion which comprises four divisions of troops supported by numerous fighter bombers, well armed naval craft and heavy artillery.

In the circumstances the freedom fighters have little or no chance of defeating the Pakistan army in open battle, and that army can more or less advance and occupy any town or objective it wants to capture at any time. They are in full occupation of Dacca, the capital city of East Pakistan and they are fairly well entrenched in Chittagong, Comilla and some other towns. Mymensingh, Sylhet, Khulna, Rajshahi, Kusthea, Jessore and Pabna are battle fields where the Pakistan army can stay in defended positions and make sorties with the purpose of killing defenceless people. They, apparently, cannot come to grip with the Mukti Fouz or army of liberation, which moves into the hinterland when the Pakistan army advances and comes forward to carry on guerrilla warfare against the Pakistanis as they retire back to their defended positions. The Pakistan army therefore is divided into ten or fifteen groups which are separated by long stretches of difficult roads, rivers and slushy land. The army can and does advance quite often along the better roads but they meet with stiff opposition in places and are held up or made to retreat at times. Thus the Pakistan army occupies the towns in most parts of the country but they do not occupy the villages mostly. There are perhaps thirty thousand villages in East Bengal and only about 1800 miles of metalled roads. There are about 1700 miles of railways which do not link up the villages either. West Pakistan has more than 5000 miles of railways and 21000 miles of good roads. This shows why the East Bengali's thought that the government of Pakistan was an organisation for the exploitation of East Bengal in order to enrich and develop West Pakistan.

The villages of East Bengal are far flung and about ninety percent of the villages are unapproachable by the heavily armed Pakistani soldiers. They would not dare shed

their heavy armour in order to reach the villages; for, then they would be fighting as equals in armour with the Mukti Fouz which will mean annihilation for them. The Pakistan army therefore will have to stay in their defended urban positions and will use aerial strafing and naval shelling as punitive methods of attack on the villages. Aerial attacks on 10000 villages will require endless aerial sorties costing hundreds of crores of rupees; but that will merely destroy some huts and kill a few thousand villagers. The annual growth rate of population of East Bengal being about a million, this method of killing off the Bengalis and to settle West Pakistanis in their place in East Bengal is wishful thinking and nothing more. And when the rains start fully and well the Pakistan army will have to "stay indoor", so to speak and their supplies will have to be entirely secured by freight planes. This will be difficult, uncertain and costly. If by chance Bangla Desh can get hold of enough anti-aircraft guns the process will increasingly cause loss of planes and pilots too. The leaders of the liberation army have by now understood that they must procure proper weapons to dislodge the Pakistan soldiers from their various concentrations. The most important weapons required for this purpose would be anti-aircraft guns, heavy machine guns, field guns, ground to air missiles, rockets, heavy mortars and anti-tank guns. They have sympathisers and they have supporters abroad who must be trying to get these arms for them. The liberation army men have already brought down half-a-dozen Pakistani fighters. They have also used machine and field guns against the Pakistanis at places. So, it is believed that they are obtaining arms from outside. This flow of arms will increase and the army of Pakistan will find it progressively more difficult to overcome the forces of Bangla Desh.

There is another side to this full scale civil war which should be duly considered in view of its great importance as a deciding factor. It is the expenditure aspect of the war. Pakistan is spending more than a crore of rupees a day and this expenditure is on the increase. Pakistan's revenues were realised largely from East Bengal. The loss of revenue due to the civil war must be very substantial. This makes the financial position of Pakistan more critical than would be caused by the military expenditure by itself. Pakistan's central and provincial revenues together make a total of about 1000 crores. Out of this they spend over 525 crores on civil administration and 75 crores on debt services. Defence expenses come to 250 crores. In these circumstances if there is a loss of revenue of about 300 crores and an increase in military expenses amounting to 300 crores, the position would be revenues about 700 crores and expenses about 1300 crores. Foreign nations would not be eager to lend large sums of money to a country that showed signs of breaking up. The chances therefore of Pakistan going bankrupt should be considered to be more than a mere possibility. In any case if Pakistan cannot terminate the civil war very soon, there will be insurmountable financial difficulties to face. The Mukti Fouz on the other hand has no great expenses to meet and has financial resources about which very little is known. One does not however think that financial difficulties will stand in the way of the army of liberation and prevent them from achieving their objective.

Pakistan has been doing a lot of anti-Indian propaganda latterly with a view to divert public attention from the facts of the civil war in East Bengal. The gruesome acts of merciless killing of men women and children carried out by the Pakistani soldiers under order of general Yahya Khan and the sadistic orgies they indulged in had to be blacked out

as far as possible ; and anti-Indian propaganda was considered to be an easy way of doing this. India has conspired with the Awami League to break up Pakistan. India has given arms to the Awami League. Indian soldiers are fighting along side of Awami League men. And so on and so forth ! Unfortunately for Pakistan the propaganda did not work the miracle of white washing the Pak atrocities. Numerous foreigners had witnessed the mass killing of students and teachers of Dacca University, the shooting down of priests, nuns, nurses, old women and young girls, the abduction of hundreds of girl students and the massacre of little children. The news had already spread that Yahya Khan had put the Nazis in the shadow by his black deeds. Yahya Khan ordered the killing of a million of his co-religionists whose only fault was winning a majority at elections held under order of Yahya Khan himself. The Pakistan civil war will go down in history as a great crime against humanity. Professors, doctors, poets, literarymen, teachers, lawyers and other members of the intelligentsia were picked out and placed before firing squads for execution. Their offence was they were Bengalis. School boys were lined up in their hundreds and shot. Girl students were carried away by the soldiers of Pakistan in large numbers. Rape and arson were rampant and millions suffered death and dishonour.

Yahya Khan's attempt to involve India in his quarell proves that he is reckless and unwise ; for Pakistan cannot expect to win in any war with India. Pakistan may hope to get China's active assistance in case of such a war. But China will most probably not give any assistance with soldiers to Pakistan for fear of getting involved in a war with other major powers. Pakistani soldiers are constantly intruding into Indian territory. They have killed a number of Indians. If India retaliated by occupying some parts of East Bengal that would be entirely the fault of Pakistan. The creation of Pakistan was an obscene adventure. Its continued existence for 24 years has been studded with black deeds, black lies and unprincipled home and foreign relations. Its end may be hideous and gory as befit the character of its leaders.



ACT NOW FOR ~~FREE~~ BANGLA DESH

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The nation is now committed to the cause of the revolutionaries of Bangla Desh who are laying down their lives in lakhs for the cause of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity the values enshrined in the Constitution of India. The Pakistani hordes have said good bye to all norms of warfare or civilized conduct and have resorted to the most brutal, the most barbarous methods to coerce the freedom-loving people of Bangla Desh into submission. If the Pakistanis, armed with Soviet, British and American arms, have nevertheless failed to achieve their objective, it only shows the great determination of the people-men, women and children - of Bangla Desh to regain their freedom. It would be a great crime to watch silently the massacre of the innocents when it lies within the capability of this country to render effective assistance to the freedom fighters.

The next logical step after the resolution of Parliament which has given vent to the feelings of the nation is to grant recognition to the Bangla Desh Government and offer it all assistance. International law does not prohibit civil war and rather imposes a duty on other states to recognize the state of belligerency when a civil war breaks out. Oppenheim says in his *Treatise, on International law*, "Whenever a State lacking the legal qualification to make war nevertheless actually makes war, it is a belligerent, the contention is real war, and all the rules of International Law respecting warfare apply to it. Therefore, an armed contention between suzerain and vassal, or between a Federal State and one or more of its members, is war in the technical sense of the term according to the Law of Nations.

"The distinction between legal qualification and actual power to make war explains the fact that insurgents may become belligerent power through recognition. The principles governing recognition of belligerency are essentially the same as those relating to the recognition of States and Governments. Certain conditions of fact, not stigmatised as unlawful by International Law—the Law of Nations does not treat civil war as illegal—create for other States the right and the duty to grant recognition of belligerency. These conditions of fact are: the existence of a civil war accompanied by a state of general hostilities; occupation and a measure of orderly administration of a substantial part of national territory by the insurgents; observance of the rules of warfare on the part of the insurgent forces acting under a responsible authority; the practical necessity for third States to define their attitude to the civil war"— (*International Law*, Seventh Edition edited by H. Lauterpacht, London 1952 p. 249). The author goes further and says that "refusal to recognize belligerent states notwithstanding these conditions must be deemed contrary to sound principle and precedent". (*Ibid* p. 250)

Oppenheim places the greatest emphasis on the practical necessity for other states to define their attitude to the civil war. The necessity for India to do so has already led Parliament to announce the nation's solidarity with the cause of Bangla Desh. The other conditions are self-evident. No one can deny that a civil war is raging in Bangla Desh; no one can again deny that the insurgents dominate over a large part of the territory of Bangla

Desh. The Pakistani authorities, despite overwhelming superiority in armaments, planes and ships, were pushed out of the capital city Dacca and were so demoralized that they could not even run the Dacca Radio station. The insurgents are certainly observing all the rules of war in face of the provocative acts of the Pakistani armed gangs operating in the name of a State and shooting down men, women, children, teachers, students and destroying everything in sight including the magnificent University of Dacca. Anyone conversant with the principles of international law can see how flagrantly the Pakistani armies are violating the rules of war. Oppenheim writes, "It happens occasionally during war that, on the approach of the enemy, a belligerent calls the whole population of the country to arms, and thus makes them a part, although a more or less irregular part, of his armed forces. Provided they receive some organization, and comply with the laws and usages of war, the combatants who take part in such a levy en masse organised by the State enjoy the privileges due to members of armed forces. Or, again, a levy en masse may take place spontaneously without organisation by a belligerent. The question then arises whether or not those who take part in such levies en masse belong to the armed forces of the belligerents, and therefore enjoy the privileges due to members of such forces. Article 2 of the Hague Regulations stipulates that the population of a territory not yet occupied who, *on the enemy's approach*, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading enemy, without having time to organise themselves under responsible commanders and to procure fixed distinctive emblems recognisable at a distance, shall nevertheless enjoy the privileges due to armed forces provided that they carry arms openly and act otherwise in conformity with the laws and usages of war".

(p. 257-58) The Government of Bangla Desh has called the people to arms and the people are openly fighting the forces of Pakistan. The forces of Bangla Desh thus have a distinct status in law and deserves recognition as such.

The atrocities committed by the Pakistani army on the population of East Bengal who have risen in arms against Pakistan are breaches of law for which Pakistan deserves to be condemned under international law. The Government of India ought to draw attention to this violation of the laws of war by the Pakistani invaders in Bangla Desh.

Intervention on grounds of humanity is not wholly unknown in international law. Fenwick writes, 'Numerous interventions took place during the nineteenth century upon what were called in a broad way "grounds of humanity." The Ottoman Empire, seeking to retain its hold over its rebellious vassal states and subjects, resorted to methods of suppression which shocked the conscience of Europe. In 1827 the Great powers jointly intervened to secure the independence of Greece, and the battle of Navarino may fairly be looked upon as use of force by the community of nations, acting through the intervening powers, in the interest of law and justice. In spite of the admission of the Ottoman Empire to participate in the public law and concert of Europe in 1856, interventions again took place in 1860 to protect the Christians of Mount Lebanon, in 1878 to secure the deliverance of the Balkan states, and in 1891-96 following massacres in Armenia and in Crete. Jurists discussed at length the possible technical grounds in justification of these interventions, since they constituted an interference in the domestic government of the misbehaving state and a violation of its right of independence. The international community had not as yet

developed any machinery for the assertion of its higher right to maintain law and order. But while differing as to the technical grounds of intervention, jurists found no difficulty in responding to the higher appeal of a common humanity, and in conceding to a state the same right to protect the moral feelings of its people, shocked by the accounts of the massacres of their coreligionists, that it had to protect their material interests." (Charles G. Fenwick *International Law*, Bombay, 1967 pp 287-288) The Government of India in sponsoring the resolution in Parliament has already acknowledged the fact that there is a violation of human rights in Bangla Desh. The logical course for the Government of India is thus to give full recognition to the Government of Bangla Desh and render it all assistance moral, material and human. Without a clear guidance from the Government of India the State Governments and the non-official organizations cannot move.

The commendable action of the Bihar Government—of the Bihar Cabinet, Bihar Legislative Assembly under the able guidance of the chief Minister Mr Karpoori Thakur and the Governor Mr Deb Kanta Barooah carries forward the glorious tradition Bihar has set in the cause of national freedom. But under our Constitution the scope of initiative that the State Government and the non-official organization can take in matters touching international relations is strictly limited. Therefore the hesitation in New Delhi has hamstrung the help that the people of Bangla Desh could get from the non-official, non-Military channels from India. Such a policy is hardly in keeping with the will of the people as reflected in the resolution of Parliament. We hope the Government of India would soon overcome its diffidence and see the reality of the situation and take the necessary steps to give effect to the resolution adopted by Parliament. 1.4.71.



DINABANDHU C. F. ANDREWS

J. L. DAS

Indians of all shades of opinion and of all ranks should gratefully remember Charles Freer Andrews, one of the foremost foreign friends of the country, on the occasion of his birth centenary. Charles, second child of John Edwin and Mary Charlotte Andrews, was born on February 12, 1871 at Carlisle. We learn from his famous book, *What I Owe to Christ*, that he was an introvert as a boy. His physical weakness often prevented him from participating in robust exercises, and he devoted most of his time to thoughtful pursuits. From his father, who was a Minister in the Irvingate church, he learnt to practise Christ's religion of love with great sincerity and assiduity even at that early age. After a brilliant career at Pembroke College, Cambridge University, C. F. Andrews true to his nature and inclinations, worked among the poor industrial workers and slum-dwellers in his own country. Then he came out to India as a member of the Cambridge Mission and joined the teaching staff of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

That was in the year 1904. From Principal Sushil Rudra, who exercised great influence on him, Andrews first came to have authentic accounts of the dire poverty and wretched condition of the vast masses of the Indian people. Further, as his biographer Miss Marjorie Sykes observes, "Rudra opened his eyes to the truth of which he had been unaware, such as the British administration's share in the impoverishment of the people". This revelation coupled with what he himself saw greatly pained the heart of the Christian missionary and he resolved to strive his utmost for eradicating the malaise. In fact, since

then till his death in 1940, i.e. for more than three decades and a half he completely identified himself with the cause of India and her people.

Andrews first met Rabindranath Tagore in 1912 in England at artist Rothenstein's house, where the Irish poet Yeats recited some poems of Gitanjali in English translation. The effect, in the words of Andrews himself was that in the "charming moonlit night the supreme delicacy and beauty of India's great world culture was brought home to me with overwhelming power as I listened to the poet's songs and met the poet himself". According to Rabindranath, ".....he (Andrews) was led through his love of God into a stirring of love towards me. Little did I dream that day of the friendship in which the streams of his life and mine were destined to be mingled to the end in such deep intimacy, in such a fellowship of service." Thus the two instinctively felt drawn towards each other, and Andrews joined Santiniketan in 1914 as a full-fledged "ashramite". To welcome his permanent guest Rabindranath composed a poem (in Bengali) which he himself later translated into English as follows:

From the shrine of the West
You have brought us living water,
We welcome you, friend.
The East has offered you
Her garland of love,
Accept it and welcome, friend.
Your love has opened
The door of our heart,
Enter and welcome, friend.
You have come to us
As a gift of the Lord
We bow to Him, friend.

In 1913-14, C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson, another foreign friend of India and close associate of Rabindranath, went to South Africa and stood by Mahatma Gandhi, who was carrying on his historic Passive Resistance Movement against the humiliations and oppressions perpetrated on the Indian community by the arrogant European settlers. Andrews was moved by the Mahatma's "sovereign power of winning victories through sufferings", and as he remarked, ".....our hearts met from the first moment we saw one another and they have remained united by the strongest ties of love ever since". Thus love of India and the Indians brought Andrews in close contact with two of the greatest sons of the country, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. He came to address the poet as "Gurudeva" and Gandhiji simply as "Mohan" and between the two he was a link, a "hyphen", as the poet's eldest brother Dwijendranath used teasingly to call him. Differences in outlook on several issues notwithstanding, these three great souls forged a deep bond of admiration and love for one another. When Gandhiji undertook fasts or fell ill, Tagore used to depute Andrews to nurse him and to keep up his spirits. And it was to the Mahatma to whom the poet appealed to nourish Santiniketan, the institution of his making, after his own death. Again, on several occasions Andrews acted as Gandhiji's emissary during the latter's parleys with the Viceroy and Whitehall.

Though Andrews did not participate directly in India's liberation movement, yet he championed the cause of full independence for the country and expressed through the press and the platform many ugly features of British Rule. He characterized the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy as "a cold and calculated massacre" an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable". Advocating independence of India he wrote as early

as in 1920 a pamphlet named *Independence—the Immediate Need*, about which Jawaharlal Nehru remarked in his *Autobiography* thus, ".....it was nationalism, pure and simple the feeling of the humiliation of India and a fierce desire to be rid of it and to put an end to our continuing degradation. It was wonderful that C. F. Andrews, a foreigner and one belonging to the dominant race in India, should echo that cry of our inmost being". Ramananda Chatterjee, the veteran editor of the *Modern Review*, correctly assessed Andrews contributions to India and her people when he observed, "In serving India he acted as if he was atoning for the misdeeds of his countrymen here". He cherished the dream of Indian independence unto the last. When Gandhiji visited his great friend, who was lying on his death-bed in a Calcutta hospital, Andrews clasped the Mahatma's hands and exclaimed, "Mohan, Swaraj is coming!"

C. F. Andrews not only took to simple Indian food and dress but also completely identified himself with the sufferings of the poor and humble Indians. He could be seen constantly moving, sometimes alone and sometimes in company of devoted workers, ministering relief to the oppressed tea garden workers stranded at Chandpur and Chittagong (now in East Pakistan) the flood and famine stricken people of Orissa, the unfortunate inhabitants of Bihar where the unprecedented earthquake of 1934 created havoc with life and property, in fact wherever distressed humanity cried out for assistance and compassion. He stood by the side of the Harijans of Vaikom (in the then Travancore State) who were fighting for their elementary right to use the road leading to a temple, espoused the cause of the people of Nilgiri States against "bethi" (an unjust levy) and "magan" (forced labour), and sided with the peasants in their fight against European indigo planters.

His missions of mercy prompted an admirer of his to elaborate his initials C. F. A. as "Christ's Faithful Apostle".

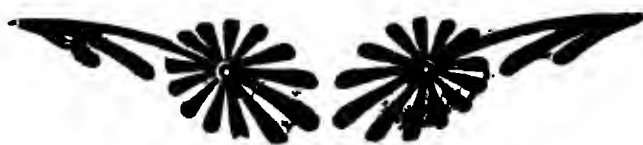
The problems and hardships confronting the Indian overseas also engaged the serious attention of Andrews. He made a special study of all issues connected with indentured labour and travelled extensively in South Africa, Fiji, British Guiana, Malaya, Japan, Australia, England and other parts of the world in his effort to ameliorate their living and working conditions. Dr. Sten Konow, the noted Norwegian Indologist and Epigraphist, aptly called him a "Wandering Christian". And, for his untiring and selfless services towards them, the poor and down-trodden Indians at home and overseas bestowed on him the title of "Dinabandhu" (Friend of the poor) in affectionate gratitude. To the Dinabandhu serving God and serving the poor were synonymous. Indeed, he saw Him in the "coolie",

There he crouched,
Back and arms scarred, like a
hunted thing,
Terror-stricken.
All within are surged towards
him,
While the tears rushed.
Then, a change.
Through his eyes I saw thy
glorious face—
Ah, the wonder !
Calm, unveiled in deathless

beauty,
Lord of sorrow.

Dinabandhu Andrews wielded a facile pen and in spite of his multifarious engagements and frequent trips abroad and away from Santiniketan, he found time to write on the problems of India and the Indians, and other topics. His publications include what I Owe to Christ, Mahatma Gandhi At Work, the Rise And Growth of the Congress In India, The Challenge of the North-West Frontier, India And the Pacific, The True India, India And Britain. A Moral Challenge, The Inner Life (last published work).

Early in 1940, Dinabandhu fell seriously ill and was admitted to the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta for treatment. Gandhiji visited him there on February 17. Subsequently he was transferred to the Riordan Nursing Home, where he breathed his last on April 5 (1940). Gandhiji paid the following tribute to his memory, ".....In the death of the Rev. C. F. Andrews not only India but humanity has lost a true son and servant". In course of his speech at the memorial service at Santiniketan, Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore remarked, ".....that he loved India was the least part of his greatness. He was truly great because he loved humanity". The inscription on the simple coffin read "Charles Freer Andrews. Buried on 5th April, 1940. Aged 69. peace, perfect peace". Nothing could be more appropriate for him who indeed was Christ's Faithful Apostle.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue

Well, the son-in-law turned up one day with the grandson. The son-in-law belonged to far away Dildarpur. When she saw the son-in-law Shibani wept and cried for a long time.

Nishapada said—Why are you crying Mother, the dead donot come back if one cried. Crying is useless—

When people go they do not come back. But the world does not stay inactively in thirsty expectation of the return of the lost ones. There is cooking, arranging for meals and a variety of social duties to perform.

Nishapada stayed only for a day.

Fatik said—Granma, is Sushil there ? And Rani ?

Grand Mother said—Yes, darling, they are all here.—

—I want to go to Sushil's house—

It was however unnecessary to go to Sushil's house. As soon as Sushil heard of his arrival he ran up to this house. He said—Oh, goodness, your head is hairless —

Rani gave a tight slap to Sushil. She said—For shame ! Should you talk like that ? Don't you know his mother died ?

Fatik said—Yes, Sushil is foolish and ignorant, knows nothing. One has to have

the head shaved when one's mother dies, is it not so Papa ?

Nishapada said—Yes, yes, you are very clever ! Now, go and ask Grandma whether I could have a cup of tea—

Fatik ran off to the kitchen and said—Granma, won't you give tea to Papa ?

Tea ! Grandma was overwhelmed with sorrow. She was, however, arranging for the son-in-law. But she had not thought of tea. She hurried out to Basanti's place. Bouma, have you any tea ? I had totally forgotten that the son-in-law was a tea drinker—

Basanti said - Don't you worry Aunty, I shall make the tea and send it over.

Well, it was a great saving that the Bouma was there. By that time Fatik had gone into the garden.

Nishapada called out—Ho there, Fatke !

As soon as he heard the call Fatik said—I say, there's Papa calling. I must go—

—Where had you been, so long ?

So saying, he looked around and brought out cigarettes from his pocket. He said—Go and see if you can get a box of matches—

Fatik went to the kitchen and said to Grand

Mother—Granma, give matches, Papa wants to smoke cigarettes—

Nishapada heard him.

He said—You are a stupid fellow! You should never tell Grand Mother that I smoke—

Fatik said—Give me tea Papa, I want to drink tea—

Nishapada poured a little tea in the saucer and said—Drink it up, don't let it stain your clothes, drink it up—

The Pandit Mashai suddenly arrived. Nishapada hurriedly tried to hide the cigarette and clear the smoke by moving his hands and said to Fatik—There's your Grand Papa, get up, get up—

But nothing escaped the notice of Pandit Mashai. He did not like the son-in-law's smoking, nor the tea drinking of Fatik. Both were bad habits.

—How are you Nishapada? Did you sleep well at night?

Nishapada said—I have no maladies connected with sleep, I fall on my bed and sleep, no difficulty in sleeping—

Pandit Mashai said—Has Fatik also been taught tea drinking, has he?

Nishapada answered—Your daughter used to have tea, she got this fellow into the habit.

—Has he learnt to read and write?

Nishapada exclaimed—Read and write! God in heaven! He does not listen to me. I have to be busy attending to my work at Dildarpur, how can I devote any time to his studies?

Fatik cried out—I can read the second Primer Dadu—

You shut up, you need not show off what an expert you are. Your daughter did not look after him properly and I had no time even to die; that fellow has thus turned out a ne'er-do-well. Dildarpur is also an unsavoury spot—

Pandit Mashai said—You leave him here this time I shall look after him—

—That's very good, he will be disciplined if you look after him, his ill breeding knows no bounds, does not pay attention to anything I say—

While taking leave Nishapada touched his mother-in-law's feet and showed his respect.

Shibani's eyes were overflowing with tears. Her only daughter. Her only prop in life since she got married. How she brought her up, with what care and persistent hard work, neither the Pandit Mashai nor any one else knew. Everyone knew the Pandit Mashai in Bakrampur, but hardly any one noticed the weighty significance of the person who stayed in his shadow.

Nishapada said—Don't cry, crying will not help you mother. I did not neglect her treatment—medicines and doctors have cost me five hundred and thirteen rupees, not counting normal living expenses. I have kept careful accounts of everything.

How could Shibani give any answer to that!

She only said—Had you told us about all that while there was time, we might have gone over—

Nishapada was elegantly expressive—That wouldn't have mattered a button. Money down the drain and those cheats, the doctors, would have looted cash with both hands—

—Still, parents have feelings and aching hearts, my boy, we would have had a last look at her.

Nishapada said—She hardly gave anybody any opportunity! Did your daughter ever think about you? She had a very obtuse nature, she had! I told her repeatedly, do not sit up in an empty stomach for me, but

would she listen to me? That's how she developed stomach ulcers—

So saying Nishapada carried the dust of her feet to his head and started out.

He said—Tell father I could not manage to see him before leaving—

When Mathur Shaw made a gift of land and donated money, he had said—Gour, you be the founder of this, you should be declared to be the person who established this—

The chairman of the District Board, Gobinda Chakravarty, had also said the same.

He had said—We are the patrons of the school, you are really the founder—

But Gour Bhattacharjee had objected—Yes sir, but please do not involve me in these matters related to property, Mr. Shaw; I shall complete my duty by teaching the boys—

So, the documents were made out accordingly. Gobinda Chakravarty and Mathur Shaw Mashai were constituted to be the school's hereditary and permanent founder trustees, and Gour Bhattacharjee would be the head master.

Gour Bhattacharjee had said—You will be there over my head, that will be my support and assurance.—You will be the helmsmen in times of difficulty and danger—I shall be working sitting at your feet—

But who could run such a large school on the donations made by only two persons? This Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had gone with the boys on collection tours to the village fairs. A bag thrown over his shoulder.

He explained to the people in the fair—Each one of you should pay for one brick, the price of one brick is two pice. Give two pice for my school, that will enable me to build it—give two pice per head, all of you—

Abanti was just born at that time. Shibani sat awaiting the return of her husband, with the baby daughter in her lap, her eyes fixed on the road. The husband had gone out in the early hours of the morning and had dined of parched or puffed rice during his day-long sojourn away from home.

When he returned home at night he had a bag full of copper coins.

—Dear me, why such heaps of pice—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You are a woman and you would hardly understand the meaning of all this—

Shibani said—May be, I would not; but tell me how I should carry this baby girl in my lap the whole day long—She is running a temperature too the last few days.

Fever? Well, why don't you call the Kaviraj Mashai? He would give her a suitable herbal decoction—

—Who would call him? Should I go—

—Well, if you cannot, there are other people among the neighbours, whom you could give the news and request. And if you were that much worried, you could have told me before this and I would have sent Janardan—

Shibani said—You should also look and see, she is your daughter, isn't she—

Gour Bhattacharjee would lose his temper. He would say—Have I only one job to perform? Should I look after the Pathshala or take care of your daughter? When this Pathshala grows to its proper size, a thousand boys will be benefited, why don't you understand that?

In that late hour of the night Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai would start counting the copper coins one by one. There were half-pice pieces and the total came to five rupees or to seven. If the collection was very good it might even yield ten rupees.

The next morning he would go to the office of Mathur Shaw, the proprietor of "Balarampur Variety Stores," and render a scrupulously worked out detailed account of all the pies and pice collected.

Mathur Shaw was the president and Gobinda Chakravarty the secretary of the school. Mathur Shaw would ask—What is the total today, Gour ?

Gour Bhattacharjee would answer—It is not so good today, only seven rupees and thirteen annas—

Shaw Mashai would say encouragingly—Plenty, it is plenty —

Gour Bhattacharjee would protest—No, no Shaw Mashai, it wouldn't do at all, there are three more rooms to be put up. Three rooms would certainly take three thousand rupees without fail—

Shaw Mashai would ask while putting away the money in his cash box—You keep an account with you, don't you Gour ?

Gour Bhattacharjee would say—What account should I keep Shaw Mashai, what do I know of accounts ? I know Panini, I know Kavya and figures of speech. No accounts enter my head.

Coming home he would find his food had not been cooked. Gour Bhattacharjee asked—You have not finished cooking yet ?

Shibani was much harassed by her kitchen work. She said—How would I finish cooking ? One hand holding the baby and the other busy cooking ; how can I manage both these ?

Gour Pandit understood. He said—No, you must have some one to hold the baby—

Shibani answered—You will find a baby sitter after my death. You go and save your Pathshala—

Gour Bhattacharjee announced—No, no,

let me be a little settled ; I will surely fix up a person—

These are past history. But Shibani recollected all that when she sat with Fatik in her lap. How she brought up the daughter and how she married her off was known only to Shibani and to her God !

It is not an easy thing to get one's daughter married. Gour Bhattacharjee's school was going ahead in those days. There was shortage of funds no doubt and there was the constant problem of supervising studies. There was no time to look for a bridegroom.

One day Shibani said—Why, you have done nothing about Abanti's marriage ?—

Gour Bhattacharjee was reminded about the matter.

He said—Yes, yes, I shall do it. Just let the examinations be over—

Shibani said—But examinations will go on as long as we live. That cannot hold up the marriage of the daughter—

Gour Bhattacharjee was intent upon examining answer papers.

He said—Do not disturb now when I am examining papers ; something will go wrong somewhere—

Shibani said—All right let your daughter remain a spinster all her life !

When the matter became complex and difficult he could not stay inactive any longer. One day he returned from school and said—I have fixed your daughter's marriage, do you hear ?—

Shibani said—What sort of a bridegroom ?

—Oh, an excellent fellow. Is in business. Independent. Has a parental home—

—The parents ?

Gour Bhattachajee said—No bother with all that. He is free as the birds in the air—

—Have you seen the bridegroom ?

—Not quite ; but I shall. Do you think I shall marry off my daughter without seeing the groom ?

—Aren't they coming to see the bride ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—There is no one to see the bride. The bridegroom has said, she is the daughter of the head master of the Balarampur School, what is there to see ? I am very lucky to marry the daughter of such a learned man.

—Has the bridegroom said all that ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes, my dear, yes ! I am very pleased to hear that. My name is getting known everywhere now, don't you know ? The fame of the Balarampur High School is wide spread, you should understand. It got scholarships three times and why shouldn't the public sing its praise ?

That bridegroom came one day for the marriage. The chairman of the District Board Gobinda Chakravarty came and so did Mathur Shaw of the Balarampur Variety Stores. The bridegroom had no family members with him ; but had a large enough groom's party with him. They were quite rowdy and ate as if they had been starving.

Mathur Shaw was supervising personally.

He said—Don't hesitate to ask for further helpings my boys ; there is no need to feel shy—

They were hardly of the types which felt shy. The more one gave the more they asked for. They were not ashamed to ask for more.

They said—Give a couple more of those large round sweets—

Some said—Two more pieces of that fish kalia—it is very tasty—Two large pieces from the juiciest parts—

That Gour Bhattacharjee's good name and reputation were saved that evening could not be credited to anything the Pandit had done ; it was all due to Mathur Shaw and Gobinda Chakravarty. The groom's party wasted more than they ate. And the more eager hospitality they were shown, the more they tried to discredit the bride's father.

Mathur Shaw eventually ordered—Go and get *ghee* from my shop and flour, let me see how much they can eat—

Not only *ghee* and flour ; but casein and sugar came too. Sweets were prepared again that night. Fish was netted from the tanks and served as fry as well as cooked otherwise. After a while it was all praise from everybody. The bridegrooms party had to admit that the people of Balarampur were real gentlemen. One man's disgrace was taken as loss of face by everyman, and one man's prestige was shared by all men.

That day, when Gour Bhattacharjee's daughter Abanti was married, everybody came forward to shoulder the Pandit-Mashai's difficulty. The people of Balarampur could hardly ever forget those incidents.

Nishapada said when he was leaving—You are keeping Fatik here ; but you will regret it.

Shibani was astonished when she heard that.

She asked—Why my boy ? He is a very quiet little child—

Nishapada said—Quiet ? You wait and see how quiet ! Even now he takes my cigarette from my hand and smokes it ; wouldn't he be looking for the big pipe after this—

—Big pipe, what does that mean ?

Shibani had not understood what it meant.

Nishapada explained. He said—Don't you know the big pipe. Big pipe means Ganja (*Cannabis Indica*). That fellow will surely take to Ganja when he grows up. He is the black sheep of our genteel family--

Shibani mentally shivered when she heard what the son-in-law said. She said—Then why did you not give him some moral training?

Nishapada had commented—What? Should I look after my business or go chasing my son? Your daughter was useless for that sort of work. Had she looked after Fatik, things would not have taken this turn!

--Well, you might have told Abanti to look after him—

Nishapada said—But that would have led to a quarrel. Your daughter was very quarrelsome. Would she quarrel with me or would she teach manners to her son!

Shibani realised what she had to know from this talk. She understood with tears in her eyes. But Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, leave Fatik with us. I shall bring him up as a man—

—Very good indeed. He is your grandson and you will bring him up. What have I got to say about this.

That is how Nishapada left Fatik there and went away. He never came that way again. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai began to teach Fatik from the same day.

Everyday at dawn Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai sat on his open front verandah with a number of pupils. That Nimai Shaw also was one such pupil at one time. Rani's father Naren Chakravarty too was a pupil who studied there. So did Bhaba, Bhabarajan, sitting out there on the uncemented floor. Shibani used to get up very early and mopped that floor with cow dung to give it a dustless and hard surface. As the floor got dry they all began to come in one by one with their

books, slates and papers. But the Pandit Mashai had recited his Gayatri verses even before that and got ready for the day.

—I say, where is Kailash? Hasn't Kailash come to-day?

Binu has come, Rani and Sushil have come. Ranabir has arrived. No one is absent, only Kailash has not turned up. Kailash never does that sort of thing. He felt somewhat absent minded while teaching. What has happened to Kailash?

While teaching he suddenly got up and went indoors. Shibani was in the kitchen, busy cooking.

—Do you hear me? Where are you?

Shibani turned round while cooking. Said --What's up?

I say, Kailash has not come to-day.

Shibani said—If Kailash has not come, what can I do about it?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, I just came to tell you—

--What is the good of telling me? Should I go out to call Kailash?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—There you go, getting angry. What have I said that should anger you? I only said—Kailash had not come. I have said nothing else to you. A boy comes every day; but has failed to turn up to-day. Isn't that something to worry about?

Shibani said while cooking—No one will come to you. Why should they? They are all little children, why should they come when you beat them so much?

As soon as he heard of beating Gour Bhattacharjee did not wait to hear the rest of it. They were all sitting on the verandah swaying back and forth while reading loudly in a singsong voice. Gour Bhattacharjee went and sat on his floor mat. May be it is so. What Shibani said may be true. But why; there was Naren who studied here, Nimai who

took cooching from him and Binod also his pupil. They all bow low before him and touch his feet. They all have great respect for him. Had they resented his beating would they have continued to show respect to him? Would they then touch his feet even now when they met him in the road?

He got up. Said—You study, I shall be back.—He said that, got up and went down the steps of the open raised verandah towards the main entrance. He raised his voice and spoke to the kitchen—Do you hear me, I am going out once, I shall come back immediately—

It was dawn and the sun was up. The path was along the bank of the weedy pond. He met Kali's mother as he came out on the path. Kali's mother did not see well with her eyes

—Well, Kali's mother, where are you going so very early?

As soon as she heard the voice of Pandit Mashai, Kali's mother pulled her veil down to her chin and bowed down to touch the earth with her forehead.

—Stop, stop, how is Kali? How is he progressing with his work?

Kali's mother went rather pathetic in her face.

She said—I was going to you, my father, to speak to you about my grandson.

—You grandson? Kali's son? When did Kali have a son? I never heard anything. What class is he in?

—Does not read in any class yet, my father. I want to get him admitted. You know Kali's position. He works now in the wholesale store of Nandi Mashai. What he earns is not enough to eat twice a day. If you could show kindness to that contemptible grandson of mine and make him a free student.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why are you making that request to me? Am I the person

authorised to grant free studentships, eh, Kali's mother?

Kali's mother said—My lord, the school is yours, you built the school.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I can not make any one a free student. When I built the school, I built it. Now Bhaba is the head master, Nimai Shaw is the president, Naren Chakkotti the Secretary, and there is the Committee to run the school. They, do everything, who am I? You go to them—

Kali's mother said—No my father, my god, I do not know all that. Everybody knows you are everything, they all say even now it is Gour Pandit's school. Please, please, you must make my grandson a free student—

Gour Pandit was perhaps somewhat mollified. It is true, the people of Balarampur call it Gour Pandit's school. Who does not know to what limits the Pandit Mashai has gone to set up the school.

He said—All right, do one thing Kali's mother; have an application written out by some one and give it to me; let me see if I could induce the secretary to do something—

Kali's mother said—You can do everything my father and lord—you can do anything and everything—

Saying this she went down low and touched her forehead on the earth to show respect to Gour Bhattacharjee. Then she went back the way she had come.

Well, Bhabaranjan also was astonished. Secretary Naren Chakravarty, President Nimai Shaw, both were mightily surprised.

Bhabaranjan pointed out—Look at this—

Secretary Naren Chakravarty had a look. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had put his grandson in the school. Fatik Chandra Haldar,

father—Nishapada Haldar, care of—local guardian Sri Gour Chandra Bhattacharjee, Kavyatirtha. Balarampur, south zone.

Naren Chakravarty asked—Well, why didn't you admit him as a free student Bhaba? You know the financial position of the Pandit Mashai. Where from will he get that extra seven and half rupees every month to pay up?

Nimai Shaw said—But his father is alive, isn't he sending his son's schooling expenses every month to his father-in-law?

Naren Chakravarty said—No, my dear Nimai, he is a good-for-nothing of a son-in-law. He is leaving his son with his father-in-law and going about in search of his own pleasures—I have heard all that from the Pandit Mashai.

Bhabaranjan said— I told him all that. I said— Pandit Mashai, why must you pay school fees for your grandson? Had you only told the secretary he would have granted him a free studentship—

—What did he say when he heard that?

Pandit Mashai said— No, no, that cannot be! You can see how tight the school's finances are, the times are hard, and free studentships on top of all that? It is only

seven and half rupees per month, I shall manage that some how Bhaba. Don't you worry —

So saying he went to his own class. Nimai Shaw said—He would not even write any books of notes—

Bhabaranjan said—Lord, no! If any boys have any books of notes with them, he would snatch those from their hands and throw them away. He was mad with me because I wrote an annotation of school texts—

Nimai Shaw said—Mad, quite mad, totally and utterly mad—

Naren Chakravarty commented—I had asked him to coach my son at home. I thought he would not accept any financial help directly and I might assist by reason of tuition work; but he was very angry —

Nimai Shaw opined— Give it up; after all the world is full of men of diverse types—

So saying he changed the topic and said—call a meeting for the next Wednesday, that matter of the school building should be settled. And one must also deal with that joint petition made for increasing the pay of the teachers.

(To be Continued)



FINE ARTS IN THE JATAKAS

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

Fine Arts which include primarily dance, drama, music, architecture, painting and sculpture, played an important part in the public life of ancient India. The Jatakas which were written in a mixture of prose and verse bear innumerable references to the matters concerned with fine arts. The Jataka-book, according to the orthodox Buddhist tradition, containing more than five hundred tales, composed in Pali, was taken to Ceylon by Mahinda, the son of emperor Asoka, in about 250 B. C.¹; its commentary was there translated into Singhalese and next retranslated into Pali by Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Indian commentator, of the fifth century A.C.² It is in this commentary alone that the texts of the Jatakas which were admirably edited by Dr. Fausboll have come down to us.

Jatakas may be defined as stories in which the Bodhisatta³, a being who is destined to attain the enlightenment (i. e. to become Buddha), plays a role in one of his former existences, whether as the hero of the story or as a secondary character or as a spectator only⁴. Thus the Jatakas are rather folk-tales which are frequently related to some didactic verses occupying the tenth place among the fifteen works of the Khuddakanikaya of the Suttapitaka of the Pali Canon. We get at present merely a commentary and not the original canonical Jataka-text. It is, therefore, difficult to say how much of the present

Jataka-book belongs to the Canon. Each Jataka (or birth-story) in this commentary consists of (i) an introductory episode (paccuppannavatthu), (ii) the story of the past being the Jataka proper in prose (atitavatthu), (iii) the verse giving the moral in archaic language and many times appearing redundant for presenting the same facts of the story (gatha), (iv) an explanation of the verse or verses (veyyakarana), and (v) identification of the actors of the past story with the present ones among whom Buddha is the hero (samodhana)⁵. We may remark that the authorship of the Jatakas, though traditionally ascribed to Buddha, may be attributed to the scholiasts of the later period⁶.

As already stated, the Jataka-stories dealing with various aspects of human life presents some valuable materials for reconstructing the history of five arts⁷. From Jatakas we may conclude that among the Sippas or Kalas dance (nacca), drama (abhinaya) and music both vocal (gita) and instrumental (vadita) were extensively cultivated during the period under our consideration. Kings, aristocrats as well as common citizens and even ascetics had great love for and opportunity to hear the songs of musicians (gandhabba) and to witness the dances and acting of the dancers and actors (natanaccaka)⁸. In this respect women were naturally gifted. Kinnaras were also noted for sweet music and superb danc-

ing⁹. But dance, drama and music were mutually connected. Although most of the dances, however, were of an acrobatic nature, like the javeline dance or the pole dance¹⁰, yet serene dances with waving hands, regulating foot-falls and elegant and easy movements, displayed with the accompaniment of the vina or venu were also prevalent¹¹. The inborn instinct of graceful movements led people to train even beasts and birds like peacocks and pea hens to utter sweet notes and dance at the snapping of fingers and clapping of hands¹². Thus in a Jataka-story it is told that being overwhelmed with joy a peacock in defiance of decency spread his wings and began to dance when the lovely young daughter of the king Golden Mallard (Suvannarajamaṇsa) had selected him the companion¹³. The sculptural representations of Barhut also depicting the same story vividly displayed repturous dances of the peacock¹⁴. Even a poor girl who used to gather firewood in a garden was found to perform her duties with the accompaniment of singing¹⁵. Another young girl used to sing in a melodious voice when she collected various kinds of flowers with which she made flower-wreath (puppha-cum-batakan)¹⁶. The son of a great merchant was also described to waste his valuable time in singing and dancing (gitanacca)¹⁷. It was further stated in the Jataka that in order to serve the Exalted One who was about to bathe in the tank of the Jetavana, the king of the Storm-Clouds being ordered by Sakka (Indra) clad himself in one cloud as an undergarment, and another cloud as an outer garment, and chanting the rain-song (meghagitani) darted forth eastward¹⁸. The "Guttila Jataka" recorded that once when Brahmadatta was reigning in Varanasi, Budhisatta was born in a musician's family. His name was Master Guttila. As he grew up, he became an expert in all branches of music and under the name

Guttila the Musician was the chief of his kind in India. This Jataka-tale showed how the musical competition was generally organised and how people used to respond to the musical performances in hoary days and supplied a detailed description of the lute¹⁹. In the "Padakusalamanava Jataka" (No. 432) we find that one Satala who belonged to a village in Varanasi became expert in dance and music. The "Culla-Palobhana Jataka" (No. 263), on the other hand, related that a certain dancing girl who became expert in dance and music, taking her stand near the residence of Bodhisatta, the prince of Varanasi, used to sing in a sweet voice²⁰. At another occasion the son of Bodhisatta paid a thousand pieces to runners and tumblers, singers and dancers, and passed his time in drinking, gluttony, and debauchery. He also used to wander about, asking only for song, music and dancing²¹. The "Sonaka Jataka" stated that a boy with his hair dressed in five knots expressed his desire to the king to sing before an assembly of people. Further in the "Kantivadi Jataka" (No. 313) was said that once the king Kalabu being overpowered by strong drink came into the park in great pomp, surrounded by a company of dancers. In one of the Jataka-scenes represented in the Barhut sculpture relating to the forecast of the Bodhisatta's birth as a human child we notice that the "joyous feeling bursts forth and finds a fitting expression through the combined music, songs and dances of the nymphs. The grand opera is enacted by three groups of nymphs, each of four. The party is composed entirely of female—experts, four of them dancing, four singing, and four playing on the harp and another such stringed instrument. The singers clap their hands in unison"²².

Among the musical instruments which were in use in those days mention had been made frequently, in the Jatakas, of the Vina, a harp

without a post, that had a hollow belly covered with a broad or stretched leather²³. Other musical instruments which were in use then were Panissara, Samnataala or the cymbels, Kumbhathuna played on cups filled with water in varying proportions probably like modern 'Jalataranga', Bheri, Mutinga, Muraja, Alambara, Anaka, Sankha, Panavadendima, Kharamukham, Godhaparivadentika, Kintumbatindimani, Venu, or the flute, Mridanga, Kamsyakartal, Panava etc.

Turning to architecture, painting and sculpture we find that the Jatakas bear also numerous references to these branches of fine arts. The importance of secular architectural science may be gleaned from the mention of the 'Vatthuvijjacariya' or person qualified for testing sites for house-building and of Vissakamma, the Divine Architect²⁴. The cyclopean walls of ancient Rajagaha, the Rativaddhanapasada, the Pupphakapasada and Ayogghara (iron-palace)²⁵ were mentioned in the Jataka-tales. We get references to palaces which rested on a single pillar²⁶ and which had big octagonal stone-columns (silathambha) numbering one thousand²⁷. Terms like Kotthaka (gatehouse), Kotthagara (store-house), Kutagara (house with a final or roof ridge), Pangara (attic or dormer-window) and Kamika were connected with ancient Indian architecture. In the "Mahammagga Jataka" a vivid description of the construction of a beautiful tunnel may be found. This tunnel which was decorated until it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma²⁸ was significant from the architectural point of view. Mention was also made in the Jatakas of Thupas and Cetiyas. Indeed every measure was adopted for enhancing architectural beauty of the buildings and monuments erected in those days. Paintings (Cittakamma) were usually drawn on the

walls (bhitti) and on panels or boards (phalaka)²⁹. It was said that Prince Kusa having prepared a palm-leaf fan for his beloved Pabhavati, depicted on it a white umbrella, and had taken as his subject-matter a banquet hall, amongst a variety of other forms, represented a standing figure of Pabhavati³⁰. We also find that painters (cittakare) painted beautiful pictures (ramaniyam cittakammam) on the walls of a hall where a great religious assembly was held and the hall thus became like Sakka's heavenly palace Suddamma³¹. The walls of even ordinary buildings were sometimes decorated with sundry painted figures. Lattice-work (kilanja) was also in practice³². The surface on which paintings were to be made, was generally plastered, coated with lime and polished³³. The Jatakas also recorded that carving out figures from wood was known in those days³⁴. In the "Asatamanta Jataka" it is observed that a Brahmana cut a fig tree and prepared a life-size wooden figure from it³⁵. So also a stone-image (Silapatima) of an elephant was found to be erected in the Karandaka monastery³⁶. There were in the royal chambers of the tunnel built by Mahosadha very beautiful female statues (matugamapotthakani upakani). References were also found in the Jatakas to golden images (suvannapatima)³⁷ and to a gatehouse that had a decorated peak and was surrounded by statues of Inda (i. e. Indra) as though guarded by tigers³⁸. Besides, mention of beautiful dolls and playthings (Kilabbandakam) which were frequently demanded by children, showed the wide scope of the exercise of plastic art in ancient India³⁹.

We have tried in the foregoing pages to trace some references to fine arts as found in the Jatakas. People of those hoary days found great interest in dance, drama, music⁴⁰, architecture, painting and sculpture. Jatakas

as they became widely popular, were in many instances pictorially represented in various postures on the Buddhist monuments. These pictorial representations are found on the stone walls of Barhut and Sanchi dated third and second centuries B.C. and on those of Amaravati, and still later on the caves of Ajanta. Fa-Hien, the Chinese Pilgrim, while travelling in Ceylon in A.C.412 saw how, during the festival of the sacred tooth, in Abhayagiri, the king of Ceylon had the five hundred Jataka-stories represented by figures ranged on either side of the street along which the procession passed, brightly coloured and grandly executed with various musical gestures, looking as if they were alive¹¹. Hiuen-Tsang also described some Stupas seen by him, which had been erected in various regions of India in memory of the noble deeds of Bodhisatta as recounted in the Jatakas¹². In the temples of Boro Budur in Java (9th century), of Pagan in Burma (13th century, and of Sukhodaya in Siam (14th century), are found numerous reliefs describing musical scenes as depicted in the Jatakas. Thus from the above discussion it is evident that in ancient Indian society attempts were made to develop all human faculties of self-expression which should include not only the language of words but the different fine arts. That is why Rabindranath Tagore, the versatile poet, remarked: "A large part of man can never find its expression in the mere language of words. It must, therefore, seek for it other language—lines and colours, sounds and movements"¹³.

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A BI-CENTENARY REVIEW : THE MOVEMENT THAT WORDSWORTH LED

D. D. AGRAWAL

The publication of the 'Lyrical Ballads', a collection of poems by Wordsworth and Coleridge, of which the first edition appeared in 1798, and the second with new poems and a preface in 1800, marked a turning point in the history of English literature. The preface in which Wordsworth expounded his poetical principles, became a controversial document and gave rise to new ideas in regard to poetic diction and subject-matter and became the mouthpiece of the Romantic movement of which Wordsworth was the leader.

It will be wrong to say that Wordsworth was aware of the word 'Romantic' for in English the term 'Romanticism' occurs first in 1844¹. Thomas Shaw, in his *Outline of English Literature*, published in 1849, was first to call Wordsworth and other poets as 'Romanticists'. But the term had not yet caught the imagination of the critical writers. Mrs. Oliphant did not use the word in her *Literary History of England Between the End of the Eighteenth and [the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century]*² published in 1882. Later the word became popular and now there is no history of English literature which does not use the word over and over again.

The movement that Wordsworth led is known as the movement of the Romantic Revival, but Romanticism is a term not easy to define. T. S. Eliot believes that it is "just a label of convenience with which the creative writers cannot afford to bother over much." He says, "These names which groups of writers and artists give themselves are the delight of professors and historians of literature but should not be taken very seriously. Their chief value is temporary and political."

But this 'label of convenience' is necessary in understanding that special variety of literature which was created by Wordsworth and other poets of the early nineteenth century. Victor Hugo defines Romanticism as Liberalism in Literature. "To Herford, it is an "extraordinary development of imaginative sensibility." It is "liberty of imagination". Beers believes that 'Romanticism' is 'Mediaevalism'³. According to Pater it is "addition of strangeness to beauty"⁴. To L. Abercrombie, "Romanticism" is withdrawal from outer experience to concentrate upon inner experience". Theodore Watts Dunton calls Romanticism, "Renaissance of wonder". Grierson says "It is the conscious contrast with reason which makes romance in the full sense." To Dr. Hedge, "The essence of Romanticism is aspiration". Let us hear F. L. Lucas - "Our primitive impulses lead us to Romanticism, our sense of reality to Realism, our social sense to Classicism, since right and wrong are social concepts"⁵.

We shall now examine some of these definitions. Hugo is right if he means by 'liberalism', a freedom of choice in respect of the substance and subject matter of poetry and a freedom also in the choice of form. The freedom of form and content is actually what Wordsworth advocated and aspired to achieve. To him even the commonest subject, not only the grand and the heroic, is worthy of poetic treatment, and every form of poetic expression, even if unconventional, is glorious. It is indeed this liberal view which distinguishes the Romantic poet from the Classical and gives him his place of distinction in literature. Hugo's definition may therefore be taken as

serving our purpose to a great extent. The 'liberty of imagination' which is Herford's phrase, compels us to admit that imagination plays a fairly large part in the poetry of the Romantic age. In Classical poetry imagination is a subsidiary element, and it is used with restraint, in the Romantic poetry it is primary and is given free play.

Beers' definition of Romanticism as 'Mediaevalism is only a trait, a feature of Romanticism. In Wordsworth's 'poems of reason' we find little of Mediaevalism. Intellectualism is not a mediaeval trait but there is an abundance of it in the poetry of Wordsworth.

Addition of strangeness to beauty is an oft-quoted, discussed and admired definition. But it is vague. It does not tell us anything in particular and may well be applied to all good literature. For all good literature must be beautiful and though it may hold a faithful mirror to life, it may resemble or reflect life that it represents, it must also be something new, something different from life and to that extent strange too.

Abercrombie's definition is one-sided. It is true that the Romantic poet concentrates upon the inner experience but he does not withdraw himself from the outer experience completely. He is interested in humanity and faithfully pictures the predicament in which it is placed. He is interested in the betterment of human lot, in the improvement of life and wants a reconstruction of the social frame, a quickening of a new birth, an awakening of the dormant humanity. He is sorry for the weariness, the fever and the fret we are victim to. In reality, the Romantic poet is constantly shifting from the outer to the inner and from the inner to the outer experience. He concentrates upon both and is constantly crushed between the outer and the inner, the self and the universe.

The 'Renascence of Wonder' is an apt phrase but it has not been accepted uncritically. Wonder may be of many kinds

depending upon the nature of the stimulus which arouses it. What kind of wonder is the proper Romantic wonder is a question which cannot be adequately answered. Is the Romantic poetry concerned with the primitive wonder of a child or with the shy wonder of a bride? The Romantic wonder is beauty-stricken like the one that Marlowe paints (Is this the face that launched a thousand ships?) It is the innocent wonder of Wordsworth (will no one tell me what she sings?); it is the charmed mysterious wonder of Keats (Who are these coming to the sacrifice..... what men or gods are these?) and the searching wonder of Shelly (What objects are the fountains of thy happy strains?).

Grierson's suggestion that it is "conscious contrast with reason which makes romance in the full sense," is based upon the assumption that the Romantic poetry is the poetry of emotion. Emotion is there always, but it must also be observed that reason too plays a part in it and it is often a conscious part. We may quote, for example, the following lines from Wordsworth's 'Ode to Duty':

Give unto me, made lowly wise

The spirit of self-sacrifice

The confidence of reason give

And in the light of truth thy bondman let me live.

In these lines there is no conscious contrast with reason, On the contrary, there is a conscious acceptance of reason, a conscious willingness on the part of the poet to be reason's servant..

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THE FIRE THAT WAS SANTOSH CHAKRABORTI

When the Eurasian teacher of the Hindu College of Calcutta, Derozio, was removed, it was the triumph of orthodoxy upon progressivism. After the banning of the Sati rites Alexander Duff and others tried to propagate Christianity among the Hindu community of Bengal with undue haste and in order to insulate the students of the Hindu College from any invasion of the foreign religion the Principals of the College prohibited them from joining religious meetings. At this the "India Gazette" published an article condemning the proscription as 'tyrannical', 'absurd and ridiculous'. Everybody suspected Derozio as the writer of this article and thereupon in 1831 after a meeting of the principals he was summarily dismissed. Thus orthodoxy won in the struggle.

A Great Teacher

More than a century and a half after his birth (Derozio was born on 10th April, 1809) one wonders whether he was all that responsible for the showdown. It cannot be denied that he was a great teacher who created such a spell among his students that they followed him outside their classroom to his house where he gave them a symposium—like atmosphere in which a traffic of ideas was possible between the teacher and the taught. Though the principal aim of his teaching was the inculcation of truth, he did not leave out historians like Robertson and Gibbon, political theorists like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, or romanticists like Burns, Byron and Sir Walter Scott from his scheme of teaching.

In the academic atmosphere that he would create for his students, this great teacher held

aloft the torch of truth by appealing to authorities like Lord Bacon. His great contribution to the education of his pupils lies in the fact that he enabled them in his own way to develop their independent power of thinking. He acquainted them "with the substance of Hume's celebrated dialogue between Cleanthes and Philo, in which the most subtle and refined arguments against theism are adduced. But I have also furnished them with Dr. Reid's and Dugald Stewart's more acute replies to Hume,—replies which to this day continue unrefuted" (Letter to H. H. Wilson). In this process of elaboration of points and counterpoints truth emerged and his pupils learnt "to live and die for truth—to cultivate and practise all the virtues, shunning vice in every shape."

The principal basis of his subjects of teaching—"the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the argument for and against the existence of deity" etc. (Thomas Edwards, in his biography of Derozio)—was the lesson he received from Drummond at his Dharamtolla Academy. Drummond introduced him to the bright path of rationalism and Derozio later combined it with empiricism and closely followed the principles of self-consciousness and induction as the instruments of observation. This gave his philosophy the tang of individualism which readily appealed to the young mind of his students. These Derozians were to deal a death blow to Hindu orthodoxy and obscurantism.

Nascent Revolt

The appeal of his empiricist philosophy was so instant because the entire atmosphere of

Bengal in the first half of the 19th century was ripe for a reawakening. Rammohan's life-long war against idolatry gave the Derozians an added impetus. These truth-seekers roared out week after week from the tucked away corner of their Academic Association (established in 1828) : "Down with Hinduism : Down with Orthodoxy !" This fell like a bombshell on the old traditionalists. The Derozians who went by the name of young Bengal despised Hinduism because of its bundle of prejudices like taboos on food habits, untouchability, and the excessive dominance of priests in society. They questioned the existence of God. When some of the ultras hurled cow-bones in the houses of two orthodox Brahmins, it was Derozio who was held responsible for this irresponsible behaviour.

It would be less than fair to point an accusing finger at this Eurasian teacher for the open revolt of the Young Bengal. Though his teachings were largely responsible for most of the ideas of his students his own revolt was against the decadent values of a Baboo society and social and religious prejudices. He abhorred absence of freedom and envisioned the joy of a freed slave in a fine poem, "How proudly beat his heart, when first He knew that he was free !" This love of Freedom infused in him the ideal of patriotism. Referring to his chained motherland he said : "Silence hath bound thee with her fatal chain : Neglected, mute, and desolate

art thou, Like ruined monument on desert plain."

This patriotic zeal was also shared by the Young Bengal. In fact the members of this revolutionary group never neglected their duty to their motherland. Their connection with various movements like that of women's education in India, political agitation against the British, improvement of Bengali language and literature etc. Speaks amply for their contribution to the renaissance in Bengal.

Uncommitted.

It is true that most members of the Young Bengal embraced Christianity and it was on the charge of indirectly helping the spread of Christian religion in Bengal that he was dismissed from the Hindu College. But his own religious belief was uncommitted. His defence against the charge of teaching Atheism to his students is remarkable : "To produce conviction was not within my power and if I am to be condemned for the Atheism of some, let me receive credit for the Theism of others" (Letter to H. H. Wilson). Also significant are the remarks in an obituary published in an orthodox Bengali journal after his death : "Derozio of late condescended a little to accept that there is a God....." But the final word should be, as prof. B. Dutta says in his "Chintanayak Bankim Chandra" : "The mind tends to have faith in something - in the new people, in the liberal principle of life, if not in the old society. One should call this a new kind of Theism rather than Atheism."

IN THE LIGHT OF A CENTENARY PROFESSOR MOHIT CHANDRA SEN

Professor : SALIL KUMAR BANERJEE

In December last the birth centenary of the eminent historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar was celebrated in Calcutta. He was born on 10th December 1870. On the very next day was born another noble son of Bengal, worthy to be remembered. Unfortunately, his promising career was cut short, at the early age of thirty-six only, by the cruel hand of death. Sixty-four years have rolled away since then. By this time, his memory has melted away into thin air. The memorable person is Professor Mohitchandra Sen.

Fortunately, his memory was rescued from oblivion in a homely function held at Patha Vavana, Santiniketan on 11th December last, on the occasion of his birth centenary. Homages were paid to him by reviving to memory his link with poet Rabindranath and Santiniketan. No light was thrown on his life. After a long time his name only swam into public ken, in the light of a centenary. Alas, his noble ancestry, brilliant academic career, stirring qualities and saintly character lie buried in darkness.

My father, late Professor Lalit Kumar Banerjee was older than Mohitchandra by two years and senior to him by one year in academic career. As students, they were contemporaries in the same institutions and in service life twice they met each other in the same colleges. Their close association ripened in time into close friendship. Late in life, when both of them lived in Calcutta, Mohitchandra often paid visit to my father. I was very young at that time but still lingers in my memory a faint image of his impressive,

appearance—his beaming face fringed with dwarf beard like Ramkrishna Paramhansadeva—his manly figure 'divinely fair and divinely tall'.

More than fifty years ago when we were students almost all the books prescribed by the University as texts in philosophy were written by Europeans. The only exception was the text book on Ethics. It was written by Mohitchandra. While perusing the book, I was curious to know the particulars of the author, whom I knew to be a friend of my father. On enquiry, my father verbally gave me a lot of information about him and asked me to go through an article written by him to pay tribute to his friend, immediately after his death and published in a journal. Mainly from these sources I have prepared a memoir of Mohitchandra, which I place before the readers, by way of my humble homage to him, on his birth centenary.

Mohitchandra came out of the renowned Vaidya family of Garifa (Gouriva), on Naihati-Bandel Branch line. Ramkamal Sen, the famous Dewan of the Government Mint and Bank of Bengal was his forefather. Bramhananda Kesabchandra Sen, Professor Krishna Bihary Sen, the founder of Albert College (now defunct) and Narendranath Sen, editor, Indian Mirror (now defunct) were his near relatives. His father Joykrishna was an M. A. in English. Under the influence of Kesabchandra, he embraced Bramhoism in his youth. When Mohitchandra was twentythree years old his father died in 1893, while serving as a Professor at Victoria College, Coochbehar.

My father filled up the vacancy. At Coochbihar, he heard of Joykrishna's reputation for erudition and high morals.

Precocity marked the career of Mohitchandra. Though of the same age, he was senior to Sir Jadunath by three years in academic life. In 1888 he passed the B. A. examination with first class Honours in English and stood second. The first place was occupied by Ramananda Chatterjee, editor *Modern Review* and *Prabasi*. Mohitchandra was very strong in English and had admirable command over a rich diction and elevated thoughts. Among the collections, preserved by my father, there is an unpublished composition of Mohitchandra in his own hand writing. My father remarked that had that been printed and inserted into the works of Carlyle, none would have been able to discover that it was not written by the sage of Chelsea. But Mohitchandra had stronger leaning towards philosophy. So, he took up philosophy for his M. A. course and passed the examination in 1889, obtaining a high place in the first division. Thus closed his University career at the early age of nineteen. But he was not content with the University degree only. So sincere was his reverence for the ancient lore of our country that he studied at home Sanskrit literature and Hindu systems of philosophy.

Lucrative jobs could not allure the teen aged boy. Like his father he followed the ancient Bramhinical ideal and courted poverty by picking up the profession of teaching as his life's mission. So strong and genuine was their zeal that he and his close friend Binoyendranath Sen left Calcutta to join Krishnath College, Berhampore at a salary too low for their brilliant academic career. Soon after, my father, who topped the list in all his University examinations, joined hands with them. The great savant Dr. Brajendranath Seal was already there as the Principal. It

was a galaxy of University luminaries. My father frankly admitted that he learnt much from these three non-Bramhin Colleagues of him and in that plastic period of his youth their good company helped him much to mould his character.

Two years later, both Mohitchandra and Binoyendranath were appointed in the Government educational service. Mohitchandra joined Dacca College, while Binoyendranath came to Presidency College, Calcutta. Later on Mohitchandra was transferred to Hooghly for a short term and ultimately reverted to Dacca. At a remark passed by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instructions, Mohitchandra felt insulted and tendered resignation to Government service. His conduct reminds us of the spirit shown by the great Vidyasagar in resigning the Principalship of Sanskrit College.

Thereafter he served three colleges in Calcutta, one after another—Metropolitan (at present Vidyasagar), Ripon (at present Surendranath) and City. He won the heart of the students by his skill in teaching and saintly character. In all their noble enterprises he was their friend, philosopher and guide.

Like the general run of brilliant students of our University his knowledge was not confined to books only. His book on Ethics is not a mere compilation. It bears testimony to his original thinking and deep philosophical insight. Even European scholars spoke highly of it. Honour was shown to his merit by the University in prescribing it as a text and by a foreign firm in publishing it. Mohitchandra brought out an edition of Macaulay's *Essay on Crocker's Boswell*, a text book for F. A. examination. The notes added by him were apt and short. A renowned Professor remarked that they differed from bazar notes in the same way as fine embroideries on Dacca muslin differed from close and clumsy needle work on children's quilts.

At Metropolitan Institution my father was again fortunate in getting him as his colleague after five years and derived invaluable benefit from the reunion. He gratefully acknowledged that the company of Mohitchandra uplifted his mind and purified his soul. He spoke of a day's incident when weary of explaining English poems line by line in the class continually for long fifteen years he was low in spirit and sought for his colleague's advice as to the way to tide over the depression. The remedy suggested by him proved to be so efficacious that my father always remembered it with gratitude.

The link with the poet Rabindranath Tagore was a great asset to Mohitchandra. He was an admirer of the rising poet and well known to the learned society of Calcutta for his ability in appreciating and interpreting his poems. His reputation reached the poet's ears and a familiarity grew up between the two. At that time, the poet was planning to enlarge the circle of his readers by publishing a cheap edition of his complete poetical works. His most intimate pen friend Srish Chandra Majumdar's brothers, Sailesh Chandra Majumdar and others, proprietors of Majumdar Library took charge of its publication. The poet disliked the long standing system of arranging the poems in chronological order. He proposed to follow the most poetically effective order of arranging them in the gradation of feeling or subject, as attempted by Sir Francis Palgrave, Professor of Poetry, Oxford, in his famous anthology of English poems 'The Golden Treasury'. Such a lay out, of numerous pieces covering about twenty volumes already published, is a mammoth task, involving true literary appreciation, deep insight, subtle psycho-analysis and unlimited patience. It goes to the credit of Mohitchandra that he was chosen by the poet as the fittest person to the heavy yoke. He arranged the poems

in twentyeight streams and in 1310 B. S. brought out the edition in thirteen parts. It was very popular and had a wide circulation.

In connection of the above matter Mohitchandra had to visit the poet at Santiniketan very often for consultation. At that time his good wishes and sympathy inspired the poet to found his contemplated Bramhacharyya Vidyalay. At his request Mohitchandra framed the rules of conduct and course of study of the school. It was settled that once in a month he would visit Santiniketan for inspecting it. But the poet was eager to place the school in his sole charge. When its first Head master Monoranjan Bauerjee left for Sambalpore for joining the bar, Mohitchandra had to take charge of the infant institution at the earnest call of the poet. Due to his sincere efforts its roll strength increased from twenty to fiftyfive. But due to excessive labour his health broke down few months after and he had to return to Calcutta.

Though well read in Bengali literature, Mohitchandra had no occasion to show his merit in that field. But the deep insight evinced by him in editing the poet's works led many to expect from him criticism in Bengali on scientific basis and discussion on European systems of philosophy in the light of the Indian streams. Before his death he was engaged in translating the Upanishads into Bengali Verse. If completed, that would have been a valuable acquisition to Bengali literature.

In the prime of his youth he took a vow of celibacy. But after the death of his parents, he had to enter into family life. On 32nd Sravan in 1306 B. S. at the age of twenty-nine he married Sm. Sushila Devi, a sister of Lalit Mohon Chatterjee, Principal, Jagannath College, Dacca. Indifference to worldly affairs was deeply implanted in his nature. So in married life also he maintained a spirit of detachment and strict vegetarian

habit. Seven years after his marriage he died in 1313 B. S., at the age of thirtysix, leaving two infant daughters. One of her daughters, Sm. Uma Devi, gained fame as a writer of juvenile literature. She also died young.

Purity of Mohitchandra's character and sweetness of his heart excelled his wisdom and learning. Humility and service were the key stones of his nature. Once in course of a discussion in the Professors' lounge of Berhampore College he told my father that the spirit of service (*Dasya Vaba*) had the strongest appeal to his heart. On that the grand-fatherly Professor of Sanskrit remarked, "you are born in the family of Dewan Ram Kamal Sen, who was a great vaishnav. So, it is not strange that this spirit has the strongest hold on you." In fact the spirit of humble service permeated into his pith and marrow and he dedicated his life to the service of God and humanity. When he preached from the pulpit of Nababidhan Church of Bramha Samaj, his utterances seemed to gush out of the core of his heart and reminded people of Bramhananda Kesab Chandra. After his arrival at Calcutta he never left the city on alluring offers from mufasil Colleges, lest the progress of his Samaj should suffer in his absence.

In charity he observed the precept of Christ. In the infant stage of Santiniketan when the poet was worned and nonplussed over financial crises, Mohitchandra handed over secretly to him, a sealed cover. Opening the cover the poet found in it a currency note for Rupees one thousand only, carefully wrapped with a piece of paper. The whole of the examiners fees received by him was spent in the service of Santiniketan.

Mohitchandra possessed a very refined taste and strong moral courage. My father got proof of them in their student life. When Mohitchandra was a student in F. A. class in Metropolitan Institution, one day the old Professor of Sanskrit was explaining without reservation, an erotic couplet from *Raghuvamsha*. Mohitchandra could not tolerate it. He stood up and addressing his class fellows said, 'These Vulgar words are unfit for the ears. If you possess any sense of decency then leave this class immediately along with me'. Saying this, he left the class without looking back to see how many of his classmates followed him. On another occasion when he was reading in the B. A. class in Presidency College, a renowned European Professor, with the honest purpose of helping students to appreciate literary beauty properly, was showing to them in the class pictures of the nude female form. On this occasion also, undaunted Mohitchandra without caring for the wrath of a 'red face' loudly protested against that indecent affair and left the class in great indignation. But in after life he did not turn out to be a staunch Puritan. His views in the fields of art and literature were quite liberal. He did not consider Boccaccio, Rabelais or Zola, to be untouchable.

Mohitchandra's soul was 'like a star that dwelt apart, pure as the naked heaven.' His Creator called him back to rest before it could be spoilt by the dirt and dross of this earth. Like a dew drop his life was short-lived, perfect, pure and sparkling. Perhaps Ben Johnson conceived of such a character in writing 'True growth' and saying.

'In small proportion we just beauties see,
And in short measure li e may perfect be'.

POPULATION OF PORUS'S KINGDOM IN 326 B. C.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

India has always been thickly peopled. Herodotus, the Father of History, speaks of India being thickly peopled; and he lived in the fifth century B. C. Nath has estimated a population of 100 to 140 millions in the time of Asoka at the beginning of the second century B. C. Ferishta writing in the reign of Akbar says that the population of India was 600 millions when the Muhammadan conquests began (C. 1100 A. D.). Moreland had estimated the population of India at the death of Akbar to have been 100 millions. We have come to the conclusion that it was slightly larger, 110 millions (Population Bulletin No. 1 Govt. of India Publication).

We now try to estimate the population of Porus' kingdom about 326 B. C., which consisted of a few districts at the extreme north-west corner of India and compare it with the modern population to get an idea how thickly peopled India was at that time.

The first difficulty that one meets is to get an idea of the extent of Porus' Kingdom. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* says:—"The more powerful state governed by the King, whom the Greeks called Porus, (was) approximately coincident with the modern districts of Jhelum, Gujarat and Shahpur." (P60).

The area and population of these areas are:-

| | Area in sq. miles | Population in 1881 in 000's |
|---------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Jhelum | 2,773 | 4.49 |
| Gujarat | 2,250 | 7.27 |
| Shahpur | 4,789 | 3.84 |
| Total | 9,812 | 16.05 |

The density of population for the whole area is 163 persons per sq. mile.

His Kingdom

It is doubtful whether the district of Jhelum was included in Porus Kingdom; the entire district is on the other side (West) of the river Jhelum. The district of Shahpur is almost bifurcated by the river Jhelum; and it is doubtful whether the entire district was included in his Kingdom. For Alexander the Great met with no resistance from Porus when he occupied the west bank of the Jhelum.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Military History of India* says:—He (Porus) ruled over the upper Jech Doab, or the land enclosed by the Jhelum river (Greek Hydaspes from the Sanskrit Vitasta) on the west and the Chenab on the east (P.15).

Strabe writing in the first Century B. C., and basing himself on the information supplied by Aristobulus, Cartius and others says that Porus ruled over all the territories between the Jhelum (the Hydaspes) and the Chenab (the Akesines of the Greeks).

Both these rivers, as well as the other Punjab rivers have changed their courses, their beds, several times during the last two thousand years. These changes are not ordinary normal changes, but changes of great magnitude. Both the above rivers have shifted their beds towards west by many many miles (see the sketch map in Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd edition p 94). The relative distance between the beds of these two rivers is of the same order of magnitude as their present distance. And it seems that there have been either no changes or changes, if any of far lesser importance in the upper reaches of their courses. But their confluence or junction

has changed. "All that can be said is that in Alexander's time the confluence must have been situated much further to the north" (ibid p 91).

A portion of the area near the confluence of these two rivers seems to have been occupied by the Malloi or the Malavas. The portion of the modern district of Jhang between these rivers was most likely to have been outside Porus' Kingdom.

Its Extent

How far his Kingdom extended towards the foot-hills of Kashmir, and how far down the Jech Doab it is difficult to determine. There was "the Abhisara Country, in the hills between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) rivers" (E. H. I. p 59). "The position of Abhisara, or "the Kingdom of Abisaras' was correctly defined for the first time by Sir M. A. Stein, who writes that 'Darvabhisara (i. e. Darva and Abhisara) comprised whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitasta (Jhelum or Hydaspes) and the Chandrabhaga (Chinab or Akesines). The hill state of Rajapuri (Rajauri) was included in Darvabhisara; one passage would restrict the application of the term to the lower hills'. The small chieftainship of Rajauri and Bhimbar, the ancient Abhisara is now included within Kashmir. (E. H. I. p 59 f. n.).

Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his Military History of India says.—"His (Porus) greatest enemy was Ambhi (Greek Ophi), the King of Taxila (near modern Hasan Abdal) and his ally was Abhisara, the King of Rajaur and Jamu. After overcoming the last two, Alexander called upon Porus to pay tribute and wait upon the Macedonian conqueror at his own frontier." (see p. 15).

Abhisara was outside Porus' Kingdom. The question is : did Abhisara send contingents to fight Alexander? J. B. Bury in his History of Greece says :—

"Prince Porus had sent a defiance, and having gathered an army from thirty to forty thousand strong, was encamped on the left bank of the river, to contest the crossing. Moreover, Abisaras of Kashmir promised him aid, although he had sent marks of homage to Alexander". (p. 802). "Alexander before crossing the Hydaspes 'Posted the regiments of heavy infantry which he had brought with him, -a precaution probably, against the possible arrival of Abisaras'" (p. 803).

"After the subjugation of Porus 'Alexander marched north-wards to subdue the Glausae a hill-folk on the border of Kashmir, and at the same time to intimidate Abisaras'" (p. 807).

The probability is that Abisares remained neutral during and after the battle; and Porus had to depend on himself alone.

The map facing p. 186 of Bury's History of Greece shows Porus' Kingdom to be entirely between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab, and the Kingdom of Abhisara separated from Porus' by the hill-tribe Glausae.

Collin Davis' Historical Atlas of the Indian peninsula shows the Kingdom of Porus to have been entirely within the above two rivers.

We now try to determine the area of Porus' Kingdom in terms of the modern districts. In spite of the great authority of Vincent Smith we exclude the district of Jhelum, as also those areas which are on the right bank of the Jhelum, but include all areas between the said two rivers, even if the confluence area was occupied by independent tribes to compensate for any omission towards the foot-hills of Kashmir.

Probable Extent of Poros' Kingdom

| | Area in Sq. miles | Pop. in 000's in 1881 | in 1941 |
|--------------|----------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Gujarat | 2,250 | 7,27 | 11,04 |
| ½ of Shahpur | 2,395 | 1,92 | 5,00 |
| 1/3 of Jhang | 1,151 | 1,30 | 2,74 |
| Total :- | 5,796 | 10,49 | 18,78 |

One-fourth, instead of one-third of Jhang would perhaps have been a better estimate ; but being in doubt we have included the larger area.

The over-all density of population is 181 per sq. mile.

Alexander the Great on his arrival before the banks of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) "found the army of Porus, fifty thousand strong drawn up on the opposite bank." (Early History of India p. 64).

At the battle of the Hydaspes (326 B. C.) Porus' army consisted of—

"Two hundred huge elephants, stationed at intervals of not less than a hundred feet from one another, and probably in eight ranks, formed the centre. Behind the elephants stood a compact force of 30,000 infantry with projections on the wings, and files of the infantry were pushed forward in the intervals between the elephants. * Both flanks were protected by cavalry with chariots in front. The cavalry numbered 4,000 and the chariots 300. Each chariot was drawn by four horses and carried six men of whom two were archers, stationed one on each side of the vehicle, two were charioteers, who in the stress of battle were wont to drop the reins and ply the enemy with darts. (Curtius, viii. 14)" (Ibid p. 66).

He had an advanced guard under his son to oppose Alexander the Great's crossing of the Jhelum. "The son of the Indian King came hurrying up with 2,000 horses and 120 chariots. This inadequate force was speedily routed with the loss of 400 men, and of all chariots" (Ibid. p. 65).

Describing the army of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta who drove the Greek Seleukos from out of India a few years later (323-322 B. C.) Vincent Smith says :—"Each chariot, which might be drawn by either four or two horses, accommodated two fighting men besides, the driver, and an elephant, in addition

to the mahout, or driver carried three archers. (Arthasastra Bk. vii. chap. 11)." (Ibid p. 125).

The strength in men of Poros' army was :—

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---|------------|
| 200 elephants | × 4 | = | 800 men |
| 300 chariots | × 6 | = | 1,800 „ |
| 4,000 cavalry | | = | 4,000 „ |
| 30,000 infantry | | = | 30,000 „ |
| Total | | | 36,600 men |

B. F. 36,000 men

His son's advanced guard consisted of :—

| | | | |
|--------------|-----|---|------------|
| 120 chariots | × 6 | = | 720 men |
| 2,000 horse | | = | 2,000 men |
| | | | 2,720 men |
| Grand Total | | | 39,320 men |

Just as Porus' chariots carried six men, instead of the normal three, so it is likely that his elephants carried more men (shall we say 3 × 2 archers besides the mahout) than usual compliment of four men. In that case we shall have to add 3 × 200 = 600 men to the above grand total. And his strength in men at the crucial battle was 39,920 or 40,000 men.

The other 10,000 men were probably left to guard the communications or to oppose the passage of the river at other points.

Porus' Losses : Porus' son lost all the chariots and 400 men. If we take half the men in chariots were killed, his loss would be 360 + 400 = 760 men. If all the men in chariots were killed, his loss would be 1,120 men out of total strength of 2,720 men. The percentage of losses in killed would be either 28 or 41 per cent. In a skirmish the losses are heavy on the defeated party ; so the latter percentage is probably nearer the truth.

We now turn to Porus losses in men.

"The Indian army was annihilated ; all the elephants being either killed or captured, and the chariots destroyed. Three thousand horsemen, and not less than twelve thousand foot soldiers were killed, and 9,000 taken prisoner." (Ibid p. 70).

His losses in killed is estimated to have been :-

| | half the rate | or | all men killed |
|-----------|---------------|----|-------------------|
| Elephants | 400 | or | 800 men |
| Chariots | 900 | „ | 1,800 „ |
| Cavalry | 3,000 | „ | 3,000 „ |
| Infantry | 12,000 | „ | 12,000 „ |
| | <u>16,300</u> | or | <u>17,600 men</u> |

This works out to 44.4 or 48.1 per cent of the men engaged in the battle. If to this estimate of those killed, we add the 9,600 taken prisoner, among whom was King Porus himself with nine wounds, the losses would be 69.1 or 72.7 per cent of those engaged in the battle.

It goes to show that the battle was keenly contested ; and Porus army was most likely not a raw levy hastily improvised to meet the invasion, but consisted of veterans.

Arrian says Porus "marched to meet Alexander with all his cavalry, 4,000 strong, all of his 300 Chariots, 200 elephants, and the picked contingents of his infantry numbering some 30,000 men" (p. 176 of de Selincourts translation).

The casualties on the Indian side were :—

"Nearly 20,000 of the Indian infantry were killed in this battle, and about 3,000 of their cavalry. All their war Chariots were destroyed. Among the dead were two sons of Porus, Spitaces the local Indian Governor all the officers in Command of the elephants and Chariots, and all the Cavalry Officers and other Commanders of high rank surviving elephants were captured" (Ibid. p. 179).

If Arrian's version is accepted the losses in men on the Indian side was as high as seventy per cent of the total fighting strength, showing the fierce nature of the contest.

The very high percentage of losses in Porus army go to show that they were not mere raw

levies, drawn ad-hoc from the general population, but well trained veterans.

The accoutrements of the Indian infantry were heavy. Besides carrying a formidable bow which used to be drawn after resting one end upon the earth and pressing it with the left foot, he also carried a heavy two-handed sword slung from the left shoulder, a buckler of undressed ox-hide, and sometimes javelins in place of a bow. Megasthenes describing the army of Chandragupta says :— "Their arrows are little less than three cubits long, and nothing can withstand one shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breast-plate. They carry on their left arm targets of raw ox-hide, narrower than the men who carry them, but not much inferior in length. Others have javelins instead of arrows. All wear a sword broad and not less than three cubits in length.

The Indian cavalrymen carried two darts, like what the Greeks called Saunia (i. e. not more than 9 feet long) and shield smaller than that of the infantry.

What proportion of the population supplied the men of Porus army ? We have got to make an estimate. We get the following facts from Vincent Smith's Early History of India p. 93 —

"At a second town (among the Malloi) he (Alexander) met with an obstinate defence, which cost the lives of many Macedonians. The inhabitants said to number 20,000 despairing of ultimate success, set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames. The citadel escaped the fire, and was garrisoned by a detachment left behind for the purpose. The lives of 3,000 of its gallant defenders were spared".

The total population was 20,000 who perished in flames plus 3,000 defenders ; fighters to the total population was 3 : 23 or 1 : 7.67. Say 1 : 8 approximately.

But in a besieged town, fighters included not only men of military age but also all those who are able to bear arms. It is better to die fighting defending his home town than to perish in flames. The proportion of men of fighting age to total population would ordinarily be expected to be greater than the above ratio of 1 : 7.67.

The Mallois had a republican form of government. In a republic there is the likelihood of citizens joining the army in larger numbers than in any army recruited by a King like Porus or Ambhi of Taxilla. Further Porus army consisted of trained veterans.

We assess the proportion of fighting men in Porus army to population at a little higher than the Mallion rate, viz. 1 : 10. He was in frequent wars with Ophis or Ambhi of Taxilla and other neighbours. The fighting strength of men of military age was thus reduced at the time of the battle of the Hydaspes.

That the proportion of the gallant defenders of the citadel, who may all be presumed to be men of military age is one-eighth of the total population is not a mere accident will appear from the following considerations.

Sundbarg has shown that for all countries and all ages men between the ages of 15-50 are one-fourth of the total population. Men between the ages of 50-35 are regarded as men of military age. In India the proportion of such males is :—

| Per 10000 of males | | | | |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|
| 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 |
| 2520 | 2514 | 2547 | 2465 | 2547 |

Average :—2519

Assuming the proportion of males to females to be equal, the proportion is reduced (25%).

The proportion of the defenders in the Malloi town to total population was 1 : 7.67 or 1304 per 10,000.

Walled City's Population

If it be said that no general conclusion should be drawn from the composition of population in a walled city for the general population, our answer is :—

The walled towns, as in Mycenaean Greece, were citadels for defence against enemy attacks, where the population would withdraw within the fortifications ; but in times of peace most of the population lived outside the walls cultivating their fields and gardens and orchards ; and pasturing their cattle and herds of sheep and goat. So the population composition of the Malloi town would not be very different from that of the general population. Further Alexander had already severely punished the Malloi before besieging the town, and it is most likely that many of the rural population had fled and were not cooped up in the town. In that case the proportion of defenders or men of military age to total population is less than what we have calculated.

The population of Porus Kingdom in 326 B. C. is, therefore, estimated to have been either

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 50,000 & \times & 8 = 4,00,000 \\ \text{or } 50,000 & \times & 10 = 5,00,000. \end{array}$$

We prefer the bigger estimate. The present (1881) population of the area covered by Porus Kingdom is 10,50,000. The population in the fourth Century B. C. was either 38 per cent, or 48 per cent of what it is in the late 19th century.

That the higher figure is more likely will appear from the following facts and considerations. Kautilya says that five agricultural families cultivated 64 acres of land. Each family occupied 12.8 acres. An adult male can cultivate 5 acres of land. So each family must have 2.56 adult males. If all those who are between 15-50 be regarded as "adult males, for the purpose of cultivation the number of persons per family would be $2.56 \times 4 = 10.24$

persons. The number of men of fighting age per family is 1.28. As it was usual to recruit 1 person per family or if in a family there were more than 1 person of military age, only 1 person is likely to join the army, there were 50,000 families. And the population would be 5,12,000.

The proportion of cavalry to infantry in Porus's army at the battle is 4000: 30,000 = 1: 7.5 or 6000: 50,000 (if we include the whole army) = 1: 8.3. From the Ain-i-Akbari we get the proportion of cavalry to infantrymen supplied by the local zaminders in the Subah of Lahore. They are :—

| Area | | Cavalry | Infantry |
|---------------|------|---------------|-----------------|
| Bet Jalandhar | Doab | 4,155 | 79,436 |
| Bari | ,, | 31,055 | 1,29,300 |
| Rechna | ,, | 6,795 | 99,652 |
| Jech | ,, | 3,730 | 44,200 |
| Sind Sagar | ,, | 8,523 | 69,700 |
| | | <u>54,288</u> | <u>4,22,288</u> |

They are 1: 7.7.

Having regard to the distance in time of nearly two thousand years and of the wider area, the agreement in the proportion is remarkable.

The population of India at the death of Akbar is 100 millions according to Moreland. We have estimated it to have been a little higher, viz 110 millions.

The Punjab's present population is some 7 per cent of India's total; and two-thirds of them are in the area corresponding to Subah of Lahore. If the same proportion held good at the death of Akbar, the population of the Subah would be 5.1 millions and it supplied 5.76 lakhs of men. The proportion to population is some 11.3 per cent. This is not an argument, but it strengthens us in thinking that to estimate the population of Porus's Kingdom, we may use the larger multiplier of 10.



CHINA ACCUSES INDIA OF INTERFERENCE IN PAKISTAN AFFAIRS

A. C.

China is accusing India of interference in Pakistan's internal affairs because India has been criticising the genocidal activities of the Pakistan army in East Bengal. But China does not think that Pakistan interferes in India's internal affairs even when the Pakistan army invades Indian territory or when Pakistan makes false propaganda about alleged Indian oppression of Muslims in India or other imaginary actions of India. China does not think that she is guilty of interfering in other people's affairs when she invades and occupies Tibetan or Indian territory. China asserts that the Chinese emperors of past ages had figurative suzerainty over many countries and the Peoples Republic of China, therefore owns territorial rights in all those countries. But if India draws the attention of the civilised world to the mass killing of Bengalis in East Pakistan by the mercenaries of Yahya Khan, China's peculiarly tuned political conscience starts ticking out a protesting note. Not because of anything that India has actually done ; but because India has only criticised the barbarous and totally lawless actions of the Pakistan army. China thinks that it is quite right for her to occupy Tibet or to massacre the Tibetans because the Ming Emperors held sway over Tibet several hundred years ago ; but China does not think it just and lawful for India to criticise the military despots of Pakistan even though only

twenty four years ago Pakistan did not exist as a separate state and was an integral part of India. The division of India and Pakistan was carried out by an Act of the bourgeois Parliament of Great Britain ; but that appears to be sacrosanct to the Maoist Chinese for the reason that it suits their current purpose. In fact the Chinese are materialist, which is another name denoting attachment to opportunism, and their sense of right and wrong, logical illogical, lawful and unlawful and historical justifiability or otherwise, depend entirely on their estimation of the material advantages attached to the various alternative possibilities of things. In the circumstances what the Chinese say cannot have the same significance for the Indians as for the Chinese. For, materially assessed, all things are different for the Chinese from what they are for the Indians.

Turning to the facts of the present accusations, the trouble in East Pakistan started from the exploitation of that part of the country by the people of the Western part. This exploitation was very certainly not begun under advice of India ! It developed as a natural consequence of the selfishness and greed of the Muslim Political leaders who surrounded Mr. Mahammad Ali Jinnah who was co-sponsor of the land-of-purity—Pakistan with his British inspirers and instigators. Pakistan

was founded on the fake Two-nation Theory according to which the Muslims of India formed a separate nation on the ground of having a Muslim language Urdu, a Muslim culture and a specific Muslim way of life. The Muslims of India therefore claimed a separate national territory of their own and Pakistan was the eventual result of this propaganda which was backed by continuous rioting for many years. In fact the Muslims of India spoke as many languages as the Hindus did. They also had numerous different racial characteristics in their dress, food, social manners and customs and special loyalties. But the communal rioting induced the non-Muslim leaders of India to concede Pakistan to the Jinnah clique. Pakistan was formed with five racial groups of people who were the Punjabis, the Baluchis, the Pathans, the Sindhis and the Bengalis. From the very outset the four Western groups of Muslims took it for granted that they were superior to the fifth group, the Bengalis of the East, who customarily did not join the armed forces as mercenaries. The Bengalis were "non-martial" according to the British. And that was something very inglorious in British eyes. The world belonged to those who could kill and be killed and not to peace loving people. The West Pakistanis being "martial" monopolised jobs, contracts and industries. They also held the most lucrative assignments in the Governmental offices and in the army, navy and air force. They also got the lion's share of the foreign borrowings and the allotments from whatever funds that could be spared from the revenues. The Bengalis were left to suffer the ignominy and economic disadvantage of second class citizenship, so to speak, and they were put in a very bad position in so far as West Pakistan developed according to plans while East Pakistan could not even build very essential protective structures which

have been just on paper for many years. All this happened mainly due to the criminal folly and selfishness of West Pakistanis who chased their own whims and fancies while the East Pakistanis were swept away by tidal waves. China knows that India could not possibly have any responsibility in this field of discriminatory treatment which injured and alienated the East Pakistanis. China knows all facts and figures relating to the economy of the two zones of Pakistan. They are well versed in drawing logical conclusions from these facts and figures. That is they should know how the West Pakistanis were exploiting the people of East Pakistan, who have every reason to resent this exploitation. Islamabad was being decorated with palaces while life saving dykes, bundhs and break water walls remained untouched due to lack of funds. As a result Bengalis died in thousands whenever floods and tidal waves swept up the estuaries. Who were responsible for these highly objectionable developments? Was it India? The West Pakistanis are exploiters, oppressors and totally barbarous in their treatment of the poor, the weak and the defenceless. Why is China befriending these exploiters and oppressors of the workers and peasants. The military ruling cliques of Pakistan are made up of a handful of men drawn from 13 families who also own the major portion of all money making establishments of Pakistan. China knows all about it.

China also knows that the Bengalis of East Pakistan speak Bengali which is quite different from the Urdu which the West Pakistanis speak. Some years ago there was a great struggle made by the Bengalis for the adoption of Bengali as a parallel state language of Pakistan. The Bengalis are in a majority in Pakistan and they do not like to speak in Urdu. There was much repression and bloodshed before Bengali was accepted as a

state language. Bengali has not been a chosen language in India. The Indian constitution has declared Hindi to be our official language. It is the Bengalis of East Pakistan who fought to put Bengali in its rightful place in the newly made Muslim state of Pakistan.

When Iskandar Mirza abrogated the constitution of Pakistan in 1958 and established a military dictatorship in that country with General Ayub Khan as its autocratic ruler could any one say that India had any hand in that despicable act abolishing all human rights of 100 million persons? It might have been Americans or Chinese who were responsible, for they supplied money and arms to the military junta at that time, as well as thereafter. When Ayub Khan became unpopular he was replaced by General Yahya Khan and the same military clique aided by China, Russia, America and Britain did all the dirty work. India did nothing at anytime to assist these destroyers democracy. India was attacked twice by Pakistan and once by China and these countries still occupy certain parts of Indian territory unlawfully and quite unjustly. India defeated Pakistan but was induced by Russia, America and Britain to let Pakistan hang on to some of the territory she had illicitly occupied. The military leaders of Pakistan continued to behave arrogantly and unjustly with the people of the country and it was this sort of behaviour which led to the terrible internecine war that is tearing up the fake Islamic Republic to-day. General Yahya Khan made promises of reestablishing a democratic form of Government in Pakistan as well as of framing a constitution. He had no intention of doing any of these things as has been proved by his wanton attacks on the people of East Pakistan and on the political party which represented 98% of those people. This military clique has made human rights and political freedom into things that can be

thrown into the gutter at any time by a handful of sub-human barbarians. And China is taking sides with these criminals so that she could retain some square miles of Indian territory which she has no right to occupy. China has condoned all marauding and acts of brigandage committed by the arch criminals of Islamahad. Though there are no political or human rights that the people of Pakistan enjoy; the despots of Pakistan always howl and cry about the alleged occupation of Kashmir by India. Kashmir acceded to India because Mahammad Ali Jinnah let loose a horde of Pakistan trained and Pakistan employed armed men upon Kashmir with a view to occupy that fair land. These men looted, raped and killed numerous Kashmiris and the Maharajah of Kashmir advised by his Muslim minister called upon India to save the Kashmiris from the soldiers of this unofficial Pakistani army. Jinnah had reached the gates of Srinagar to make a state entry into that capital city of Kashmir, when Indian troops began to land in the Srinagar air field. This upset Jinnah's plans. For months Pakistan denied their complicity in this disgraceful affair; but it was eventually admitted by them. The Pakistani destroyers of democracy and of the human rights of their own people, have continued to cry for a plebiscite in Kashmir ever since; though the people of Kashmir enjoy absolutely the same political rights with the rest of the Indian people in general. The Pakistanis hope to prove by the plebiscite that the Kashmiris wish to be a part of Pakistan and not of India. But a Plebiscite to decide to which state the Kashmiris wish to belong cannot be held for the reason that the right of making such a choice no longer existed after it had been once used according to the British directive of 1947. The heads of various princely states made their choice through their lawful heads of

states and the Maharaja of Kashmir advised by his popular Minister Sheikh Abdulla had made his choice by acceding to India.

The Pakistanis had created a situation in their country by their thoughtless and despotic actions as a result of which the people of East Bengal could no longer agree to remain in Pakistan. Their recent acts of genocide, rape, arson and banditry have further made it impossible for East Bengal to tolerate West Pakistani domination. China may think that shooting down a million unarmed members of the civil population of a country, abductiong ten thousand women and murdering 200 hand picked intellectuals are all the internal affairs of a civilised government ; but the world cannot see eye to eye with China. It has to be said

that China has shown a remarkable lack of a clean moral outlook by supporting the actions of the Yahya Khan regime. If China prefers this kind of moral alliance with utterly sinful violations of fundamental ethical principles ; China will not be able to maintain her position for long, no matter if she collects 10000 hydrogen bombs and 20000 divisions of soldiers. For sinfulness can never be a binding force which can hold a nation together. Pakistan is surely breaking up for the sins of her military leaders. China should learn a lesson from what is happening in Pakistan. Her lectures and sermons leave us entirely cold ; for we can see that China is motivated by hopes of territorial gain. And that is not a very dependable principle to guide a nation to glory.



TAGORE IN SWITZERLAND

P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

(In early 1970 India's President Giri had visited Switzerland. From the reports of his visit in the newspapers it appears there was no mention in his speech at Geneva about the three visits of Rabindranath Tagore to Switzerland in 1921, 1926 and 1930. Tagore was the first unofficial ambassador of India to Switzerland and he had a very warm reception at all the places he visited. His was both a cultural and political mission.

The writer has reconstructed the story of his visits by visiting a number of places in Switzerland and contacting persons who had met Tagore).

Villeneuve and Romain Rolland

Villeneuve is one of the charming waterfronts on Lac Lemman or Geneva Lake in Switzerland. Switzerland maintains superbly the series of waterfronts on the shore of the lake (a 45 miles stretch of deep blue glistening water and at places 8 mile broad). Any number of hotels, restaurants, motels, bed/breakfast accommodation, camping grounds, buses, trains, boats and yachts are there for the tourists. The scenic beauty of the towering mountains with gentle slopes used for winter sports on snow, the vine-yards, orchards of apple and peach, the healthy and comely men and women, laughing children give a feast to the eyes of the visitors.

Villeneuve could be reached from Geneva by road or rail through Montreux the most frequented resort on Lake Lemman with charming surroundings. Montreux-Villeneuve is along the shore of a great bay facing the south and rises in an amphitheatre to considerable heights covered with woods, vine-yards, chalets

or villas with a sprinkling of pinnacled churches. Montreux leapt into literary fame when Rousseau chose the village of Claren, now a suburb as the setting for *La Nouvelle Heloise*. At places the railway line or the road meander within a few feet of the shore of the lake. One passes the castle of Chillon just before coming to Villeneuve. The castle is built on picturesque rocky islet in the setting formed by the lake, Montreux, the French shore and the Alpine region. The cellars of the grim castle were used as a prison for decades and Francis Bonivard, a visionary with ideas was the most famous prisoner in 1536. Byron has immortalised Bonivard and the castle of Chillon by his lyrical poem written at the castle. The Poet had scribbled his name with a pen-knife which is still there.

I visited this area with a purpose. Rabindranath Tagore had made Villeneuve his headquarters during his three visits to Switzerland. I wanted to walk in the foot-steps of the poet fifty years after his first visit in 1921. Villeneuve was an intellectual centre at that time. Poets, scholars of various disciplines and politicians used to visit Villeneuve which had not been so modernised and particularly cluster round Romain Rolland in his spacious and wooded villa at the back of Byron Hotel very near the lake.

Byron Hotel

I walked into Byron Hotel and imagined Tagore walking slowly down the wooded path with a gentle stoop and talking to some one. Tagore stayed at Byron Hotel several times and in the room where Victor Hugo had lived for a long time. I asked the Receptionist after explaining my mission if I could see

the room. The lady's eyes glistened and in broken English she informed me that this particular portion of the hotel was burnt down due to an electrical lapse and has now been modernised. "Do you like to go round" she asked. I gladly accepted the suggestion and did so. This young girl of about thirty years sent for an old lady who was in the management years before. She spoke to me of the song parties that used to be held with Tagore as the central figure.

Romain Rolland's villa is at the back of the hotel. Madame Romain Rolland now mostly lives in Paris. Madeleine Rolland, the savant's sister who had nursed him for decades and had acted as the interpreter for both Tagore and Gandhi was neglected when Romain Rolland married his secretary at a very advanced age. Madeleine had to spend some time in a mental hospital and died broken-hearted. It is from Villeneuve that Romain Rolland had sponsored Tagore's first visit to Switzerland.

Tagore's first visit

In May 1921, the Geneva University got a wire from Romain Rolland that the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, the winner of Nobel Prize several years before was visiting Geneva and he should be properly received. The proceedings of the University in French kindly made available to me by the University authorities mention that the wire created a great stir. Not much was known of the poet although his fame "as a far-seeing seer" had reached the educated Swiss. They were told that the poet was touring to forge a bond of cultural synthesis between the East and the West and wanted to explain his ideas of converting his Santiniketan school into an international university.

Athence was the first place where an ovation was given to the poet on 5th May,

1921. The elite of Geneva besides the students and professors of Geneva University were present. The poet read some of his Bengali poems and their translation in English. Madame Henri Revedin interpreted them in French. The venerable appearance of the poet with a flowing beard, his toga dress and the manner of his delivery swept off the barrier of language. When the French version was given there was a great outburst of appreciation.

The Poet's birthday at Geneva

The next engagement was on 6th May (the poet's birth day) at the Geneva University. The scholar who had to translate the poet's lecture had seen him previously for a briefing. The poet had told him that the subject would be an analysis of the main factors of the background of oriental and occidental culture and their present relationship. The scholar was much perturbed if he could render the speech properly. With a fearful heart he presented himself at the meeting which had a record gathering. At the meeting the scholar asked the poet if he would summarise the speech at the end or give a summary from time to time. The poet nodded, gave him a captivating smile but did not give any specific reply.

The poet gave his lecture in simple but forceful English. Everyone was struck with the idea that he was a seer. The translator went on interpreting para by para. The poet, however, did not keep himself confined to the subject chosen but spoke only on the past tradition and culture of the Orient. He did not touch at all on the relationship of the Eastern and Western culture particularising India. There was a very respectful and restrained silence throughout the lecture. The poet's speech had literally overwhelmed the audience. The audience "went mad" as chronicled, when the lecture was over and men and women, old and young, rushed to

meet the poet, touch his hand and thank him. The translator breathed relief that there were no questions and answers.

There was an incident after the meeting. An anonymous man got up and announced a big sum of money for creating a chair for the study of Indian culture in Geneva University. He was found out to be a revolutionary with militant ideas with which the poet did not agree. The poet later on gave out that as it was his birth-day he did not want to hurt any one by speaking on any controversial issue.

At Rousseau Institute

The poet next spoke at J. J. Rousseau Institute on his ideas of education. Madame Piczynska translated the poet's speech. Claparde was present at the meeting and congratulated Tagore on the theme. The poet also visited *Malson des Petits*, an institute for the children. He played with the children and repeatedly told them that his shrunken look and beard were deceptive and inside him there was a child that played and laughed just like the other children. The children thought they were seeing the Swiss mythical Pythagora from the similarity of the name of Tagore.

I may mention here that Tagore's lecture on ideals of education forms the theme of a separate long proceeding in the Record Book of the Geneva University.

This was followed by another engagement in Geneva University when the poet read out some of his poems and portions of his book "Sadhana." Madam Piczynska translated the poems and the extracts from "Sadhana." There was a select gathering of the intellectuals and they were highly impressed.

Lucerne - Basle - Zurich

On 8th May, 1921, Tagore visited Lucerne where he had a lecture engagement that went off very well. By that time the French language papers in Switzerland had given the

poet a good coverage and this was taken up by the papers in German language. The poet visited Basle on 10th May, 1921. Basle is in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. There was a huge crowd at the old Basle University at his speech. There were several other meetings at Basle where the poet recited some of his poems and gave an English translation followed by a scholar giving the German version. Basle had not yet turned into a great industrial city and the poet went round and enjoyed the sights. Tagore had a crowded day at Basle and on the next day (11th May) he reached Zurich in the afternoon. The poet stayed at Zurich a few days and addressed a few meetings arranged by the University. He invited a select gathering at his hotel where he read out a few poems and extracts of his prose writings. An English-speaking scholar gave a running summary.

The Second Visit

The second visit of Tagore to Switzerland was in 1926. On 22nd June, 1926, he reached Villeneuve, via. Montreaux. The poet had a brief halt at Montreaux. He had walks by the lake and enjoyed the scenic grandeur of the towering mountains and the sight of the lovely villas on the slopes. He visited the castle of Chillon where Bonivard was kept a prisoner. The weather at Villeneuve was at its best-sunny and crisp. Tagore stayed at Byron Hotel in the room where Victor Hugo had stayed for a long time. The gardens were full of flowers.

The star attraction of the poet was Romain Rolland and his "Sweet even-tempered" sister Madeleine acting as the interpreter. There were daily visitors to the poet at the hotel and the poet would often walk over the distance of a few yards. They would sit for hours in the book-lined library of Romain Rolland and talk; often time would pass unobtrusively when the trio would sit in absolute silence—a serene silent companionship. There used to

be frequent meetings of the intellectuals at the Byron Hotel or at Romain Rolland's house where the poet would read out his more recent writings and discuss the world problems. India's political problems figured often and there would be a free discussion on the need of India's independence.

Some of the intellectuals usually present at these discussions were Duhamel, Sir James Frazer, Forel, Prof. Bovet, Prof. Dr. Edmond Privat and Prof. Edgar Willens. Prof. Edgar Willens is probably the only surviving one of that circle.

Prof Edgar Willens

I had contacted the hoary Prof. Edgar Willens now at Conchas in Geneva. He vividly recollects "the venerable poet" reading out his poem and joining the Bengali songs in chorus by his party. He recalls the discussions on India's independence. The presiding genius was, of course, Romain Rolland as Willens told me.

Dr. Edmond Privat

I went to Neuchatel city to meet Madame Yvonne Privat, widow of Dr. Edmond Privat who passed away in 1962. This lady of 80 years has a photographic memory. She said her husband had first met Tagore at Romain Rolland's villa. She recalled their visit to Shantiniketan in 1932 and the long chats with Tagore particularly on the political problems. Privat was Gandhi's interpreter in the meetings in Switzerland in 1931 after the failure of the Round Table Conference. She gave me the photostat of a letter of Tagore to Dr. Privat in 1933.

Dr. Edmond Privat was the Chairman of the European Committee for India's independence from 1932 to 1939. The Privats had accompanied Gandhi to India after the failure of the Round Table Conference. A Cambridge scholar, a journalist, a quaker and an Esperentist, Privat had a chequered career,

He had to leave France because of his writings for Polish independence. He had written several books in French and in English on India. There are ample references to Tagore in his book "The Clash of Loyalties" and in his autobiographical sketches in Esperanto "Adventurej de Pioniro". Madame Privat asked me to contact Prof. Willens and read "Journal Inde le Romain Rolland" and "Poet a Tagore" by Albin Michel. I saw photos of Tagore in her room at Neuchatel,

Zurich and Lucerne

From Villeneuve the poet went to Zurich on 6th July, 1926 and gave a public lecture on the same day. There were other engagements on the following days. During this stay the poet met some victims of Fascist oppression including Signora Salvadori. The poet wrote and spoke forcefully about fascist oppression. From Zurich he went to Lucerne on 10th July, 1926 and fulfilled a lecture engagement. From there he went to Vienna.

The Third visit

The third visit of Tagore to Switzerland was in 1930. On one account the visit was suggested by C.F. Andrews who prevailed on the poet to meet some people in the League of Nations. Tagore was very allergic to the League and jokingly described the League as the "Robbers' Mutual Co-operative Society" and looked on it "as a collection of the world's prower-greedy go getters who faced one another with peace on their lips and black hatred in their hearts."

Miss Josephine D. Storey

The poet and C.F. Andrews came to Geneva on the 14th August 1930 with a party. They stayed till 6th September in the spacious and lovely villa of Miss Josephine D. Storey, a rich English lady at the outskirts of Geneva. My enquiries to trace Miss Storey's family were unsuccessful. I gathered from Madame Yvonne Privat that Miss Storey had been to

India just before the poet came to Geneva and was struck by the poverty and teeming population, human and cattle.

Dr. Privat had met Tagore at Geneva.

During this stay Tagore lectured several times and had a few meetings with the students specially. He had visited the Rosseau Museum where some of the manuscripts of Rousseau's books are preserved. Tagore had signed the visitor's book. He had also visited the public library and the museum with a splendid collection of paintings. His visit to Miss Storey's villa were many and there were quite a few "poetry meetings" and "song meetings." From Geneva Tagore wrote a spirited letter to the Editor of the Spectator as to how British diplomacy and state-craft had sponsored the serious communal troubles in Dacca. The poet left Geneva on the 6 September, 1930 for Moscow by way of Poland. Andrews had acted as Tagore's secretary during this visit.

The North Eastern Daily Gazette of 21.8.1930 had given a large coverage on Tagore's third visit. The Friend of 8th September, 1930 had published a group photo of Tagore, C.F. Andrews, Miss Storey and other members of Tagore's party. Tagore had met quite a few quakers on this occasion.

Switzerland and the poet

Switzerland, a neutral country which had not joined any war for decades has fascinated the poet. The scenic grandeur, the wooded and open slopes, the good looking swiss-men

and women had charmed him. From my enquiries my impression is that the poet was much impressed by the small incidence of clash of loyalties amongst the Swiss. The country is federal with a number of cantons which are independent of one another and have their own separate law, customs, and government with responsibility to the Federal State with Berne as the capital. Every Swiss is very proud of his canton but at the same time intensely loyal to the Federal State. On every national festival, a Swiss will hoist both his canton and the Federal national flags. His loyalty to the canton does not make him parochial where the Federation's interest is concerned. Secondly the poet was also much impressed with the fact that although Switzerland was split into three distinct portions speaking French, German and Italian there was no clash of interests and the Swiss lived in isolation, peace and harmony. The poet's mission was more than cultural. He also discussed the Indian problems with Romain Rolland, Edmond Privat and others. The Swiss elite were much impressed by the fact that Tagore had renounced the knighthood conferred on him by the British Government as a protest against British misdeeds in the Punjab. His ideas of bringing in a synthesis of Indian and European culture and his internationalism had caught the imagination of the men and women of Switzerland. The group of friends of Romain Rolland had made the poet's tours in Switzerland a success.



Current Affairs

Indecency of Conduct of Political Party Men

Political parties should fulfil their lawful purpose and avoid unlawful behaviour. These parties are not private armies nor gangs of law-breakers. So that when political party men fight as warring factions and upset the normal life of the general public, the Law should no longer protect them in so far as they do not respect or obey the laws of the land. Recent affairs have gone to show that political party men have so far forgotten their responsibilities and civic duties that they have fought battles at a place where the work of administration is carried on by the ministers and the topmost officials of the State. Bricks and bottles rained on each others heads and disrupted normal life of that busiest centre of the city for a few hours. Peace was eventually restored by police intervention which culminated in firing tear gas shells into the gangs which fought. This sort of indecent behaviour and violation of law should not be tolerated and the question of punitive action should be seriously considered. The people who behave like this are not the authorised agents of the political parties they claim to represent. They discredit their parties if at all they are subscription paying members of the parties. The parties should therefore try to clean their stables in order to maintain their public image

as necessary adjuncts of the democratic system. If the political parties do not try to make their supporters use only lawful methods of expressing political opinion and export them to keep off the paths of hooliganism and mutual abuse; then their usefulness to society will cease to exist. When that happens, the laws will no longer protect them, nor the public consider them as anything better than common goondas.

Idealism and Expediency

Idealism quite often inspires and induces people to choose the path of great suffering and repeated failures. Most wars of independence would never have been fought had the people concerned been over cautious and wise to the last decimal place. The War of Independence of America commenced with miserable defeats; but the people learnt as they fought and eventually crushed the Hessian mercenaries of England. When the Italians fought the mighty Austrian empire or the Greeks wanted to overthrow their Ottoman overlords; they were not guided by any calculated rules of expediency but by a fiery and passionate longing for freedom which called them on to do or die. All freedom movements would be considered unwise by back seat theoreticians; though the front line fighters never hesitate to receive

bullets or bayonet thrusts in order to achieve their objective through sacrifice. That being so, we felt surprised and puzzled when we found one of our well known critical essayists giving expression, in a newspaper article, to his doubts about the wisdom of the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh in trying to overthrow the military regime of Yahya Khan. No doubt the writer overlooked the inner spirit of a fight for freedom. Wars of independence cannot be carried on with the help of computers, nor are the patriots who fight such wars ever moved by considerations of clearly thought out probabilities and chances. They are defeated, they die ; but they come back ; pass on their passionate love of their motherland to their successors and eventually succeed in destroying their oppressors and in fulfilling their glorious purpose. When a handful of youngmen tried to overthrow the British imperial overlordship of India under the leadership of Sri Aravinda, critics smiled indulgently. When Subhash Chandra Bose organised the INA thirty five years after that, the critics did not feel so sure. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman has begun his fight for freedom with many more soldiers and a greater supply of arms than most freedom fighters could ever display at the start. His oppressors too are not so mighty as the Hapsburgs, the Sultanate of Turkey or the imperial British. We should think that his chances of success are obviously much greater than our drawing room critics would admit.

Pakistan Overworked Concocting Lies

We donot know whether Pakistan has a secret ministry of lies ; but the way the Pakistanis go on fabricating untruths to hide or explain away their own transgressions of moral laws, codes of diplomatic etiquette and the ideals of human conduct, make people

think many times before they believe anything emanating from Pakistani sources. The latest feat of lying that the Pakistanis have performed, is about the hi-jacking of the Indian Airlines Fokker Friendship to Lahore and its destruction by Pakistani agents there. The explanation that the Pakistanis have sent to the International Civil Aviation board about this crime against the laws of aviation recognised by all nations, is that Indians arranged this hi-jacking and the blowing up of the plane in order to put Pakistan in a false position. This is indeed the last thing that Pakistan could have done to add insult to injury. The Pakistanis have also insulted the intelligence of the people who will consider this report, as no one in his senses can accept this ludicrous tale as an explanation of a crime which the Pakistanis openly vaunted for days by displaying the two hi-jackers as great heroes of the Islamic Republic. These criminals were neither arrested nor prevented by Pakistan from destroying the plane a long time after landing it in Lahore airfield.

Closing Down Industries in West Bengal

Two very important industries have closed down their factories in West Bengal. The closures have been more or less total, i. e. the employees will now become fully unemployed. The reasons for these lock-out decisions are unwillingness of the workers to try to produce the goods manufactured by the factories concerned properly, fully and whole heartedly. The workers have caused great loss to the companies by their deliberate negligence and by working slowly, haphazardly and in a careless manner. They have not maintained standards nor have they done their work on time ; so that the companies have lost orders and have suffered through loss of credit and good will. In short the workers have failed to

live upto their undertakings and have ignored their responsibilities. In one factory, which has published some wage schedules, the unskilled workers earn about twice the amount recommended by the wages board. One may say that the labour leaders of West Bengal are still following a thoughtless and ill conceived policy. Employment position is very bad in this state and the continuation of a suicidal policy of non-cooperation between employers and employees will progressively destroy the industrial and commercial set up of this once prosperous and economically predominant centre of trade and productive work.

Pakistan Violates Indian Territory

Pakistani soldiers have recently started shelling villages on the Indian side of the frontier of Bangla Desh and West Bengal. They have also come into our territory in force, set fire to Indian houses and shot down Indian citizens. In four or five incidents over fifty casualties have occurred, including the death of a twelve year old girl, and many houses have been burnt down. The Government of India have, as usual, protested to the Pakistan Government and have mentioned "dire consequences" of an indefinite nature. We believe they have demanded assurances and compensations too, with what hopes of getting any satisfactory response we do not know. We think Pakistan should be told that their positions will be shelled and fired upon, if this sort of things happen again. Foreign observers should be called in too to see how Pakistan is behaving. These observers can meet the refugees and find out from them how the army of Pakistan is killing unarmed civilians and chasing millions of people out of their villages. After this Pakistan should be told that the Indian army will enter East

Bengal to rehabilitate these refugees in their own homes. The Partition of 1947 was not effected for settling non-Bengali Muslims in East Bengal. Nor can India house six crore Bengali Muslims in their territory. Pakistan was separated from India in order to enable Indian Muslims to have a Muslim state of their own. The majority of the people of Pakistan are Bengalis and East Bengal is their homeland. If the Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pathan citizens of Pakistan cannot live peacefully with their Bengali coreligionists, they will have to form separate states. Killing or chasing out 75 million people and forcibly taking possession of their homeland by West Pakistani soldiers, violates the spirit of the partition of India and it should be prevented by force if necessary. The people chased out should be openly helped to arm and train themselves to reoccupy their homeland. There should be no squeemishness about this ; as it is of vital importance to India to save her territory from being overrun by millions of destitute refugees. From the human angle if it is right for Pakistan to kill, injure, expropriate and drive out seventy five million people from their homeland, it should be right for anybody else to kill and annihilate the Pakistani hordes in order to give back their homeland to the oppressed millions of Bangla Desh. It is known that Pakistan is obtaining military assistance from Turkey, Iran and China to carry on this unholy war. It should therefore be justifiable for the Mukti Fouz of Bangla Desh to seek the assistance of other countries to regain their lost homes and their freedom.

Pakistan Faces Devaluation

For a country which has to borrow money from other nations and import foreign goods in large quantities due to its industrial underdevelopment ; the exchange rate of its

currency has a vital significance. This exchange rate when fixed officially takes cognisance of the purchasing power of the currencies as well as of the demand for these currencies in foreign markets. Pakistan has been a heavy borrower from other countries over long years and has been balancing its loans accounts by receipt of doles from the USA and a few other countries. Since Pakistan began its conspiratorial partnership with China, other nations became less generous and Pakistan found difficulty in maintaining the international exchange value of its currency. During recent years the Pakistan rupee has never sold at the official rate in the foreign exchange market. Officially less than five Pakistan rupees equalled a U. S. Dollar. But, in fact, the Pakistan rupee price of a dollar has been ten rupees or more for a long time. Recently the position has worsened and since the war in Bangla Desh one Dollar began to buy fourteen Pakistan rupees. International exchange markets have been putting great pressure on Pakistan to devalue its rupee. From all reports Pakistan has agreed to this and a new Dollar: p. rupee exchange rate will be fixed at an early date. This new rate will devalue the Pakistan rupee by more than fifty per cent. This will put up Pakistan's daily war expenditure too by half-a-crore p. d. Debt repayment will become more expensive. But exports will increase for Pakistan--provided exportable goods could be found. The war in Bangla Desh has doubtlessly cut into the supply of two easily exportable commodities—Jute and Tea. That will make things very difficult for Pakistan. Even devaluation will not rectify matters. The future of Pakistani economy is indeed bleak.

Formation of Pakistan Part of Freedom Movement

The Muslims of pre-partition India took a very active part in the struggle for freedom

and political independence. There were many outstanding members of the Muslim community who marched shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Indian people to achieve liberation from British imperialism. When the demand for a separate state was made by Mr. Jinnah and his followers, the idea was to set up a free and self-governing political entity in which the Muslims of India will be able to live and progress according to their own special inclinations. A free and self-governing Islamic state was the declared objective of Jinnah's party. It was, for all purpose, a part of the general mass movement for the achievement of political freedom for the peoples of the subcontinent. If, therefore, the Muslims of India had been put under an autocratic Badshah, a Moghul or a Pathan of royal blood, that would not have been acceptable as liberation of the people. So Pakistan was created as a self-governing dominion in 1947, and, later on it was declared to be an Islamic Republic. A republic can not be considered to be any type of an autocracy or dictatorship. So that the military dictatorship that Yahya Khan (Ayub Khan before him) has set up does not fulfil the purpose of the partition of India. For all we know Yahya Khan may try to organise Pakistan as an integral part of the United Arab Republic, Turkey or the peoples Republic of China. When the Germans invaded Poland, Russia occupied that country as a matter of protecting the rights of the people of Poland. In the same way if Yahya Khan brings in Chinese, Turkish or Iranian soldiers in East Bengal, India should be justified in invading that country with a view to protect the rights of the people of that country. As it is, Yahya Khan has imported numerous persons of alien origin into East Bengal who are killing, dishonouring, enslaving and driving out the original inhabitants of the territory. He may

say that his men are Pakistanis and Bangla Desh is Pakistan ; so he is doing nothing wrong. But the people of East Bengal are also Pakistanis, and what right has Yahya Khan to annihilate them and to settle other Pakistanis in their home land ? In Yahya Khan's elections, held sometime ago, these East Bengal people were recognised voters. What right have the barbarian marauders of West Pakistan to kill them and to occupy their country ? And what is the position of the Turks, the Iranians, the Americans and others who are helping them to commit these inhuman atrocities ?

Namboodripad Compares Two Bengals

Materialism and metaphysics have no easily perceptible affinity ; But apparently the habit of making vague and general speculative conjectures can be found in materialists as it is found in persons groping in the unknown wilderness of abstractions. Mr. Namboodripad has discovered that the case of East Pakistan or Bangla Desh is comparable to the case of West Bengal. For both Yahya Khan and Sreemati Indira Gandhi have made use of

soldiers to deal with a political problem. Yahya Khan has used soldiers to suppress the Awami League and Indira Gandhi has done the same to suppress the C. P. M. Mr. Namboodripad's talent for discovering obscure values and correlations is undoubtedly remarkable ; but we think he has done an injustice to the C. P. M. by putting them in the same class with the rebels of Bangla Desh. The CPM never declared war on India. Sm. Indira Gandhi is a person of cultured preferences. She cannot be compared to a brute of low instincts like Yahya Khan any more than Sree Namboodripad can be compared to Adolf Hitler for the reason that the latter called his Nazi Hordes National Socialist Workers Party. In fact total materialism is not suitable soil for cultivating the rare flowers of poetic comparison. Mr. Namboodripad has attempted a figurative approach to a grossly materialistic act namely painting a persona non grata in dark colours. But all that he has succeeded in achieving has been that he has stated very clearly how terribly he dislikes Yahya Khan. Shree Namboodripad thinks that Yahya Khan is as bad as Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Greater condemnation Namboodripad cannot contemplate !



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(23)

A meeting was held at Bichitra on the 24th of April, 1918. The card announced a discussion on various topics. Reaching Jorasanko we discovered that there were no other ladies among the arrivals. We met Pratima Devi upstairs, where we noticed a subtle change in the hall's lighting arrangements. Instead of the usual shaded electric bulbs, there were rows of large, multi-coloured and delicately painted Japanese lanterns illuminating the whole area. We also met Meera Devi's son and daughter, but Neetu, who would prattle on sweetly in Santiniketan, was not his usual self. He gave us a shy smile and ran away somewhere. Nandita had then just learnt to walk and was busily toddling about, tearing out the flowers from all the vases the malis had decorated. She even gave us a song with a flower in her hand. Rabindranath entered the room about this time. As we went near to touch his feet he said, "Hullo so you have come ! Each day I feel like paying you a visit, but the political activities around here keep me very busy." He was not looking well, at all. His superhuman will power helped him to suppress his personal grief and anxiety and forced him to carry on with the demands of the outside world, but the marks of this struggle were not easily hidden and often would they stand out in his tired face.

After a few minutes he went downstairs again, calling out to his grand-daughter, "although you have dressed up for the occasion, I can not allow you to the meeting."

More and more guests started arriving and the meeting finally began at about seven-thirty. When the gentlemen began to gather upstairs, Rabindranath came near us to say, "you may go now and occupy your thrones." We were sitting in the area reserved for gentlemen and therefore had to get up and go to our allotted seats.

The 'various topics' turned out to be music, vocal and instrumental, and also poetry-reading. The three ladies who played the instruments were Indira Devi, Nalini Devi and Arundhati Sircar. The singers had the poet among them, together with Ajit Kumar Chakravarty and another unknown gentleman. The poetry-reading was done entirely by the poet, who had chosen one new poem and another we had heard before. The meeting ended with playing of the moonlight sonata. Afterward, we sat down and chattered away to our hearts content. At about nine-thirty we pushed through the crowd of admirers, to bid the poet good bye. As I bent down to touch his feet, he looked up at me and said, "By the way, what did you do with those

rope-string shelves I gave you?" I told him that they were brought home, intact. The gentlemen around him looked puzzled and intrigued by our conversation. We reached home very late that night.

On the first of May there was another session of the Bichitra. It began with songs by Dinendranath. Rabindranath spoke on poetry in general and read out one of his new poems. He requested the younger poets present there to read some of their works, but none were willing to do so. "This is rather like our ladies' literary meetings in the Ashram!" remarked Meera Devi.

A Parsee gentleman named Bomanji and the English principal of Rangpur College were also present there, so the poet read out a few poems in English to entertain them. Someone else wished to hear "Bidai Abhishap" so he read that out also. Afterwards he recited another of his new poems.

Later, a gentleman read out "Tomar shankho dhulai porey" from 'Balaka'. We were not very pleased with his manner of reading after listening to the poet's recitations.

We went upstairs to sit with Meera Devi in her room and on the way, saw the poet talking to some of the visitors. He stopped us to say in mock concern that if father called on him too often the government might not grant him a passport. We returned home late after a long chat with Meera Devi.

A couple of days later we got to know that the poet's foreign tour had been cancelled. It was the last phase of the Great War. Rumours were spreading that German battleships and submarines have been sighted in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Probably due to strong pressure from his friends and relatives the poet agreed to stop his tour abroad.

We were invited to the poet's birthday celebrations on the 25th of Baisakh. It was

probably the 8th or 9th of May, 1918. We had attended a pre-wedding luncheon for a young neighbour of ours and returned home rather late. A gusty storm lashed out afterwards, dimming our hopes of visiting Jorasanko. However, the sky cleared up in the evening and we were off. The seating arrangements were done inside the drawing-room of Sri Gaganendranath Tagore. The Bichitra hall upstairs was getting ready for the formal dinner to be held afterwards. Most of the guests were yet to come, so we went and sat with Pratima Devi in her room. We also visited Eina Devi, who was lying ill in another room. When the meeting was about to start we returned to the house at No. 5, with a little girl as our guide. Rabindranath entered the room about the same time. Suddenly Everyone was greeting him or touching his feet or offering garlands—his younger relatives being the first ones to gather around him. When the garlands became burdensome the poet protested, "No, I refuse to carry any more of these. I accepted the ones from my grand-daughters and daughters-in-law, but I have to refuse my grandsons." The rest of us had to be satisfied with placing the garlands briefly on his hands and touching his feet. We waited for Indira Devi who arrived a bit late and then the songs began. The first two songs were sung by Pandit Bhimrao Shastri. Ajithabu sang next and later on a chorus was sung by Srimati Suprova Roy, Roma Devi, Rabindranath and Ajithabu. The poet Sri Satyendranath Dutta, read out a poem composed for the occasion and all of us were charmed. Rabindranath gave a brief talk on the gradual evolution of his songs and in passing, advised us against effusive emotionalism. At this a few of the gentlemen looked positively doleful and we could barely suppress our amusement. All of them were well-known, in our times, for their gushy sentimentality. Many songs

were sung afterwards, mainly from 'Mayar Khela'. With the two songs invoking rain, we could hear the deep resonance of a Mridanga from the outside. The novelist, Sri Saratchandra Chattopadhyay, who had also been invited, suddenly jumped up during the singing and rushed out of the room.

The meeting was over at about nine-thirty. Rabindranath sang the closing song, 'tobu monay rekho, jodi duray jai chalay'. The song brought tears to our eyes.

The men hurried towards the Bichitra hall as it was getting quite late. The women stayed back with the poet. After talking to the poet and bowing down to touch his feet, we followed him to the hall. I can still clearly see the beautifully decorated room. The many—splendoured Bichitra was truly wonderful that night. With the alpana and the flowers it looked celestial. Small rugs were placed all around the room, with alpana patterns before all the seats. Each guest had his name written on a card placed beneath a single lotus-bud in front of each rug. I was surprised and thrilled to see my name card beside the poet's rug.

The guests sat down after Rabindranath settled down. There was some deliberate or careless confusion with the name-cards. Miss Kamala Sarkar was to sit on the other side of the poet, but another young lady insisted on sitting in her place. The original card-holder was disappointed, the management tried to correct the mistake, but the strong-willed youngwoman remained firm.

I was overjoyed to sit in such a place of honour but could hardly eat a bite. Prasannamoyee Devi sat near me and tried to encourage me to eat, by telling me stories about her childhood and her eating prowess. It did not help at all. When a gentleman wished to know why I was not eating, the poet said, 'you have not been looking after

her at all—so she is upset. Of course, I did plead with her".

There were some more songs after dinner, but it had to be brief, as it was really late. After a short chat with friends and then touching the poet's feet, we returned home after eleven-thirty at night.

12th May was a Sunday. As the Bichitra Association was to close down for summer, we held another meeting on that day. We arrived a little early to chat with some of our friends of that family. We sat down on the open terrace above the second floor. We moved about the huge building to inspect some of the unfamiliar areas. After visiting the poet's room we went back to the hall.

The hall was soon full to capacity. But somehow the session did not liven up that evening. An unknown lady-poet from a foreign land, arrived with her husband and upset the tone of the meeting. The poet had to listen to her long anecdotes and also carry on a conversation. He read out a few poems in English for her. Recitations in Bengali continued at our request and parts of 'Chirakumar Sabha' were also read out. But the poet felt quite a bit discouraged watching the blank, uncomprehending faces of the two foreign guests. A gentleman rushed up to him and suggested that he request the lady to recite her own creations. Rabindranath asked her and she agreed immediately. Opening her book of poems she stood up to recite and recited them off one after the other, non-stop. I still remember some of those atrocious verses. We had to sit through the torture and dared not excuse ourselves from the room as the poet sat quietly listening. Finally the lady stopped her recitations and exchanging some pleasantries with her host, left with her husband. We heaved sighs of relief. We were hoping to hear some enjoyable readings afterwards, but Rabindranath was feeling tired

and the meeting had to end abruptly. We returned home soon after.

Next morning, on the 13th of May, the poet came to visit us. I was busy in the kitchen as our part-time cook was absent that day. I managed to come out to greet him and then kept shunting back and forth from the kitchen to father's sitting room. The poet spoke longingly of Shelaidah and said, "I must go back there, somehow. This place does not suit me at all. I don't think I could have written 'Gora', if I had not been in Shelaidah".

"Won't you go back to Bolpur again?" He asked me. "We shall—after the vacation", I answered. "Why, what's wrong if you return earlier?" he asked. Afterwards he discussed the particular qualities of Bankura with my mother and then talked about some renovations

for our cottage in Santiniketan. He left us soon after.

We visited Jorasanko the very next day. Mother wished to call on Kamala Devi as she had visited us twice already. We could not meet her that day as she had gone to visit her parents. We called on Pratima Devi instead. I think we met Meera Devi's grandmother that evening—she had come for a short visit to Calcutta. We sat with Rabindranath while he sipped his tea. The dining-room bore a marked Japanese influence, even the tea service looked Japanese. We asked him when he was returning to Santiniketan and he replied, "I haven't fixed the date as yet—but I shall return soon. Who else will mend the fence around your cottage there?" We returned home after some light refreshments and more conversation.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)



ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH

P. M. GEORGE

The Russian author, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature for his book, 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich,' stated in Moscow that he was afraid to visit Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize for fear that he would be barred from re-entering Russia. Mikhail Lukonin, secretary of the Writers' Union, Moscow, remarked in Bombay that the book was without merit and written with malice. Popov, the author of the best seller, 'Steel and Slake' was of the opinion that Alexander Solzhenitsyn had painted an all black picture of Russia in his so-called satire, which was far from real. It was aimed at attracting the admiration of the West.

Solzhenitsyn was born in 1918, a year after the Bolsheviks stormed to power throughout Russia. Although he has described mainly his own experiences in 'One Day' it is not strictly autobiographical; for Solzhenitsyn, unlike his simple peasant hero, came from a 'petit bourgeois' family. After completing his ten-year school, he enrolled at the University of Rostov, where he majored in Physics and Mathematics. At the age of twenty-one he took a correspondence course in literature at the philological department of Moscow University. In 1941 the Germans invaded Russia, and Solzhenitsyn was drafted into the Red Army. In 1942, he took an artillery course and became commander of an artillery battery, where he served with distinction for

three years. He was twice decorated for bravery. In February 1945, he was arrested in East Prussia on 'a political charge', and was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. For the next eight years, he was in a Russian concentration camp, where he survived the experiences he later described in 'One Day'. In 1953, after the death of Stalin, he was released from the camp but was still forced to live in exile in central Asia till 1956. Then he moved to Ryazan, married a chemistry student, and began to teach Mathematics at the local ten-year school. In his spare time, he started to write.

'One Day' was completed in 1961, but was published only in November 1962. The manuscript was sent to several magazines and was rejected by all of them. At last, it fell into the hands of the 'liberal wing' of the Soviet literary world, which felt strongly that 'One Day' should be published. They referred the matter to the central committee of the Communist Party, and the Central Committee referred it to Premier Khrushchev who is said to have read the book and personally approved its uncensored publication. Within a week of its publication in Novy Mir, a monthly Soviet literary magazine, Solzhenitsyn rocketed to international fame and his little character, Ivan, was recognised throughout the country as a touching symbol of the suffering which the Russian people had endured under the Stalinist system.

'One Day' attracted the attention of people outside Russia mainly because of its literary merit. Its ability to envelop the reader in the futile atmosphere of camp life and to make him see it through the eyes of a Russian peasant, who accepts everything, both good and evil, with enduring patience. It makes him share the experiences of Ivan Denisovich Shukov and his fellow inmates. He chills to the 17°—below—zero cold of Siberia. He sympathises with the poor peasant who wants to go home but is afraid even to think about it. He even holds his breath and joins Shukov—he had slipped a small piece of broken hacksaw blade, which could be classed as a knife, into his left mitten—in prayer, when he is being frisked. He is lost in admiration of the little people, who have been put to severe physical and moral tests, under special and extreme conditions. The little people, who preserve their human dignity, in a world that would reduce most people to the level of animals, would certainly linger in his memory. Who can forget Tiurin, who always protected his men with his chest of steel, or Senka who would never leave anyone in a jam, or Kilgas who never spoke without making a joke.

'One day in the life of Ivan Denisovich' tells a story about little people trapped in a merciless political machine. It describes a red-letter day in the life of Ivan Denisovich Shukov, from reveille to lights-out. Shukov did not show any signs of bitterness: as a matter of fact his activities almost remind me of Arnold Bennett's Henry Machin. According to the dossier, Shukov had been sentenced for high treason. He had surrendered to the Germans with the intention of betraying his country and returned from captivity to carry out a mission for German intelligence. But what really happened was this. In February, 1942, their whole army was surrounded

on the north-west front. No food was parachuted to them. Things got so bad that they were scraping the hooves of dead horses—the horn could be soaked in water and eaten. Their ammunition was gone. So the German rounded them up in the forest, a few at a time. Shukov was in one of those groups, and remained in German captivity for a day or two. Then five of them managed to escape. They stole through the forest and marshes again, and, by a miracle, reached their own lines. The authorities did not believe their story; they were arrested. Stalin's supersensitive secret police accused Shukov of high treason and charged that he had returned only to spy for the Germans. Confused and helpless, afraid that he would be shot if he tried to explain, Shukov 'confessed'. He was sentenced to ten years in a Siberian concentration camp.

Shukov spent the first seven years of his term in the North. For three years he hauled logs for packing cases and railroad ties. Their chief made it a rule that any squad that had failed to meet its quota had to stay in the forest after dark. "They'd dragged themselves back to the camp in the early hours but had to be in the forest again next morning." Life in this camp was better. Then the shift was over, they went back to the camp whether their job was done or not. And each prisoner got three ounces more bread than he got at Ust-Izhma. Shukov was the smartest prisoner in the camp. At lunch, he left the fourteen bowls he'd already stacked on the table, straddled a bench, took the two filled ones from the counter, and said quietly to Pavlo rather than to the cook: "Fourteen". When the cook expostulated that he had already counted fourteen, Shukov shouted: "So you did, but you didn't pass them out. You kept your hands on them". Then he shoved two bowls into the hands of the Estonians and

challenged the cook to count the bowls. Shukov got one of the bowls he had 'swiped'.

Shukov worked hard and was proud of it. At his village of Temgenovo there were no brick houses. All the cottages were built of wood. But the camp needed masons and Shukov, glad to oblige, became a mason. "For a mason a trowel is a serious matter—if it's light and easy to handle. But there was a rule that wherever you worked you had to turn in every evening the tools you'd been issued that morning; and which tool you got the next day was a matter of chance. One evening, though, Shukov had fooled the man in the tool store and pocketed the best trowel; and now he kept it hidden in a different place every evening, and every morning, if he was put to laying blocks, he recovered it." That day, before starting the work, they decided to make the machine room warmer by boarding the three big windows. Shukov's scrounged a fine roll of roofing felt and closed the windows. It was a criminal offence. When the building-foreman, Der, noticed it, he was told by Tiurin, the squad leader: "If you say one word, you blood-sucker, it'll be your last day on earth." When Shukov was working, all his memories and worries faded; he thought only of his work. After dinner that day, they laid cement blocks on the second-story walls. Shukov made no mistakes. The blocks varied. If any had chipped corners or broken edges or lumps on their sides, he noticed it at once and saw which way up to lay them and where they would fit best on the wall. He worked so fast that he had no time to wipe his nose. Even after Tiurin had asked him to sling the mortar over the wall, Shukov continued his work. Even eight years in a camp did not change his nature. "He worried about anything he could make use of, about every scrap of work he could do—nothing must be wasted without

good reason". That night they were fed in accordance with the work they had done. Some got six ounces, some nine, and Shukov twelve. When they reached the camp, he told Tsezar: "I'll run straight to the parcels office and keep a place in line for you." For that he got Tsezar's bowl also. Shukov did private jobs to get money, making slippers out of customers' rags—two rubles a pair—or patching torn jackets, price by agreement.

Solzhenitsyn has given vivid sketches of several prisoners. Many of them were ex-POWs, who passed as spies in their dossiers. Most of the prisoners are admirable, a few are contemptible. Who would not like to work under Tiurin, the squad leader of the 104th? To the squad he was a father; for them he was a pawn. He was a true son of the Gulag and knew their ways through and through. As he was the one who fed them, he could make his men work even during the break. But he never made them work for nothing. He protected his men with his own chest of steel. On that day, the authorities decided to send the 104th to the Socialist Way of Life, but Tiurin averted that danger. Alyosha, Shukov's clean and tidy neighbour, was happy because he was in prison. There he got time to think about his soul. He spent all his Sundays praying with the other Baptists. They shed the hardships of camp life like water off duck's back. They had been given twenty-five years each for praying to God. Buinovsky was a former Commander who still couldn't get his destroyer out of his system. As he was used to giving orders, he spoke to everyone as if in command. Though he had grown haggard, he kept his bearing. When the prisoners were frisked, he accused the guards of not behaving like communists; and was awarded ten days in the guard house. There were two Estonians who hung onto each other so closely that you'd think one would suffocate unless he

breathed the same air as the other. They shared everything—One of them wouldn't spend even a pinch of tobacco without consulting the other. Senka was the wisest of them all; he would not leave anyone in a jam. If you show your pride too much, he said you are lost. Tsezar was well off and got two parcels a month. He greased every palm that had to be greased, and worked in the office in a cushy job, as assistant to the rate inspector. Then there was Kilgas who never spoke without making a joke and was popular with the whole squad for it. He received two food parcels a month and looked as ruddy as if he wasn't in camp at all.

We have nothing but contempt for the Barrack Commander, Der, and Fetikov. The Barrack Commander was a thug with a criminal record. Everyone was afraid of him. He betrayed some of the prisoners to the guards and walloped the rest himself. Der was a foreman, who treated his fellow prisoners worse than dogs. Fetikov had three children at home but when he was sentenced they disclaimed him and his wife married again. So he got no help from anyone. He used to collect cigarette butts, break them up and filter the unsmoked tobacco onto a piece of paper and smoke it. He was a past master at cadging, but lacked the courage to swipe anything. As he was a lazy fellow, Tiurin sent him to a place where the number of blocks he handled was counted separately.

Earlier people were lucky: everyone to a man got ten years. But from 1949 onward the standard sentence was twenty-five, irrespective. Shukov's term was nearly over, but he had his doubts about it. Those zeks who finished their time during the war had all been "retained pending special instructions" and had been released only in 1946. The law was made to stand on its head, and those serving three-year sentences were kept for

another five. Corruption was rampant in the camp. The prisoners were robbed at the place of work, in the camp and in the warehouse. And those who did the robbing did not swing picks. Those who swung the picks took what they gave them. Every zek who got a parcel had to give and give, starting with the guard who opened it. On this day, 104th was cheated at the supply depot. Instead of four twenty-five ounce loaves they got only three. The food supplied was fit only for animals. Usually they got *magara* twice a day. Oatmeal was considered as a treat. Generally, the evening stew was thinner than that at breakfast: if they were to work, prisoners should be fed in the morning, in the evening they would go to sleep anyway. The prisoners slept on saw dust mattresses as hard as boards from long wear. Only if the temperature was 41° or less they were not sent out for work. On this day temperature was—17·5°. Apart from sleep, the only time a prisoner lived for himself was ten minutes in the morning at breakfast, five minutes over dinner, and five at supper. The evening count ended at ten; and at five O'clock next morning, they hounded you out of the bunk, with the first clanging of the rail. Even on Sundays the prisoners were not allowed to rest. They'd invent something, fixing up baths, or building a wall somewhere, or cleaning up the yard.

Why you might wonder, should prisoners wear themselves out, working hard, ten years, on end, in the camps? They could refuse to work. To outsmart you they thought up work squads. Everything was so arranged in the camp that the prisoners egged one another on. If you worked hard you all got a bit extra; if not you all croaked. If one was lazy, those who wanted that extra compelled him to work.

Though the miserable condition of the prisoners in a Siberian concentration camp is

vividly described it is the human beings who attract more attention. Probably, Solzhenitsyn, who had suffered imprisonment for eight years, began the novel with the intention of exposing the miserable condition of one of Stalin's forced-labour camps, but the artist in him diverted his attention, and he created a small almost flawless classic about the camp inmates. If the intention of the writer had been to attract the admiration of the West ; he would have described one day at Ust-Izhma where conditions were worse, and would not have selected the smartest prisoner, whose term was nearly over, as his title character, and narrated the events that took place in a red-letter day in his life. More than that, there are only three direct references to the political situation in the novel :

"In the room a prisoner shouted : "D'you mean to say you think Old Whiskers (Stalin) will take pity on you ? Why, he wouldn't trust his own brother. You haven't a chance, you ass."

"They were an unlucky group too. What harm did they do anyone by praying to God ? Every damn one of them had been given twenty-five years."

"But for whose sake am I here ? Because we weren't ready for war in forty-one ? For that ? But was that my fault ?"

Popov complained that there was not even one ray of light in Solzhenitsyn's picture of Russia. But the intention of the writer had never been to paint a picture of Stalinist Russia ; it was rather to tell a story about a concentration camp and its inmates. Their moments of sorrow as well as moments of joy are described. When they overtook the column from the machine works they were elated. "As elated as a rabbit when it finds it can still terrify a frog". At bed time, on that day, Shukov was in such good spirits that somehow he was not in a mood for sleep. We should remember the fact that the novel ends on a note of satisfaction : "A day without a dark cloud. Almost a happy day."



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Kirki Fort.

On the 3rd day, we reached Kirki in our boat. There is a small Fort here and the Oxus enters here into Soviet Uzbekistan and both sides of the Oxus here are Soviet Land. We finally bade adieu to Afghanistan, from a distance of half the span of Oxus River. From here onwards, Afghanistan was not in our view at all.

The Fort was and is important from the point view of the defence of Soviet Land or Uzbekistan from the Oxus. It may also be a point of offensive from Soviet Land. But in 1920, it assumed much importance as this Fort of Kirki was besieged by the anti-Soviet Turkomans and in the successful defence of it some Indian Mahajareens took active and prominent part. There were about sixty Indian Mahajareens including Soukat Usmani, a colleague of mine in the Meerut Conspiracy (1930-34) and Rafiq Ahmad of Bhupal. The latter was honoured by the Soviet Land on the occasion of the Great October Revolution in 1967. The Indian Mahajareens about 60 in number were given the dangerous task of defending the trenches, dug outside the Kirki Fort and on the bank of the Oxus. It was a difficult job, specially, because of the freezing cold there in mid winter.

The defenders were about 300 Turkomans and 60 Indian Mahajareens and the besiegers were about 5000 strong, and about a similar number had assembled, across the river Oxus. The Fort was successfully defended till reinforcements came with guns by steamer to relieve the defenders and then to mount an offensive on the Turkoman rebels, who fled from both banks of the Oxus.

This is part of history and Shaukat Usmani, gave some details in his book from "Peshawar to Moscow".

We halted for the night under the shadow of the Fort of Kirki. We spent a few hours strolling on the streets of Kirki and around the Fort. Our desire to see the Fort from inside had to be given up due to the undesirability of probable complications in our plans to reach Moscow soon. We enjoyed the standard Eastern Muslim food i. e., Pollow, Kabab, Curry etc. We saw the Russian Fishermen also at Kirki and in larger numbers. We tried but could not find out, when a steamer would be available there. Journey by boat was no doubt very enjoyable but the delay in making arrangements for proceeding to Moscow, was a source of constant worry to us. Therefore our eager enquiry about steamers, but we had no luck there either.

Kirshi.

Our next stop was at Kirshi, a few miles ahead, but we learnt that if we left the boat and travelled by horse driven carriages, we could reach Charjui in a single night, and from there it would be possible to travel by Railway which had been partly repaired from Tashkent and Bokhara up to that place viz. Charjui, an important Railway centre of that area.

Road to Charjui.

So bidding adieu to the boat and the river Oxus, we started in the evening from Kirshi in four carriages each drawn by a couple of horses towards Charjui. We were told that, that region had been freed from the Basmachis or Turkoman rebels or robbers. The open hackney carriages were driven by the coach-

men for the whole night and the road was only a road in name. We danced in the carriages but because of the good meal we had taken at Kirshi, we were sleeping in the carriages. And then the coachmen started falling asleep and the carriage horses also followed their example. The horses were moving on their own, as the coachmen were asleep, through waste land and the road we followed was an apology for a road. We ourselves and the coachmen were sleeping or at least dozing. The journey lasted throughout the night and the road was lit by the stars only.

On several occasions, the carriages fell on their side together with us and our heavy luggage and also with the coachmen and the horses. The coachmen said the horses were falling asleep, in spite of the whips. Every time any carriage toppled over on its side, all the other carriages would also stop, till the upturned carriage was put back on the wheels again and all luggage put properly in the carriage and tied down safely. I also fell with the carriage once but was not injured nor was anyone else hurt during the whole night's journey. Some carriages fell over this way 2 or 3 times. In the late morning we arrived at Charjui, after halting at a way side tea shop and taking our breakfast and easing ourselves in the open fields as real villagers do.

Charjui.

It was a town which was rapidly getting back to its normal and former position of importance. It was more important than as troops and people from Moscow, Tashkent, Bokhara etc., could come up to that place by Railway. We went to the Railway Station and kept our things in the Station, which was not fully repaired yet. But the sight of a Railway Station, with Engines, emitting smoke and moving to and fro for shunting, was a thrilling event for us. We felt much

encouraged. The Iron Horses (which did not sleep) revived our drooping spirits. Never before or after had the sight of a live engine had such an inspiring effect on my morale.

Long and protracted negotiations started with Soviet and Railway authorities and the Devil knows how many other authorities. Ultimately, we got the clearance in the afternoon. We would be put in a ballast wagon and would be carried to the city of Bokhara in about two days—a distance of only about 100 Kilometers. It was slow but much quicker, than any conveyance we had used so far after leaving Kabul. We had to load the wagon ourselves, as porters were not available. When we started carrying the luggage, some of them proved really very heavy, and most unfortunately, it started raining and snowing. The rain drops were falling, but in the air they were turned into clay like snow—neither snow flakes nor hail. They did not hurt, but our hands were benumbed with cold. By rubbing our hands briskly together, we would get over the numb sensation. One half of a Wagon was allowed to us and our luggage almost filled it up. But we arranged our luggage so skilfully, that we could spread our beds on them and sleep; which we did very soundly later on.

To Bokhara by Rail.

Because of the journey by Rail our worries had diminished by 90% and we could forget the jolting of the ballast wagon in the hope of reaching Moscow soon. The span between the two rails, I noticed, was 6 feet and not 5.6 as in Indian Railways, not to speak of meter gauge of 3.4 or the still smaller Martin's 2'ft span. The speed was about ten to fifteen kilometers per hour, but the train stopped at almost all stations on route or even at other places in between the stations to collect the empty wagons, all along the line, which had been left there on the down journey.

loaded with rails, couplings, wheels springs sleepers and all other kinds of railway materials. The train also collected and posted men needed for the repair of the lines and making them serviceable, at least partly. The shunting of the empty wagons and tagging them to the Train took most of the time and at places, we had to wait for hours. There were a few Russian railway technicians at Charjui, but none at the way side stations. we passed our time in hope and expectations and time flew as if we were flying in an aeroplane.

The villages were, as in the rest of Uzbekistan, that we had seen from Termez onwards or for that matter, as in the environs of Kabul. The villagers lived in poor dwellings with thatched roof, with a few occasional brick built houses, with tiles on top. It was winter and no crops were in the fields and sheep were grazing there. The trees were leafless and the men and women were busy preparing for the lean winter months. Their dresses were of the old type, but the workers in railways had coats and trousers and old shoes, with no socks and of course no hats or ties, but only turbans. During the day, the children would flock round to see the ballast trains move on, with wonder in their eyes, just as in Indian villages. We could get fairly good meals on the wayside stations, but the waiting for hours started to get on our nerves. When the train moved, even at bullock cart speed we would feel happy, but waiting motionless in the train proved very tiring. The villages of Uzbekistan, passed one by one in rapid or slow succession, before our eyes when the train was in motion, like scenes in a motion picture. We spent, as far as I remember, two nights and one day in the train. As each revolution of the wheel of the wagon, in which we were living, brought us nearer to Bokhara, the time passed

rather swiftly. When nearing Bokhara, we could see a change with better types of houses and surrounding gardens of the rich or ex-rich landlords and officials.

Bokhara

At last we reached Bokhara, and we were very agreeably surprised to find a few officials of the Government of Bokhara, who were at the Railway Station to receive us. It was about a week, after we crossed the Russo-Afghan Border at Termez and this was the first time that we got any official reception worth the name. So long, we were on our own and spending money of our own for our living and transport. Our days of suspense were at last over after a week. We were taken to a specious bungalow, which was given to us for living. It had several big rooms, furnished with good and costly Persian Carpets. There was a beautiful garden round the Bungalow, surrounded by a wall and also a canal with running water, entering through an opening of the surrounding wall from one side and going out through another, as I had seen in Kabul and Mazare-I-Sharif and other places. This had belonged to some rich landlord previous to the Revolution and had been confiscated by the Government, and was being used as a Guest House for V. I. P.'s. So at last we were recognised as V.I.Ps. The flower garden was in a bad shape, but nonetheless, we felt, specially the Moulana, very happy at last, for being recognised and accepted as important guests of the Government.

We were given rations for all of us for our food, as well as 2/3 servants for cooking and cleaning for us, we had to be in Bokhara for a week or so and we lived quite comfortably, freed both from economic and political stress.

Shell Hit Mosque

The first thing that attracted my attention after going to Bokhara, was that the biggest Mosque there had, two big holes in the

100 foot tower, at about a height of 60 ft. These were caused by shelling by guns of the Army of Revolution, when driving out the Ameer of Bokhara. It was caused by canon balls aimed at the Fort. I wondered why no communal riot developed there, as a result of this damage to the Mosque, which is usually taken as a sacrilege by the religious people. And why this was not repaired soon and kept so long as an open sore for all to see them. I learnt that the shells fell accidentally while shelling the fortress of the Ameer whom the ordinary people simply detested for his oppression and also for living lavishly with his big harem of 3/4 hundred women, while the people starved.

Reward of Bokhara

The roads were broader and cleaner than in Kabul but were quite comparable otherwise. Bokhara was one of the most beautiful cities under the Moghul Emperors and one of them had promised a gift of beautiful Bokhara with grandiose Samarkhand, for the pleasure of seeing the dimple in the cheek of his beloved queen, who was a paragon of beauty. "I shall make a gift of Samarkhand and Bokhara." Babax Samarkand Bokara he had proclaimed.

The Persian poem raises one's expectation, sky high, but in reality, what we saw, could not by any stretch of imagination, be compared with "Behest" "Agar Das Dunia Behest Ast, Hamin Ast."

"If there be any heaven on earth it is here, it is here".

These must have been the flight of poetic imagination of lovers, who were rich and perhaps, under the influence of strong liquor.

Bokhara Ancient and Modern

Bokhara was not only one of the most beautiful cities under the Magul Emperors, but it was also an important centre of ancient International Trade, both North and South (Central Europe to India), but also East-West

(China, Tibet to Persia, Arab, Turkey, Rome etc.) It was the clearing house for trade for centuries and was the cause of its prosperity. Along with prosperity came development of culture, specially Islamic culture. In Islam there are two important books, one is of course, the Quoran Shareef, or the book containing the Revelations, through the mouth of Mahammad, Rasulalla, the Prophet, sent by God.

The other is the Hadij, or Biography, the Record of the Life the Prophet. When the Quoran Shareef is silent on any point, devout Muslims, take their decisions from the Hadij or the life history of the Prophet, how he reacted or behaved in a particular situation. These have been kept on record by various persons from different countries, who were contemporaries of the Prophet. These were collated by learned Muslims and two of the most reliable and exhaustive Hadijes were written by Muslim scholars of Bokhara. People from far and near used to come to Bokhara to study Islam. For centuries Bokhara was thus the most important religious and cultural centre for Islam, second only to Mecca Shareef. It was comparable to Baranasi of the Hindus. Moulana Obeidulla was most happy to visit the different Mosques which were the cultural centres, where hundreds of students used to come for higher studies in Islamic Religion from all over Asia and Africa. There were primary and secondary schools also. Mosques were not only places for worship, but also regular centres for studies. Collections in Mosques used to be spent for the students, who were taught not only free of charge, but all the expenses of their boarding lodging and dress were borne by the Mosque. The numerous halls and rooms in the Mosque compound served as their lodging and boarding houses. Moulana usually asked me to accompany him, when he used to go to Mosques.

The talks were mostly in Persian, which I well understood, but sometimes in Arabic also, which was Greek to me. I don't know exactly why the Moulana invariably chose me as his companion in those centres of Muslim religion and culture, which were invariably connected to or lodged in the Mosques. It may be because he did not wish to discriminate between his Muslim and Hindu companions or colleagues. Or perhaps he wanted to impress me with the ancient glory of Islam, or perhaps others were not much interested in these excursions, as they were more interested in sight-seeing. But his nephew was an exception as Moulana needed him always for personal needs. I was most grateful for this and was really much impressed, by the ancient system of Islamic education and culture which then still persisted. The students studied not only the Quaran Shareef and the Hadijes, but also Philosophy, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science both preliminary and advanced. The ages of students were from infants of 5/6 years to adults of 25/30 years and a few much older. The higher students were in the Colleges or shall I say Universities of the mosques. This reminded me of the century old Tol or Chatuspathy we had in our own home, in Khulna. I noticed a little difference in Islam, the teaching institutions, were centered in mosques, whereas amongst the Hindus, the teaching institutions were not centered round any temple. It may be that there are so many sects, as Shaibas, Saktas, Baishnabs, that teachings had to be independent of any temple or sect or cult, so that Hindu people of all sections could get their education there.

Moulana's talks and enquiries were mostly about the Soviet System of Government and the reactions to it of the muslims specially of teachers and students of Bokhara and surrounding Islamic countries and their people. It was most favourable to the Soviets.

Under the Czars.

Formerly, education, specially secondary and higher education, was through the medium of Russian, which was compulsory. Studying books in Persian, which was the mother tongue of the people was taboo, except of course the religious books. Printing books in Persian, needed Government's permission which was not easy to obtain. Though not actually forbidden, it was discouraged and difficulties were created for publication of books etc. in Persian. In this respect the Czars were more crude in their Imperialist expansion than the British. Under the Soviets, the policy was reversed and printing of books in Persian, was encouraged and financially helped. All education was through the Persian language and learning Russian was optional and secondary. Books in Persian for studying History, Geography, Mathematics, Economics, Science etc., were non-existent and systematic and vigorous attempts were being made to print such books, specially text books for schools and colleges. Moulana naturally did not like the anti-religious attitude of the Soviets, but he was very much impressed by this attitude followed in concrete action of the Soviets, in economic and cultural matters.

Once we were sitting in the biggest Mosque in Bokhara (name I can not recall) but it had the tallest minar or tower about 100ft. high, which had been hit at two places by canon balls and had the gaping wounds visible above the other houses of the town and visible from miles away. Moulana asked mischievously, I suppose, what was their reaction to the sacrilege of damaging their Mosque Minar. The Moslem Divines instead of resenting it, were apologetic and explained that it happened only accidentally, while bombarding the fortress of the Ameer. The canons were fired no doubt by the Russian guns, and

gunners, but under the command of their Bokhara leader Khowja Faizulla. It had the desired effect also. As long as the guns were not brought by the Russians, on fervent request by the Khowja Faizullah, the Ameer though surrounded by the insurgents sat tight in the Fort, which was also his residence. It was difficult to take the Fort by direct assault and it would have been very expensive in human lives. But when the guns boomed and the shells fell in the Fort and on the Fort walls the Ameer realised that his doom was near. He had either to surrender or escape, though it was risky. Being a clever man he chose the latter course and at dead of night managed to escape, with some of his harem and fabulous hoard of gold, with the help of his soldiers, who were still faithful.

It was the acid test applied by the Moulana. It is always a sore point for any religious people, and specially for the Muslims, when their religious places are damaged or desecrated. Here the Russian Soviets passed the test with credit. Both the Maulana and myself were deeply impressed by what we learnt in those Mosque interviews

and discussions. These were the people, who were most interested in Islamic religion and culture and were in fact custodians of the same. When they took such a view point and an almost benevolent attitude to the anti-religious Bolsheviks, the attitude of the common men, who were more concerned, about their living, than religion, can be well understood.

What impressed the common man was that they had perfect freedom to say their prayers in the Mosques and outside and also to earn their living by trade, industry and agriculture. More-over the Russians in the Ameer's employment were withdrawn and the Cabinet of Khowja Faizulla's National Soviet did not include a single Russian. There were a few Russians as consultants and advisers, but not in any executive posts. There was a small contingent of Russian soldiers, only to train the Bokhara people in technical matters, as in using the modern big guns and machine guns etc. Formerly, the Ameer was virtually under the thumb of the Czarist officers, stationed there,



SOCIAL JUSTICE OR SHOW-SOCIALISM ?

Sreemati Indira Gandhi's objective of removing poverty is nationally necessary and praiseworthy. But her methods are progressively appearing to be formulated by incapable bureaucrats, who can only think of getting more power in their own inefficient hands through a program of nationalisations in every branch of the nation's economy. Added to this, these bureaucrats have thought of a many pronged attack on wealth and incomes as an essential part of their propaganda and playing to the gallery. In this way they have thought of ceilings for owning house property, for incomes, for owning gold ornaments and so on and so forth. They have overlooked the fact that their objective is "Garibi Hatao" and not "Amiri Hatao", and that if all Amirs were reduced down to the economic level of the peasants, the unskilled workers and the street beggars ; the average per capita income of the Indian people will not exceed Rs. 300/- per annum. The main thing to achieve is increasing the total national product and not making propaganda gestures of redistribution of wealth and equalising wages and incomes. Mrs. Gandhi's advisers cannot think out any constructive program of increasing the nation's production ; so they are playing with their ideas of a show-socialism which will not, in any way, help the nation to have more and better food, clothing, housing, education or medical assistance. That they do not get what they should is a grave social injustice which should be rectified by efforts at increased production rather than by allowing governmental emplo-

yees to get a stronger hold on the economic institutions of the nation.

C. Rajagopalachari, whose experience and knowledge can not be questioned, has said "what the nation needs and should be promised is social justice as stated clearly in the Constitution, not nationalisation of banks, expropriation of earnings, curbs on expansion of industries, all of which and allied suicidal programmes go under the comprehensive name of socialism. If the Old Congress does nothing more than repeating the same phantom plans which have given a majority to Sreemati Indira, the Congress (O) will only be strengthening Smt. Indira's position and not achieving anything towards social justice."

If milkmen can mix water with their milk, food vendors and grocers adulterate their supplies, money lenders charge one hundred twenty percent interest and shop keepers exploit their poor buyers in a merciless and unscrupulous manner ; freely and blatantly ; what good will nationalisation of banks do ? Social injustice is rampant everywhere in India. Government officials and departments are great offenders too. The police work hand in hand with law breakers, the courts hold up trial of cases for years, the railways destroy the economy through their mismanagement and the expensively organised administrative machinery function like a badly maintained and broken down machine. That being so, more power to bureaucrats or taking the advice of hair-brained party men cannot take

us anywhere. One thing is very clear. It is that we must establish social justice. And it is not through nationalisations, controls, ceilings or such like show-socialism that we shall succeed in achieving that objective. We must have a carefully prepared schedule of institutions, social habits, departmental practices and iniquitous conduct, as found in the various fields of the life of the nation and then, proceed to effect reforms, boldly and without fear or granting of favours. Rajaji further said this mock socialism that is being offered to the Indian people will not achieve social justice. All these political and economic

changes and manipulations made in the name of socialism will merely "expand the power of the State and reduce the freedom of the people, making them serfs under a totalitarian regime. The working classes in particular should realize this and understand the value of the guaranteed rights inscribed in the Constitution which are threatened by what is called socialism". Sreemati Indira is well known for her sense of realism and deep interest in the freedom of the people. She should not play into the hands of the bureaucratic power hunters who surround her.

DREAM

BIMAL JYOTI DAS

Soft sunny dreams like silver clouds of autumn
 My hours of leisure fill.
 The subject of my dreams ne'er came to life,
 But the dream remaineth still.
 What then—my realist half sometimes asks—
 What then is the use ?
 The shy, idealist half no answer makes,
 But goes on courting the the Muse.
 The earth is full of gay and gaudy shows,
 But what is in the sky ?
 Yet the lark to earth is not confined,
 Its pleasure is to fly.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

How it Started

The *Swarajya* has given a precise account of how the Pakistani civil war started in a letter written by the Calcutta correspondent of the journal. It reads as follows.

The people on this side of the border are embittered over the reign of terror that the Pakistani army has unleashed in the eastern wing in the name of national integration. A spontaneous hartal was observed on March 31 to express indignation over the brutal manner in which the Pakistan army has sought to suppress the unarmed people.

There was nothing in the six point programme of Sheikh Mujibur-Rehman which stood in the way of Pakistan's continued existence as a single political entity. What he claimed for East Pakistan was political-cum-economic autonomy within the framework of a Federation of Muslim States as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution. He showed remarkable patience and moderation in continuing negotiation with President Yahya Khan even after the firing at Joydevpur. It is now clear that President Yahya Khan's visit to Dacca and his talks with the Sheikh for days together were just a camouflage to gain time for military preparations for putting down the Awami League. The army in East Bengal was not considered adequate to deal with any uprising. In the course of negotiations, six ships carry-

ing troops are stated to have arrived. Since then reinforcements are being flown every day.

It will be wrong to call the uprising in East Bengal a civil war. It is now clear enough that the peoples of the two wings of Pakistan have not been integrated into a single nationality. The west exploited the eastern wing. What East Bengal has suffered from since 1947 is a peculiar form of colonialism serving the interests of West Pakistan's militarist-bureaucratic-industrial complex. It is against this colonialism that 75 million people are now in revolt.

Censorship imposed by the military authorities has choked all flow of news and no clear idea of what has happened or is happening inside East Bengal is available. But reports slipping through the borders make it abundantly clear that the Army is not finding it easy to control the situation. The "Bangla Desh" as the freedom fighters call it has risen to a man to resist the military might of West Pakistan. Rail and road communications have been totally disrupted with bridges blown up and rails uprooted. East Bengal is a riverine country and once the rains start things may be much more difficult for the Army. East Bengal is separated from the western wing of Pakistan by about a thousand miles and that is precisely, working to the advantage of the people of East Bengal. Even if the uprising is suppressed by force, emotionally, the two

wings appear to be drifting away from each other.

The AICC (R) Session in New Delhi

"Sentinel" writing in *Swarajya* says :

The two-day session of the AICC (Ruling) held during the week-end was a dull ritual. It accomplished little and the speeches conveyed nothing new to create the impression of a dynamic or re-vitalized organization. Though it was intended to be a "victory" session; in the wake of the massive majority secured in the Lok Sabha poll, the session commenced on a subdued note. The proceedings came to a close half a day earlier for want of speakers as well as subjects. Right from the beginning it looked like a session thrust upon the delegates. The lack of enthusiasm could be seen in the rather thin attendance registered.

The main business carried out by the AICC (R) was to complete the formality of electing Mr. D. Sanjiviah to succeed Mr Jagjivan Ram as President. Mr Sanjiviah had already been made acting President by the Working Committee in anticipation of the formal election by the delegates.

The Delhi session of the AICC was, for the most part, a get together to shower congratulations on each other on the "massive" victory won at the polls. Mrs Gandhi paid tributes to Mr Jagjivan Ram for guiding the Congress at a critical time (her thoughts were mostly about the split) and leading it to victory at the polls. Mr Jagjivan Ram, in his turn, thanked the people for returning the party with such great strength. He told the party that the credit for achieving the big victory belonged to Mrs Gandhi whose dynamism and tireless energy had brought the unprecedented success for the party. The people, he said, had voted for her leadership and the party's programmes of socialist advance.

Not to be outdone, Mr Chavan took the floor to supplement the compliments. He described Mrs Gandhi as the "architect" of the big Congress (R) victory which was due as much to the brilliant leadership they had as to the confidence among the people that here was a party that believed in "action" and was serious about implementing its 10-point programme. The people had no faith in the assurance of other parties. The result was that the other parties were routed.

The resolution on, "Pledge to the people", in fact turned into a pledge of loyalty to the Prime Minister by different speakers, Mr Chavan setting the tone. The only other important resolution approved was the one expressing full sympathy with the people of East Bengal who were fighting stubbornly to resist the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. Mrs Gandhi cautiously avoided the issue of recognition of "Bangla Desh" but otherwise extended the full sympathy of the people of India, in line with the unanimous resolution adopted by the Lok Sabha.

Coal Mining, a "Sick Child"

Coal Mining is a major industry of India in point of persons employed, value produced and its importance in the nation's economy. 1974 will see the 200th anniversary of this industry. The Government of India however handles the affairs of this major industry in a manner which is typical of the government's near sighted and bungling ways. H. N. Mookherjee the Chairman of Indian Mining Federation made certain revelations which are interesting and are quoted below from the *Coal Field Tribune* :

Chairman of the Indian Mining Federation Shri H. N. Mookherjee in his address in the 58th Annual General Meeting of the Federation held in Calcutta on March 26, described

the year 1970 as the "worst ever year in the Coal Mining Industry." He showed statistically that industrial production was virtually at a standstill during the period owing mainly to widespread labour unrest leading to a loss of 27 million man-days and an estimated loss in production of Rs. 150 crores.

Coal production in 1970 was said to be only 75.8 million tonnes as against 79.6 million tonnes in 1969,—a fall of 3.8 million tonnes. Quoting estimates of the Coal Controller's Organisation Shri Mookherjee stated that coal production would be approximately 5.4 million tonnes less in the current year 1970-71 than 80 million tonnes produced in 1969-70. There is thus little chance to achieve the estimated coal production target of 93.5 million tonnes in 1973-74 that is at the end of Fourth Plan. Frequent scuttling in production target may have serious repercussion in Coal Industry so far as, particularly, in respect of employment potentialities are concerned. The target at the end of Fourth Plan is apprehended by the Industry to be further reduced to 85 million tonnes. This will leave no opportunity for fresh employment in Coal Industry, when employment is essential to contain growing indiscipline and lawlessness, and frustration amongst the unemployed youths.

Coal Industry is often quoted as "Sick Child". "That the Government is fully seized of the fact is proved by the appointment of one expert body after another for a close clinical investigation of the Industry's sickness. The experts have done their work expertly and submitted reports that, if acted upon, might have put the industry on the way to recovery. But the Government in its selective wisdom has picked up for implementation only such recommendations of the experts as suited at the moment. Meanwhile, the sick child continues to be sick and may soon become a subject not of clinical but of post

mortem examination". What is more curious is that, the National Coal Policy is yet to come.

Main crisis which is faced by Coal Industry is the lack of remunerative selling price of coal since decontrol in 1967. Prices of cement, iron and steel, explosives, wire ropes and other store materials which are indispensable to run a mine are rising year to year. Various taxes and cesses of the State Government and electricity rates are said to be on the increase. Various rates of wages and V. D. A. are on the incremental scale. Naturally, cost of production, also increase in price of coal is not commensurate with the leaping cost of production. Consequently profitability declines leaving no reserve fund to develop.

The problem of problems in the past year was the Railway coal transport muddle. An unprecedented crisis in rail transport resulting in all time record of coal stocks at the Pitheads amounting to about 9 million tonnes locked up working capital to the tune of about Rs. 32 crores. Magnitude of coal transport muddle is evident from the fact that against the minimum supply of 5100 wagons over Eastern Railway and 1900 wagons on the S. E. Railway a day, according to Shri Mookherjee, guaranteed by the Railways themselves, the average daily supply of wagons in 1970 was said to be only 4413 wagons over the Eastern Railway and 1473 over S. E. Railway. The position is said to have further worsened over the Eastern Railway. The average supply of wagons in January this year was said to have been 4218 while in February it came down to 3781 only.

This shortfall in wagon supply has compelled the producers to restrict production and consumers too were compelled to reduce their inventory. As the level of stocks goes down at the consumers' end the producers' Pitheads are jam-packed practically leaving no

space to dump any more coal. Many industrial units like engineering works, cement sugar and paper factories and textile mills either have slowed down their production and in some cases, even closed down due to shortage of coal. Even in Delhi alone about fifty percent of the 320 working brick kilns were closed owing to shortage of coal which otherwise would have worked full season.

Performance of the Railways is deplorable despite modernisation. Railways have dieselised and electrified most of their tracks, introduced box wagons, remodelled and expanded their various yards in order to increase operational efficiency and turnout of wagons. But in practical field, no tangible result is felt. It is curious to think that despite so much change to increase operational efficiency, a wagon is said to remain idle for 19 hours in a day. A fine specimen of operational efficiency indeed while coal stocks are accumulating in the colliery Pitheads.

The worst crisis ever Coal Industry had to face in August, 1970 was the strike by the workers of the explosive factory at Gomia. Indian Explosives Ltd. who are the monopoly manufacturers of permitted explosives in their Gomia factory and as such, the strike actually paralyzed the whole of the Coal Industry in the country when the workers went on wildcat strike in August last year and held the country to ransom. The current demand for explosives according Shri Mookherjee "is estimated at 33,000 tonnes as against the production of 28,000 tonnes." The problem thus basically relates to a severe imbalance between demand and supply. To add fuel to this, strike by the workers of this monopoly manufacturers threatened the country's progress to a stop by hitting at the root, i. e. Coal. Politicking in such a vital point at the cost of the country's progress is a dangerous game and the very existence of the Coal Industry was left at the

mercy of a handful of misguided workers. Government, however, appears to have realised the reality and now proposed to set up a new explosive factory in the public sector. What is suggested is—the proposed new factory should be set up somewhere in a place between Dhanbad and Asansol because Jharia and Ranigunge Coalfields are the biggest consumers of permitted explosives.

Deceit Practised by Political Parties

Gora writing in *The Atheist* about the ink mark put on the fingers of voters says :

What does all this mean? The election Commission has not only to face the difficulties of enabling the mass of illiterate voters to exercise their franchise, but it has now to face the deceitful tricks of the political parties. It is a shame to the political parties. The black ink mark on the finger of the voter is a stigma on the reputation of the political parties. The political parties instead of helping the Election Commission in casting the votes, put a spoke in the workings of Election Commission. The political parties are teaching deceit to the voters instead of imparting honest political education. The sooner the political parties go, the earlier honesty can be re-established.

The ink mark stays on my finger as a constant reminder of the need to blot out the political parties.

1000 Year Old Seeds Sprout

The following was published in *Polish Fact on File* :

Polish archaeologists have grown a plant from seeds one thousand years old? The plant is only twelve centimetres high so far. It does not resemble any plant known so far. Its intensively green leaves are shaped like tir

horse shoes. Numerous buds indicate it will continue to develop.

The seeds from the Boguslaw Abramek, an archaeologist of the Wielun District Museum, Lodz Voivodship, grew this mysterious plant, were found at a medieval cemetery, in a well preserved grave. The seeds look something like those of white mustard but are very hard.

The Wielun plant sprouted only a week after it was sown in a flower pot containing soil enriched with mineral compounds. It was put on show at this year's exhibition of archaeological finds organised by the Wielun District Museum.

Peoples Liberation Army and Chinese Politics

Thomas O. Payne, writing in *Current Developments* about China's progress after the set back of the Cultural Revolution, says :

Most indicators pointed to continued improvement in conditions in mainland China in 1970. The greatest progress, as in 1969, was in the economic field and in the restoration of public order. In both these areas the Chinese populace seemed to respond positively to Peking directives aimed at a return to pre-Cultural Revolution normality. In other fields, however, in which the regime sought to create new norms, it encountered formidable resistance and obstacles not only among the population as a whole but within its own councils as well.

The problems facing the Chinese leadership are manifold, not the least of which are the difficulties inherent in the task of modernizing an enormous underdeveloped nation. These would be difficult for any government to cope with and, on the whole, Maoist precepts and compulsions have not made them more tractable. In addition, China is still suffering the aftereffects of the Cultural

Revolution. The factionalism, animosities, fears and suspicions engendered by the 1966-1968 period have not yet been put aside and the Party and Government apparatus remains disorganized, particularly below the national level. It is not surprising, therefore, that the regime's directives and programs in 1970 were implemented in an uneven manner at the grass roots.

These problems were compounded by the fact that the ruling group itself remains, divided, even though it removed its major political enemies over two years ago. The lines of division are complex and drawn between radicals and moderates, civilians and military men, and between regionally and centrally-based power holders. High level policy differences were evident in Peking's failure to disclose the rank-order of Politburo members, in the continued absence of at least one of these members, in the prolonged delay in holding a National People's Congress, and in the vague, compromising quality of many official directives and pronouncements.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) remained the major source of stability and cohesion in China and was the only national system of command which remained intact. But the PLA is not monolithic ; it too shows signs of being divided along regional, generational, doctrinal and service lines. Nonetheless, it seems tied together by a strong sense of identity as a **national** elite, committed to preserving the unity and integrity of the nation and responsive in large measure to direction from the Center. In particular, the PLA high command appears to agree that it is in the best interests of their service to line up together behind Defence Minister Lin Biao.

In 1969, as new non-military Party and Government organs were established, it seemed possible that the PLA might progressively

disengage from the civilian sector. Instead, its visible presence and political power grew even more in 1970. The PLA is heavily represented in the Party Central Committee and, of even greater importance, in the CCP Politburo. It is the dominant partner in most Revolutionary Committees at the provincial level and below, and it has apparently played a commanding role in the rebuilding of the civilian Party apparatus at the grass roots.

Party rebuilding proceeded very slowly in 1970, and not until year end was the first Provincial Party Committee established. PLA men were named to the new Party Committees, and it seems likely that the military will see to it that these Committees are staffed by personnel on whom they can rely. Under the new PRC draft Constitution, which surfaced in November, the PLA will also be permanently established at the ministerial level in Peking.

Mao Tse-tung's own attitude toward the PLA's commanding presence remains unclear. During the past year, however Mao was not away, sulking in some retreat outside of Peking as he has done in the past when displeased with domestic developments and planning counter-moves. Instead, he was unusually active publicly, more often than not with Lin Biao at his side. Lin, like the PLA itself, was portrayed in national media as a paragon of Maoist virtue and loyalty. The draft PRC Constitution, in turn, enshrines him on a political pinnacle along with Mao.

Reasons Behind the Ceylonese Upheaval

We reproduce below portions of a letter written by M. G. Pillai to the *New Statesman*.

"On the face of it, the present crisis in Ceylon presents the paradox of a left-wing government menaced by a left-wing movement. In fact it is a confrontation between the landed

gentry and upper middle class, with its tight hold over the island's political and public life, and the large body of landless, unemployed, underemployed, largely educated masses. For the present, the latter have as their leaders a group of discontented students calling themselves the Janatha Vimuthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front). Popularly known as the Che Guevarists, the now banned Front blames Ceylon's troubles on the cynicism with which successive governments of whatever ideological label have glossed over its basic problem—galloping unemployment.

"Ceylon's elite which.....dominates virtually every aspect of political life, is now being brought to task for its refusal to overhaul an outdated educational system more suited to training clerks than technicians. And ironically, the situation is worsened by a welfare system which provides among other things free education from kindergarten to University. Ceylon now has 700,000 unemployed, including 15000 graduates. The three Universities add another 2000 graduates annually.

"This represents 22 percent of the total work force of between 18 and 60, but does not take in the underemployed. It is this group which forms the support base of the current insurgency, the hard core of which is no more than a few hundreds—undergraduates postgraduates and a handful of women.

"The public service.....is the main industry of Ceylon, but the government can take in only a small fraction of graduates every year there is little avenue open to the graduate for alternate jobs. Those lucky enough must be content with doing menial jobs on the tea, rubber and coconut plantations. However, even in the plantations, difficulties are setting in. Tea, which provides the country with 65 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings, has taken a hard knock on the world market in the past five years.

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"There is still considerable doubt about the movements real ideological links. They have been denounced as vehemently as pawns of the extreme Right as they have been accused of the extreme Left. Some draw parallels between the Front and the Naxalites of India, this no doubt reinforced by the fact that its now detained leader, Rohana Wijewera was expelled from Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University for his pro-Chinese attitudes.

"In any event, the movement appears to have gained considerable support in the countryside. This is where the threat to the present government—and by extension the whole ruling class—lies. The new-style leaders donot have 'safe' LSE or Oxbridge backgrounds. They come from working class homes and get their inspiration from Moscow, Peking and Pyonyang. They have none of

the inhibitions of even the most leftist Ceylonese politicians to-day, including the communists and Trotskyists, who basically are still prepared to work within a framework of Parliamentary Democracy and even participate in coalition governments.

"Ironically, the Front supported Mrs. Bandaranaike in her successful election bid last year, mainly because of her policies of bank nationalisation and agrarian reform. The Front saw in them a means of creating sufficient additonal jobs.....But the government has shelved the bank nationalisation programme for the moment. Agrarian reform is now in the hands of the parliamentary draftsmen, but progress is slow, if only because of opposition from within the cabinet, including Mrs. Bandaranaike, who herself owns big tea and rubber plantations....."





TWO KERALA LADIES
A Rare Old, Tanjore Painting on Glass

THE MODERN REVIEW

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CONTENTS FOR JUNE 1971

WHOLE No. 774

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
| Social Security in India—Subhash Chandra Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 409 |
| J.-J. Servan-Schreiber and the American Challenge—Prafulla Kar & Suvir Ghosh | ... | ... | ... | 412 |
| The Buddha and Democratic Principles—Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe | ... | ... | ... | 416 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 420 |
| Appointment of the Governor.....—Mahinder Singh Dahiya | ... | ... | ... | 431 |
| The Liars of Pakistan—A. C. | ... | ... | ... | 441 |
| A Village Astronomer—Aparba Kumar Chakravarty | ... | ... | ... | 445 |
| Mao's smile may be Deceptive—Dr. G. S. Rajhans | ... | ... | ... | 450 |
| Mysticism & Magic in Ancient India —Adris Banerji | ... | ... | ... | 452 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 457 |
| Independent M.P.—Aviction of Ideological indecision—Prof. C. R. Rather | ... | ... | ... | 461 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 465 |
| Parkinson's Laws—Jyotindranath Mukherjee | ... | ... | ... | 469 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 472 |



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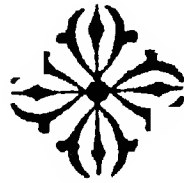
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NOTES

Critics of Rebel Bengalis

The followers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman are not very popular with the Pakistanis (West), the Chinese, the Anglo-Americans, the Russians, the Indian communists of certain types and with the Bengali Muslim Leaguers, the Jemaïet-el-Ulemites and other supporters of the established order. The Pakistanis (West) do not like them for the simple reason that the Awami League has been a political and moral challenge to their lawless exploitation of the 75 million Bengalis of East Bengal. The Chinese and the Anglo-Americans have been unconditional supporters of the military dictatorship of Pakistan in so far as the autocrats of Pakistan supported the unprincipled actions of these powers in the manner of a unquestioning and faithful servant. When China occupied Indian territory to build connecting roads with their Western Asian

domains, Pakistan "gave" them much land which had been within Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Pakistan also allowed the Americans to use Pakistani air fields to operate their spy planes and also to organise their spyings in Asiatic Russia about which very little is known in the outside world. The British have been the creators of Pakistan and their purpose in setting up this splinter state by amputation of certain parts of India was clearly one of low diplomacy for the reason that the British propagated the two nation theory (Hindu and Muslim) which was the basis of the partition of India and was utterly false, as has been proved to the hilt by what has happened in East Bengal. Here the West Pakistanis have been trying to dominate and exploit the East Pakistan people who are utterly different from the Western Pakistani group in race, language and culture. The West Pakistanis too are

not racially and linguistically alike as they consist of Punjabis, Pathans, Sindhis, Baluchis and immigrants from other parts of India who profess Islam and speak Urdu and various other languages of the sub-continent. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had given a fair trial to Pakistan's alleged Muslim nation theory; but they soon found out that the Muslim nation was just a camouflage for forcing the various races of Pakistan to accept a Punjabi led dictatorship of military type which tried to utilise all resources of the country mainly for the betterment of selected regions and for the advantage of particular cliques and coteries. Even where questions of life and death of thousands arose in East Pakistan, which required extensive dykes and breakwater walls to protect the peoples' lives and properties from cyclones and tidal bores, the military autocrats ignored such needs and spent all available funds for beautifying Islamabad (Rawalpindi) or for granting an enjoyable standard of living to the officials of Pakistan who were mainly non-Bengalis. East Pakistan's Jute and Tea exports however earned the major portion of the foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan.

In these circumstances, the Bengalis of East Bengal found that their share of the "advantages" of belonging to an artificially created state was utter insecurity and maximum exploitation by the military junta which ruled Pakistan. Their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, therefore started agitation for the abolition of martial law administration and for the establishment of a democratic regime in East Bengal. The urgency of this was magnified by the callous inaction of the martial law administration after the great cyclone in East Bengal, when the stricken population were left without any help or assistance for weeks, although the World emphasised the necessity for succour widely and in great detail. It is believed that even

resources provided by generous outsiders for the benefit of the victims of the cyclone were utilised by the martial law administrators for military purposes.

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman cooperated with General Yahya Khan as much as he could; but the general was hardly in the mood to reciprocate in this field. He ordered elections apparently only for the appeasement of public opinion; but when his nominees were defeated utterly by the Awami League nominees, he lost no time in attacking the prominent sections of the anti-martial law civil population with a view to liquidate all opposition to his military might. Pretending to hold a conference he arrested and carried off Sheikh Mujibur Rehman from Dacca to Islamabad in fetters and let loose a fierce and bestial reign of terror on the educated classes of East Bengalis in which 50000 persons were massacred in 48 hours in Dacca among whom were thousands of hand picked academicians, literateurs, poets, composers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers and students. School boys were lined up and machine gunned, professors and teachers were picked out and shot, girl students were abducted in their hundreds and handed over to the soldiers of Yahya Khan and worker's dwellings were burnt down and the fleeing residents forced back into the flames in a sadistic manner which has no parallel in history for its inhuman ferocity. After that initial carnage; killing, arson, rape and the chasing out of lawful residents of towns and villages continued unabated until the number of killed exceeded half-a-million, abducted women could be counted in tens of thousands and people forced out of their homeland into neighbouring countries were estimated to be over six million.

In these circumstances when Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is criticised for acting in a manner which is breaking up the Pakistani

nation one has to point out that the Sheikh had at no time propagated any ideas of dissolution of Pakistan. He merely wanted a democratic civil government run by an elected majority and Yahya Khan had followed similar ideas until he suddenly decided to continue with his military autocracy. The shooting and the breaking up of the civil set up of East Pakistan was not carried out by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's men but by the soldiers of Yahya Khan. The same soldiers have deliberately carried out a plan of which the aim was to reduce the Bengali population of East Pakistan (Hindu and Muslim) so far down as would make the Bengalis a minority in Pakistan. The chasing out of six million persons was one way of achieving this objective. The Pakistan radio is constantly reiterating that the refugees from that country do not number even a hundred thousand; which is a mere preliminary to their planned refusal to readmit the refugees back into Pakistan.

Another criticism that one hears is that the Sheikh's followers started the fight in Dacca. At midnight on March 25, 1971 the Sheikh was holding a conference with Yahya Khan. The fight started at that hour and that was the hour when the Sheikh was arrested and carried away by plane to Islamabad. The preplanned massacre of Bengalis also took place at the same time. These facts prove conclusively that the whole guilt rested on Yahya Khan's men. There are numerous neutral witnesses who have testified to the truth of these happenings.

Any responsibility for the disintegration of Pakistan should belong firstly to those who created that state by falsely assuming the existence of a Muslim nation in India. The Panjabis, the Pathans, the Baluchis, the Bengalis, the Sindhis and the Urdu speaking Muslims were not of one race or one cultural group. The Panjabis tried to dominate all

other Muslims of Pakistan and the disintegration of that loosely knit political body took place naturally due to the selfishness of the military clique which ruled Pakistan. The terrorism practised by Yahya Khan's men has made the reintegration of Pakistan an impossibility.

Pretention of Normalcy in Bangladesh

When big powers decide to ignore facts and to condone great crimes against human communities they pretend that nothing unusual has happened and hope that they will succeed in letting things blow over by their deliberate policy of putting the telescope to their blind eye. The Bangladesh affair is a terrible crime against humanity committed by the military rulers of Pakistan and their victims are the 75 million Bengalis of East Pakistan the majority of whom are Muslims by religion. General Yahya Khan's soldiers have shot down thousands of innocent men, women and children, raped thousands of women, set fire to entire built up residential areas, shelled towns and villages occupied solely by non-combattant civilians, poisoned wells, destroyed crops and generally terrorised the people of East Bengal to an extent which has forced about six million of them to flee their homeland.

This is not something that has just happened by force of circumstances. It is a great crime deliberately committed by the organised forces of an established Government which is a member of the United Nations Organisation. And the big powers, particularly China and America, are trying to allow this mass violation of human rights and criminal orgy of sadistic excesses to go unpunished and be even expunged from the pages of recorded history; by not taking notice of facts. The powers are behaving as if things have just happened and the Pakistan Government have not aided, abetted,

condoned, committed, planned and ordered the carrying out of a diabolical scheme of barbarous genocide and suppression through frightfulness of the entire population of a country which has been an integral part of Pakistan. The military rulers of Pakistan represent only a small minority of the people of that country. They wish to rule and exploit the vast majority of the peoples of Pakistan by contradicting in action all recognised principles of human rights and rules of morality observed by human communities. The people of Bangladesh, that is East Pakistan, do not wish to be ruled autocratically nor to be exploited by the military minority of West Pakistan, as if the people of East Pakistan were the slaves and serfs of the soldiers of Pakistan. General Yahya Khan had agreed to abolish the martial law administration of Pakistan and to introduce democratic rule in the country. But he cancelled these plans, after holding elections, when he found he would have no control over a democratic government of Pakistan. He therefore played for time by holding conferences for allegedly discussing terms and conditions of handing over power to a civil government and filled up East Pakistan with soldiers hurriedly imported from the Western provinces of Pakistan. He then ordered the mass killing of the Bengali intelligentsia of East Pakistan and the rape, arson, abduction and other acts of terrorism followed as natural adjuncts of that plan of genocide.

Now, if the six million refugees have to be resettled in East Bengal; that cannot be done with Yahya Khan's soldiers holding administrative power in that region. For no refugees will go back while military rule prevails there. "They will be butchered" as Mrs. Gandhi has said. And the Bangladesh guerrillas will continue to fight Yahya Khan's soldiers with a view to oust them from East Bengal. The pretention, therefore, that is now going on

with the conivance of the UNO, that normalcy either exists or will exist soon in East Bengal and that the six million refugees will begin to trek back to their home land; is based on totally false assumptions. The refugees will never go back, nor will they be allowed to go back by Yahya's soldiers while the latter are in power in East Bengal. The war in Bangladesh also will not stop while Yahya's men are in occupation of that territory. So the UNO or the powers would be wasting their time and money to settle this affair by ignoring the vital facts of the case which are (1) the demand for abolition of the military dictatorship in Pakistan and (2) the demand for establishing a democratically elected civil government in that country. The third fact which has to be acknowledged, is that there is a war on between Yahya Khan's soldiers and the Bangladesh guerrillas which will not just stop if some convincing lies are propagated by the powers for their own satisfaction. The guerrillas are over a hundred thousand in number and have procured light and medium arms in good quantities. They are increasing in number everyday and are procuring more arms through their sympathisers in Asia and Europe. In the circumstances the military dictators of Pakistan cannot win this war by ignoring the existence of the Bangladesh army. Nor by placating America, China or the UAR.

Chavan's Budget

Mr. Chavan's Budget is based on the principle of increasing taxes on whatever can bear the increased burden. So naturally he has gone for increasing taxes on goods and services which a wide class of consumers require to maintain their standard of living. Travelling and freights have been hit a particularly hard blow. This will lead to increase in prices of general consumer goods in so far

as cost of transportation has a direct bearing on prices, wages and cost of production. Increased tax on cigarettes, finer clothing, alcoholic beverages etc. will also lead to sympathetic rise in the prices of necessary luxury goods which have to be purchased and used by middle class people. Soap, for instance, may not be a necessity of life for the very poor people, but for the middle class consumers soap is a must. The budget therefore will increase middle class cost of living to a noticeable extent and cause all salaried people earning between Rs. 150—450 per month to demand higher salaries within a very short time. We cannot call the budget constructive in so far as it is likely to hamper production and the smooth flow of economic forces. All persons who use petrol driven vehicles for their work will have to face increased expenses of running such vehicles which may turn out to be as high as 25% on the previous expenses. A government which pins its faith in state capitalism ; but cannot make state management of industries profitable, has to depend on reckless taxation to meet its evergrowing need for more revenue. It should, but it cannot make its economic undertakings yield increasing profits.

Yahya Khan's Lies

Pakistan's military dictator Yahya Khan is telling those who are foolish enough to listen to him that only about 40000 persons have left Pakistan to seek refuge in India. The real figure is 6,000,000 which is 150 times more than what Yahya Khan puts it at. Most of the lies broadcast by the Pakistan radio are similarly unbelievable and fantastic. The military rulers of Pakistan tell the world that administration is functioning normally in East Bengal. The fact is that about half the towns in that part of Pakistan have regular curfew and the Pakistani soldiers mostly stay in their

cantonments for fear of attacks by the commandos of Bangladesh. About 50000 villages out of 65000 have no connection with the martial law administration of Pakistan. Some of these villages have been bombed and shelled by Pakistan's air force and navy but that has not brought these villages under the control of Yahya Khan. The soldiers of Pakistan who are occupying East Bengal now are about 100000 in number. They are constantly attacked by the freedom fighters and have to be on their toes all the time. The idea therefore that the people of East Bengal will make a settlement with Yahya Khan is absurd and impossible. The forces of Pakistan will have to get out of East Bengal ; if there is to be peace in that part of the world.

Well-known Politicians Accused of Spying

Some very well-known politicians have been recently arrested by the West Bengal police on charges of espionage. Allegations made by the police no doubt are only allegations. Until proved guilty in court the accused persons should be considered innocent. But the persons so accused have all been fairly intimate with the leading political party men of West Bengal for many years. They were friends of the C. P. M. leaders, the Bangla Congress leaders and the Congress leaders. In the circumstances, if they had been spying, they had ample scope for discovering state secrets. But how is it that the police never suspected them before ; but suddenly found out their involvement in espionage after so many years ? It does not speak very highly of the wisdom and efficiency of the police. For had they known that certain persons were perhaps engaged in spying they should have warned the leading politicians with whom the suspected persons were mixing intimately about their suspicions. If however they had

not suspected the persons of spying although they now have discovered a lot of evidence ; one can not admire their wide awakensness of outlook. Whether these accused persons are really guilty will be found out by the court ; but one has to admit that the West Bengal police will be hard to beat in their easy-going ways of crime detection.

Military Dictatorships are the Worst Tyrannies

In the present day world there are no individual rulers of states whose words are the law. No absolute monarchs exist now-a-days who can say "off with his head" and the head falls. The autocracies or dictatorships that one finds in the modern world are mostly of cliques, coterics or parties. Among these some are based on the support of fairly large minority groups, while others depend on the strength of much smaller organisations. The communist governments, for instance, say that they represent the workers, peasants and soldiers of the country. How far the workers, peasants and soldiers can actually take part in determining the selection of personnel manning the parties which rule the communist states, is a question which one cannot answer with any degree of exactitude. But one may assert that certain workers, peasants and soldiers do participate in the work of such determination. The communist governments, therefore, are broader based on the opinion and choice of the general public than the fascistic or military dictatorships which are run by a hierarchy with a general at its head, and the word of the general is very similar to the word of the aforementioned absolute monarch who had the power to order decapitation of persona non grata. Mussolini, Hitler or Yahya Khan therefore are modern replicas of Alaric the Goth, Atilla the Hun, Chengiz Khan and Timur the Tartar. These autocrats of the killer type could and

did order mass slaughter of men, women and children, the carrying off of thousands of women and the building of pyramids with the heads of the slaughtered men, women and children. One might have thought that such inhuman and barbarous acts would be impossible in the twentieth century ; but Hitler did order the making of lamp shades of Jewish Skin and Yahya Khan had school boys lined up and shot and ordered that 400 Dacca University College girls should be handed over to his soldiers. The communists have at times ordered purges but these killings were of a relatively "civilised" sort when compared to what Hitler or Yahya had done.

Military and fascistic dictatorships therefore are considerably worse from the human point of view. Military men, by nature think lightly of chopping off heads and of other acts of frightfulness. Being believers in brute force, they naturally put the greatest importance on the brutal enforcement of their will. A military dictator therefore does not worry about ethics, law or human values. Military rulers therefore are the worst type of rulers if one admits the basic human necessity for showing some respect to the people's opinion in the matter of deciding how they should be ruled. Even if one has to recognise the need for Martial law administration at times ; such administration must always be terminated at the first opportunity.

Refugee Rehabilitation

Before Yahya Khan's pogrom against Bengalis began the number of Hindus who had been forced out of East Pakistan to seek refuge in India were about 5,000,000. Out of these people about half-a-million were rehabilitated in a manner of speaking, a certain number had rehabilitated themselves and the rest who might have numbered 3500000 or more had been awaiting to be fitted into some scheme or

other of rehabilitation chalked out by the Government. Generally speaking one can assert that the Western Indian refugees viz the Punjabis, had been better treated by the Government and some authoritative estimates put the expenses of rehabilitation in Punjab at Rs.2300 crores or more. It was said that the Nehru-Liquat Ali pact made it unnecessary for East Bengal refugees to get any land or business aid in India as the terms of that pact assured the refugees that they would get back their land or other assets in East Pakistan. Nehru was in the habit of signing pacts of which the terms had no possibility being honoured and one may say that Nehru signed this pact knowing full well that the Hindu refugees from East Bengal would never get back anything in East Pakistan. One may also assert that no refugee out of the six million who have now been ousted from their hearths and homes will ever get back their lands and properties in East Bengal, unless India enforces such return of properties by military action. There is another possibility. That is that the Bangladesh Mukti Fouz would force the Pakistani forces to evacuate East Bengal. Of the two possibilities a Mukti Fouz victory, however remote should be a better bet. There is a similarity between the conduct of the Indian Government and the Pakistan Government in point of exploitation of the Bengalis. The Indian Government has always been keen on setting up industries etc. in other parts of India as against doing the same for Bengal. Even essential irrigation projects are left unfinished and the result is shortage of food crops in the state. The Bhagirathi project for saving the port of Calcutta is not yet finished. So is the Haldia project. But the Government of India is making every effort to destroy the commerce of Calcutta.

To add to this plan of destroying the economy of Bengal all those non-Bengalis who

have become V.I.P.s. in Bengal's industry and commerce take good care to oust all Bengalis from their organisations. Formerly Bengali clerks and other subordinate staff were employed by the non-Bengali organisations ; But to-day it has become the policy of these firms to keep out all Bengalis from their recruitment of personnel. This has caused intensive unemployment among educated Bengalis, many of whom are refugees from East Pakistan. It is a matter of simple arithmetic that if all non-Bengalis were sent out of West Bengal all refugees could be rehabilitated within this province.

Causus Belli

Causes of war do not merely leads to wars between different states but they also provoke civil wars, rebellions and revolutions. Stealing of brides, elopements and abductions of women have caused many wars. The war of the Ramayana and the Trojan war are classic examples. Pritthiraj's abduction of his willing bride Samyukta was considered to be a great act of provocation by her royal father. The Muslim Prince Alauddin fought a great destructive war to get hold of the famous beauty Queen Padmini of Chitor who threw himself into fire when Alauddin occupied Chitor. Insult to women has always given rise to fierce unquenchable fires of warlike passion and no race of men worthy of their humanity can ever forgive the unchivalrous brutality of another community who subject women to molestation and harm. Where the conquering peoples have treated the women of the subject races with scant respect, the desire for overthrowing the conquerors have always flared up more and more strongly. Usurpation of property, particularly land, has never failed to rouse feelings of great resentment which have often led to warlike reaction. In fact forcible occupation of any country by another

people usually leads to confiscation of treasures of one kind or another. The British, in India, did not occupy much land ; but the "loot of Bengal" ran to thousands of crores and it helped the British to meet fully the expenses of their industrial revolution. Looting property is a clear indication of the mentality of a conqueror. Whosoever, therefore, deals with the land and property of another community as if they could do what they liked with these, valuable possessions, suffered undoubtedly from a conqueror complex. Among other causes of war or revolution are economic exploitation such as heavy taxation, restriction of civic and economic rights, misuse of the resources of the exploited people and all rules, regulations, appointments and procedural arrangements which grant advantages and privilege to the members of the ruling cliques and coteries to the economic and political disadvantage and loss of the subjugated classes. Acts of oppression, such as unlawful attacks on the subjugated peoples, leading to death and injury among the innocent members of the population ; robberies with violence carried out by armed men employed by the ruling classes, burning down the houses and forcing the people to flee their homeland and similar barbarous acts which one associates with the well known barbarians of history like Genghis Khan, Tamerlane and Nadir Sha ; are everlasting and irremovable causes that forever provoke violent revolutions to overthrow the established order. All breach of peace in such circumstances are the result of the lawless conduct of the rulers.

Can there be Peace in Bangladesh

Speculation is rife everywhere as to the possibilities of resettlement of refugees in Bangladesh and reestablishment of peaceful government in that country. But all this speculation is based on an illogical approach to a problem which has many clearcut and unmistakeable characteristics. The Bangladesh movement began because of unjustified exploitation of the Bengalis by the non-Bengali Pakistanis there. So long as that exploitation is not stopped there ; the Bengalis will never agree to be Pakistan subjects. Nobody who is offering a solution to the Bangladesh problem is giving any workable schemes for stopping these exploitative arrangements made by the martial law administration. Next comes the "affaire Yahya Khan" which led to the killing in cold blood of hundreds of thousands of innocent writers, teachers, lawyers, students and intelligent members of the Bengali community. The soldiers of Yahya Khan were let loose on the people of Bengal with full freedom to kill, rape, loot, abduct and drive out people from their homes into other states. Stories were propagated by Yahya's press to give a false colouring to all that had happened. In fact he arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rehman on the 25th March 1971 at 11 p. m. at night and let loose a reign of terror in East Pakistan. What happened after that was the reaction of all Bengalis of Pakistan to this genocidal attack. This is continuing and there can be no solution of the Bangladesh affair while Yahya's regime lasts, either directly or in camouflage through Bhutto.

SOCIAL SECURITY IN INDIA*

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The progress of civilization may be denoted by the growth in the awareness of man about his obligations to others,—particularly the weaker and the less privileged ones. The best society is that where there is not only greater awareness of social responsibility to the less privileged but also effective social action to do something about it. In India while religion may have enjoined upon individuals to do something about their poor neighbours, the social obligation, i. e., the obligation of society as a body corporate to help the indigent and the weak ; has not been so well recognized as in other countries. Therefore all initiative for social reforms has begun and ended with individuals. It was not until Indians came in contact with the modern western thought that Indians gave much thought to devising institutional framework for social security. But the dormant craving for such institutional framework and the first signs of awareness were to be seen among the first generation of English knowing persons. The example of Iswar-chandra Vidyasagar immediately comes to mind in this context. This extraordinary man, who learnt English only as an adult and only after having had a vigorous training in Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, not only was liberal in extending help to all needy persons (which earned him the nickname “Dayar Sagar”—i. e., sea of compassion), but also had thought of the need of institutional arrangements to help the needy. He was one of the pioneers of life insurance in India and an active promoter of the Hindu Family Annuity Fund. However, although there was early realization of the need for social action

it really did not spread to a very large section of the population, nor could it gain effectiveness through adoption by the ruling class—which, being British, did not have much time to think of social welfare for the Indians. If the government still did something, it did so more in a condescending fashion than with any degree of recognition of its duty towards the people. Law, as such, did not recognize any duty on the part of the authorities to provide for gainful work, housing, clothing, education, medical help and help against exploitation in general. Indeed there was no recognition even of the equality of man by the British law in India which barred the Indians from many positions and which did not allow most Indians even to say legally how they would like to be governed (as the voting right was restricted only to a handful of persons with money).

The major impact of Independence in 1947 was felt in an almost radical change in this regard so far as the recognition of the responsibility of the state to help the weaker sections of society was concerned but,—and this is a significant point,—not so much in practice as in theory. The Constitution of India, which came into force on 26 January, 1950, at one stroke did away with inequality of citizens before law and prohibited discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth and provided for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Part IV of the Constitution of India containing the

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Directive Principles of State Policy lays down that the "state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life." Part IV of the Constitution further lays down the details of state action and says that the "state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing : (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ; (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good ; (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment ; (d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women ; (e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength ; (f) that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

The most important part of the statement of the directive principle is that the state should strive to secure for the citizens, men and women equally, the "right to an adequate means of livelihood." (Article 39). The Constitution makers were so concerned about the recognition of this right that they underlined this duty of the state by a further article in the Constitution, laying down that, the "state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases

of undeserved want." (Article 41 of the Constitution of India). In other words, the Constitution makers were fully conscious of the need for state action to provide for social security in the country. They left no doubt in the minds of anyone of what they thought the government working the Constitution should do. Indeed, in the Indian Constitution we have almost an ideal statement of the duty on the part of the State and Government to bring about social security.

Yet—twentyone years after the commencement of the Constitution—what is the reality? How have these constitutional provisions worked out? The growing number of the unemployed—including the unemployed engineers—seems to mock at the Constitution. Similarly the existence of the largest volume of illiteracy in the history of the country announces the nullity of the Constitution so far as providing educational facilities to all was concerned. Indeed the failure at the educational front deserves a special mention because the Constitution makers had laid down a time limit for the state to secure the objective laid down in the Constitution. Article 45 of the Constitution of India laid down that the state "shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." That time limit was over eleven years ago in January 1960. After the expiry of that ten year limit another ten years have passed by January 1971. And India never had as many illiterate persons as she has today!

The grave inadequacy of social security measures, despite clear provisions of the Constitution imposing an obligation on the government to provide for them, makes it the duty of all citizens to go at the root of the problem. A common argument is, of course,

the lack of funds. But this argument is misleading ; for even where funds are available they fail to reach those for whom the funds are intended. The principal reason—to my mind—is the inadequacy of the awareness on the part of the vast majority of citizens (including ministers, civil servants, industrialists, workers, clerks, teachers, lawyers and so on) of the social responsibility—to help the weaker sections of society. The Constitution makers were persons with a very good awareness of their social responsibilities. That awareness has not spread to a sufficient number of citizens. This is not to gloss over failures of individual politicians or officials, but to look at the factors causing such failures as well as the failure to punish such failures. Without there being a public, which is itself conscious of the need for social security and at the same time is willing to exert, and capable of exerting, pressure on the government to fulfil the constitutional promises, the reality can never be made to conform to the prescription. The point that is not often noticed is that the people,—indeed they are the vast majority of Indians who need social security measures,—do not get prominence in the media of mass communication. No doubt there is a large volume of talk of building up a welfare state, but that is more in the nature of a condescension than in the form of an acute awareness of an urgent social task.

Dr. Vivekranjan Bhattacharya's book,—

which deals with the theoretical aspects of social security, the history of the evolution of the concept of social security in some developed countries as well as in India, and the actual measures of social security in application in several countries,—is thus a timely publication reminding the government and all others of the vital importance of the subject. His is a comprehensive discussion of the subject dealing with all aspects of the problem : health insurance, housing, security for the child and the aged, security for the physically handicapped, abolition of beggary and so on. In the concluding chapter of the book Dr. Bhattacharya makes his own suggestions on what changes are needed by the administrative agencies which would undoubtedly be given a serious consideration. Dr. Bhattacharya had written this dissertation for his doctorate degree from Delhi University which speaks for his scholarship. What makes his study significant is the combination of a deep personal faith of the author in the need for social security with a scholarly approach. His acute awareness of the fundamentals is to be seen in his designating,—appropriately enough,—unemployment insurance as the first step to social security. This book is thus of particular concern for those who are engaged in the promotion of rural industries to bring about diversification of the rural economy and abolition of rural unemployment,—which, after all, is the core of the problem of economic backwardness of India.

J.-J. SERVAN-SCHREIBER AND THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE

PRAFULLA KAR & SUVIR GHOSH

Servan-Schreiber and his thoughts

One of the most significant facts about de Gaulle's regime in France is that it gave rise to a number of brilliant creative writers. Most of them were basically militant in their attitude towards the American expansion in Europe in general and the recalcitrance of the French government in particular. Their aims and objectives are "to renovate" the moribund European nations for successfully confronting the United States in Europe. They belong to a typical intellectual milieu in France.

J.-J. Servan-Schreiber does not belong to a group of writers like that of Jean Paul Sartre or Alain Robbe-Grillet. But he shares the feelings and aspirations of the creative persons of today. His point of view is mostly oriented towards the economics of the nations. Servan-Schreiber is constantly pre-occupied with a sense of European unity. His whole career as a journalist reflects his serious motives and aims. He is descended from Jewish blood in Germany. Like most of the Jewish writers of contemporary Europe, he expresses his vigorous sentiments in his writings and speeches. He is one of the most dominant activists in France today. His various attempts in different walks of life suggest his deep probings and the flexibility of temper. "Flexibility" cannot be taken in a pejorative sense. With the changing tone

of the times one should change to cope with the new forces. Schreiber belongs to this category of change.

He has been associated with the leading weekly of France, *L'Express*, since its inception, in the capacity of the editor. Through the weekly, he had voiced the opinions of the youth for some kind of social and economic rehabilitation. *L'Express* has made significant contributions to the politics and literature of France because of its new pragmatic idea and outlook. Schreiber has resigned from the position of editorship because he feels that he can devote more time to refurbishing the Radical party of which he has been made the Secretary-General. His association with another magazine named *L'Expansion* testifies his revolutionary zeal. The very title of his magazines namely "Express" and "Expansion" can, to some extent, reveal the manner of the writings he indulges in—a kind of writing which tries to not only disseminate new ideas but also strive for the practical implementation of those ideas. Expansion is the cornerstone of his philosophy and that is why he sees the vision for a united Europe to challenge the American hegemony.

His ideas will now be put to test as he has been elected to the French National Assembly from Nancy constituency defeating the Gaullist candidate M. Roger Souchal. The dramatic election at Nancy has added some color to

his personality. His methods to win the support of the people are most democratic and practical. His distaste for traditional French oratory and his active participation in the sentiments of the common man have given the political situation of France a new dimension. Schreiber emerges from the political morass of France as a romantic hero with an aura of splendour around him. His methods and his actions are symbolic of the type of person a country like France, and many others, need at this moment. Many critics have called him a "little Kennedy" and there is some truth in their assertion. He is youthful, vigorous and dynamic like both the Kennedy brothers, and that is why his relevance is felt much more than the present incumbents, during the present political crises in most of the European nations. It will be a mistake to call him a mere industrial lad. He appreciates the social development in Sweden in the same way as the economic development of Japan. Industry, according to him, should come down to solving the basic needs of the common man. So industrial development and social uplift should run parallel to each other. He is a visionary but his vision has more pragmatic basis than the so-called dreamers. His egalitarian views are expressed in his own action. His announcement to sit in parliament on the socialist bench is a gesture of his strong democratic sentiments.

Schreiber's popularity as thinker came after the publication of *The American Challenge* three years ago. *The American Challenge* has caught the attention of the people in Europe and America like a sort of wildfire. The number of editions made in the year of its publication in English proves its relevance to the present century.

The American Challenge

This book is based on a realistic and candid study of the American economy vis-a-vis

European. It provokes the Europeans in general and the French in particular to get together and face the challenge offered by the American industries in Europe. The author in this book very analytically explores the causes of the American economic success in the European market. His nationalistic approach combined with an idealistic strain makes the book a lively and pleasant reading. The author is optimistic in his views. He feels that ultimately the Europeans may be able to successfully confront the challenge posed by the Americans in the economic areas. He shows his optimism "with statistical and technological evidence of Europe's relative economic decline with a simply presented program of political rescue." It seems from the author's arguments that he is constantly concerned with a sense of Europeanism and "wants to remake Europe not with nationalistic ranting but with reasoned critiques and his growing magazine empire gives him the launching pad." His main objective is "to renovate" the European economic system by a courageous confrontation with its American counterpart. "His trade-marks are cool analysis and passion without heat." From his approach, it is evident that "he is not looking for villains but methods." This can be illustrated by quoting from a contemporary book, *The American Take-over of Britain*, written by Messrs. James McMillan and Bernard Harris. While discussing the building of supersonic Concorde jointly by Britain and France, Messrs. McMillan and Harris expressed the pull-out as a result of "pressure from Americans." Mr. Servan-Schreiber described it "as a part of its austerity program."

His analysis of the problems gives two images of the author, that of an economist and of an educator. He has attributed the "human factors---the ability to adapt easily, flexibility of organizations, the creative power

of teamwork—as the key to their success.” He has stated that the American resources were not the basic reasons for their success. “Education and technological innovations” are the most important factors in their economic expansion. Therefore, he summarizes that the increasing technological gap between America and Europe is due primarily to a “paucity of higher education” and consequently to a “relative weakness of science and research.” The author makes this point of view in his characteristic economic phraseology by calling it “a refusal to make an investment in man” and to “grasp and vigorously apply modern methods of management.”

As Mr. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. notes, in the Foreword of the book, “he sees the American challenge as the result of the dynamism of the American society.” Instead of insulating Europe from America, he advocates “its salvation through discriminating Americanization.” He locates the disparity “in the art of organization—in the mobilization of intelligence, talent to conquer not only invention but development, production and marketing.” Within the organization, he enumerates the success because of the energy released by the American system—by the opportunity for individual initiative, by the innovative knack of teams, by the flexibility of business structure and by the decentralization of business decisions. It is the flexibility of the Americans, more than their wealth, which becomes a major weapon in their “economic invasion” of Europe. To exhibit the difference between the American and the European managers he quotes an American manager, in Europe, saying, “What interests me is my profit margin. What interests my European competitor is a factory that produces. It isn’t the same thing.” Talking about their optimism and opportunism, he quotes an American businessman from Frankfurt, saying, “The

Treaty of Rome is the sweetest deal ever to come out of Europe. And we are going to make a lot more., prospects in commerce and industry are better for us here than they are in the United States.”

He has discussed in great details the American success in space, aircraft development, electronics and computers and attributes this success to the partnership of government and private industry. He notes with interest the huge sums poured in by the government for research and development. His analysis of the Anglo-French deal of supersonic Concorde is one of the most brilliant and interesting discussions in the whole book. It serves as an example of the author’s intellectual grasp of the problems and his profound vision. M. Servan-Schreiber discusses the lack of imagination in the Anglo-French venture in the building of the Concorde and the American plunging into the race in a more sophisticated and farsighted manner in anticipating the need of the future—a titanium body for the Boeing SST.

He totally rules out the argument that money has something to do with the American success. He points out that “nine-tenths of the American investment in Europe is financed out of the European resources.”

His discussion of the post-individual society illustrates his sweeping imagination, but there is enough scope to doubt the efficacy of his arguments, particularly his picture of a wide divergence between the post-industrial and under-developed societies.

In his realization that the American industries pose a danger to the Europeans, he becomes almost a Gaullist, but he shows a radical difference with de Gaulle’s approach in his formula for the solution of this crisis. He has appealed to the European sentiments by saying, with a sense of optimism, “the day may indeed come when we can sit by helplessly and watch Europe disappear as a center of

civilization. But that day is not yet here and there is still time to act." On another occasion, he has urged upon the Europeans to make decision once for all to "restore an autonomous civilization." Otherwise Europe will become a satellite of the United States.

"Investment in man" seems to be the theme of his approach in this book. Nothing is more justified than "this confidence which often seems rather naive to Europeans,....." In order to salvage Europe from the present economic decline, attention should be paid to the effective use of human potentialities.

The author's deviation from Gaullist solution emanates from his suggestion of the inclusion of Great Britain in the European harmony. He acknowledges the British superiority in the computer science, technological skill and awareness for research and development. He asks Europe to pick up the pieces, find the faults, rectify, put them together and go. His method of self-castigation, rather than just finding a reason for failure, seems to be a pleasant and assuring way to take up the American challenge. His profound European commitment and his radical solutions make him an activist.

The prime motif of M. Servan-Schreiber is to see a united Europe to face the American economic domination. He seems much too visionary and utopian in this concept. It is difficult to establish an European confederation in the economic sphere without losing the individual identity of the component states. Political conflicts are bound to come as the different states have their own cultural and linguistic traditions. The countries which are asked to unite are the ones who had more disagreements than agreements for centuries. Under the present system such an amity among the European nations may seem to be an impossible proposition. There is a contradic-

tion in M. Servan-Schreiber's quest for a panacea for European economic malady in his ignoring the fact that Japan and Sweden which are, according to him, veritable economic powers in the post-industrial era, have as much to pose a "challenge" as America does, but the author in his obsessive pre-occupation with the American economic rise loses sight of this formidable fact, even for the purposes of salvation.

Mr. Israel Shenker in his article, "Servan-Schreiber Dreams Big" (The New York Times, May 19, 1968), strongly doubts the validity of M. Servan-Schreiber's contention of an American model for achieving social justice through economic autonomy.

Servan-Schreiber is a staunch radicalist. His *The American Challenge* has gained a popularity like Galbraith's *The New Industrial State* or Myrdal's *Asian Drama*. His empirical approach to a knotty economic phenomenon makes the book interesting as well as thought-provoking. He himself has observed, while being thrilled at his success, that "more interesting than my book is the interest in my book." The book has earned such a wide enthusiasm in Europe and elsewhere that the author feels elated and calls himself "an agitator of ideas." Despite the fact that de Gaulle does not agree with his "futile proposals," the book stands on its own merits as one of the challenging and intellectual discussions of a serious problem. Much of the interest the book generates in the minds of the English-reading public is for the easy-flowing translation by Mr. Ronald Steel. The meticulous economic analysis and its timeliness makes the book so relevant to businessmen, engineers, economists and planners today.

Schreiber's relevance to India

It is felt that a discussion of the ideas of Servan-Schreiber is relevant to India at the

present political technological situation. A leader of Schreiber's ideals is needed very much to any developing nation. India's economic situation requires a man of strong determination and profound insight to steer it to perfect stability and order. Every intellectual in India feels that there exist problems in India but he never tries to find out their solutions. Politicians and statesmen use high-sounding words and cliches and look forward to a millenium of prosperity and hope, but they never strike the very root of the

crises. Much of the thinking of the Indian people remain shadowy and hazy and if they, at all, arrive at a solution they go off tangentially. At this stage of intellectual paucity, it is necessary that the Indian technologists and politicians should recognize the efficacy of Schreiber's thoughts and try to implement them in their practical application to life. Schreiber tries to reach fixed goals through dynamic process. This approach should be the sine-qua-non of a conscious intellectual of the present time.

THE BUDDHA AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRAHISINGHE

The basic principle of a democratic form of government is the freedom and dignity of the individual with equality before the Law. No man can be called free unless he is able to pursue his calling unhampered by barriers of caste, class, or special privilege. In a deeper sense no man is truly free until he can without fear or pressure from authoritarian coercion, unfold his innate potentialities and perfect himself by shaping his own Karma or destiny. It was the Buddha who for the first time taught and realized these values through his Dhamma. It has led to an out-flowering of a civilisation that, to this day, stands as a marvel in the history of mankind.

Three centuries later it led, for the first time in the annals of mankind, to establish hospitals for both men and animals and organize universal education which culminated in establishing international centers of learning, known today as universities. With the spread of Buddhism in greater Asia from the 3rd century B. C. it stimulated the formation

of new civilizations depending on the national genius of the inhabitants in each State. These civilizations produced a fascinating array of art and dance forms, literature, and social and economic institutions based on the Dhamma.

Democratic Values

The recognized prerequisites of democratic cultures are :

- (1) A productive economy to raise man above the level of poverty and misery.
- (2) A progressive society with security and opportunity for all.
- (3) A literate society with universal education.
- (4) Personal liberty and self-reliance.
- (5) A system of ethics based on moral law.
- (6) Deep-rooted respect for the system of values and institutions that helped each culture evolve into great civilizations.

These values were respected in the ancient Buddhist civilization of Asia, particularly in the Asokan period from the 3rd century B. C., the golden period of Indian history. These

conditions exist to-day in a highly industrialised Japan where there is a predominantly Buddhist civilization, and in the newly emerged Buddhist States of Asia. These technically backward nations are rebuilding their economies to raise the standard of living of their people. Among these, Ceylon has an almost fully literate society with free education from kindergarten up to university.

Buddhism has given each man or woman sturdy independence, rather than dependence on the mercy of a Creator God, to better themselves. The Buddha taught man the gospel of self-help in his efforts to lead a noble life. To achieve the highest conditions of mind and heart, the Buddha said man must work out his own way. He asserted that man's own deeds would make him noble and advised him to guard against deeds that would make him low.

Further, the Buddha stated that all beings, including man, are suffering, and through His Noble Right-fold Path he gave an efficacious prescription how to make an end of that suffering. Since that Path is a road of progress it is intelligible and practicable by all, even on the lowest rungs of human development. No one is excluded from reaching final deliverance if only he takes resolutely one step after the other on that road. Thus we see that the Buddha conceded equality to all human beings—a cardinal principle in a democratic society.

Thus, the Buddha sounded the clarion call of human liberty. He said, "Take ye refuge unto yourself; be ye your own salvation. With earnestness and high resolve work out your own salvation."

The Buddha pointed out the absolute folly of artificial distinctions between man and man. At the time of the Buddha there was a rigid caste system in India. It determined and fixed man's place in the social order by the mere fact that one's father was of such and

such a descent and had such and such an occupation. The low castes were denied an education and were placed low on the social ladder, and this with such a rigidity that a low caste man could hardly break out of his situation. The Buddha revolted against this injustice and asserted the equality of all men as far as their basic rights are concerned.

The Buddha unhesitatingly admitted to his Order of Monks also the people of the so-called low castes—barbers, butchers, sweepers, and the untouchables, along with the members of the noble and priestly castes. He made absolutely no distinction between them in the ranks of the monks. All received equal homage, reverence and respect. Some members of the nobility were upset by these actions of the Buddha and one of them dared challenge the Buddha to define a nobleman :

"No man is noble by birth,
No man is ignoble by birth.
Man is noble by his own deeds,
Man is ignoble by his own deeds."

Commenting on the Buddha's discourse, the *Sigalovada Sutta*,* which is based on social ethics, the world-famous British scholar, Professor Rhys Davids, Chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion, Manchester University, England, says : "Happy would have been the village or the clan on the banks of the Ganges; when the people were full of kindly spirit of fellow feelings, the noble spirit of justice, which breathes through these naive and simple sayings." He adds : "Not less happy would be the village on the banks of the Thames, today, of which this could be said."

He continues : "The Buddha's doctrine of love and goodwill between man and man is here set forth in domestic and social ethics with more comprehensive details than elsewhere And truly we may say even now of this *Vinaya* or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, so sane and

wide is the wisdom that envisages them that the utterances are as fresh and practically as binding today as they were then, at Rajagaha (India)."

The Buddha strongly condemned all sacrifices performed in the name of religion, particularly those involving animal sacrifices. It was believed at that time that sacrifices atoned for sin and protected against evil spirits. The Buddha said that these sacrifices were cruel and useless, as it is only through a noble life that man can elevate himself and be secure against evil.

The Buddha's compassion extended also to those who were ailing. Once he said to his disciples: "Whoever, monks, nurses the sick, will nurse me." And in that spirit hospitals for both animals and men were later established during the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B. C.

The Buddha condemned slavery in any shape and form. He laid down golden rules for the right manner of earning one's living in a way not harmful to others, and this included also that any trafficking in human beings was out of bounds for a Buddhist.

The temperance movement owes its beginnings to the Buddha who asked his followers to abstain from using or selling liquor and other intoxicants.

Gospel of Tolerance

The Buddha also preached the gospel of tolerance, of compassion, loving kindness and non-violence. He taught men not to despise other religions and not to belittle them. He further declared that one should not even accept His Own Teachings unless one found them to be in accord with one's personal reasoning, according to the Kalama Sutta.*

During the Buddha's time there were a number of great kingdoms in India, such as Megadha and Kosala, and some of them were established on the democratic form of

government. The Buddha favoured the democratic form over the oligarchical form of government, as it was the best form of government which was conducive to the stability of society.

The Buddha showed great admiration for the Vajjis or Licchavis. In the Maha Parinibbana Sutta he likens the Licchavis to the Thirty-three Gods (Tavatimsa-deva). He also warned Vassakara, Minister of the parricidal king Ajatasattu, that the Vajjis would remain invincible as long as they adhered to the seven rules of a nation's welfare (aparihaniya dhamma), namely: (1) frequent meetings for consultations, (2) concord in action, (3) adherence to old injunctions and traditions, (4) respecting of elders, (5) respecting of women, who should never be molested, (6) reverence to places of worship within and outside the territory, (7) protection of worthy saints in the territory.

The Buddha continued: "So long as the Vajjis meet frequently in council, assemble and disperse in harmony (and observe the other rules of welfare), their prosperity is to be expected, not their decline."

Asoka's Reign

The Emperor Asoka worked with ceaseless energy for the propagation of Buddhism and transformed it into a world religion. The Asokan period from 325 to 288 B. C. is of special significance to mankind, as it is one of the most illustrious liberal democratic periods of history.

In his time Asoka established public gardens, medical herbs were cultivated, trees were planted along roads, hospitals were established for both men and animals. He sank wells for public use, and educational and religious institutions grew up all over the country.

The late H. G. Wells writes in his *Outline of History*: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns,

of history, their majesties and graciousnesses, and sovereignties and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone as a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the traditions of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than ever heard the names of Constantine and Charlemagne."

It is claimed that Asoka was one of the first to grant sex equality, by sending his own son and daughter to Ceylon for missionary work. In this vast empire, Asoka treated all his subjects with equal justice and admitted no privileges of caste or class.

Formation of democratic thought was originated in ancient India by the spread of Buddhism from the 3rd century B.C. In an introduction to the book *Legacy of India* Lord Zetland states: "And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in assemblies of Buddhists in India two thousand or more years ago, are to be

found rudiments of our own parliamentary system as practised today."

Professor G. P. Malasekera says: "The spread of Buddhism from country to country in greater Asia was without bloodshed and it is by itself a great democratic process never witnessed by any other world religion."

In the words of Dr. Gunasela Vitange: "Twenty centuries before revolutionary France raised the standard 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' the Buddha had enunciated these very values as essentials of good government."

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CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

Nimai Shaw was the head of the Balarampur Union. It began with the "Balarampur Variety Stores." Rice, lintels, kerosene and then followed progressively everything else. Father, Mathur Shaw, was a monied man but he was a God fearing person. As the flow of money increased and the business expanded and assumed a bigger size, he indulged in charity and made donations. He wanted later on to do something which would benefit the villagers. Gobinda Chakravarty was with him in these ideas of benevolence. As he gave the land for the school building, many well-to-do persons were induced to help the institution with money and direct support. Many more came forward to work for the school at Mathur Shaw's request. The boys from Balarampur had gone hitherto for their studies two miles to the Kadamtala School. It made things very hard for them to wade through the slush in the rainy season and to suffer the awful heat of the scorching sun of the summer days. When a school was set up at Balarampur the boys of the village heaved a sigh of great relief.

When the weeds, bushes and thorns were cleared and a house began to come up, everybody asked --What is happening here ?

The workmen and masons who were engaged there used to say--Gour Master's Pathshala.

Since then that name had stuck. When the Pathshala had a new and larger building and the name "Balarampur High School" appeared prominently on top of it ; even then

the verbal references to it were--Gour Master's Pathshala. Whatever appeared on paper, the name given by the people continued to be in full circulation.

Gour Bhattacharjee would object--Well, why do you call it my Pathshala ? Am I its proprietor ? The school has a President, a Secretary and a Managing Committee, they are the real ones. Who am I ? Why do you come to me ? Go to them. They can make your son a free student if they so desire--

Not only that. If a boy failed in his examination, the guardian would come to Gour Bhattacharjee's house and start calling out.

--Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai in ?

Rani would come and open the door.

All villagers knew the Secretary's daughter.

The caller would say--Hullo Rani, where is Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai ? Is he at home ?

Rani would answer--Grandpa is not at home--

--Gour Bhattacharjee is your Grandpapa ? Aren't you the daughter of Naren Chakkotti ?

Rani said--Father is in the other house--

--Then why are you in this house ?

Rani answered--Well, why not ? Why should I not be here ? This is my Grandpapa's house--Grandpa is not here now.

Failing to meet him at the house, Kalipada would accost him on the road--

--My respectful *Pranam* to you Bhattacharjee Mashai. I am Kalipada.

Kalipada Biswas.

Gour Bhattacharjee recognises him. He

says—I know, your son has failed, hasn't he ?—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is for the son that I had gone to your house. Naren Chakkotti Mashai's daughter Rani opened the door and told me—Dadu (grandpapa) is not at home—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes, my grandson—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is for the son that I went to your house. You will have to get him through, Pandit Mashai, or he will lose a whole year—

Gour Bhattacharjee commented—Well, when he has failed, he would certainly lose a year. Tell your son to study more carefully now—

Kalipada Biswas said—It is not the son's fault sir, he got typhoid just before the examination. Doctors and medicines have weighted me down into the very depths—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned his face away and said—Well, what can I do about the weights you are carrying? Should I have to arrange to promote your unsuccessful son? I cannot do all that—who am I? The school has a head master. It has also a President, a Secretary, a Managing Committee, they are the real powers that be. Go to them—who am I?

But who listens to all such talk?

Gour Bhattacharjee was taking a Sanskrit class that day. None of the boys could decline the noun "Lata". He asked them one by one. They were all boys of the sixth class.

Gour Bhattacharjee questioned—Here, you tell me, you—Picking out the last benchers, he started asking—What's that, you a class six student, you cannot repeat by heart the declensions of the noun "Lata", what will you do when you grow up? How will you pass your examinations?

Then started the lecturing. The lecture that he had been delivering to the boys of every class all his life.

Suddenly he noticed a figure near the door. It was Kali's Mother's grandson standing with a pulled down face.

—Isn't that Srimanta? Come inside, come—

Srimanta was standing outside. He would not come in. After a lot of persuasion he came in slowly, counting his steps, and burst into tears. Tears flowed like rain water in a steady stream.—What has happened to you? Why don't you come inside?

Srimanta said in a weeping voice—My name has been struck off sir—

—Why? Why has your name been crossed out?

So saying Gour Bhattacharjee stroked the back of the boy in a gentle and consoling manner.

—Tell me what happened? Couldn't your father pay the fees?

Srimanta kept silent. Gour Bhattacharjee said—I gave your grandmother's petition to the Secretary, they struck your name off even then?

Suddenly Janardan rang the school bell with a loud dingdong which meant that class was over.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Come with me, come along, I shall see.—Taking Srimanta along with him, the Pandit Mashai, went straight to the office room. Haralal was the School Clerk. Haralal accepted the fees and kept accounts. Did all the rough and heavy work himself. He was examining the accounts intently. He had his burning leaf-cigarette in his hand. Seeing the Pandit Mashai he dropped that on the floor and trod upon it. Putting the accounts down he stood up.

—Haralal, have you crossed out this Srimanta's name?

Haralal was rather embarrassed. The Pandit Mashai had seen him smoking and then this complaint. He brought out the class six attendance book and showed it.

Said—Sir, his fees have not been paid for six months.....

Gour Bhattacharjee said—If the fees were outstanding, should you have crossed out his name right away? Why did you not send a notice first? Should names be removed without notice? What kind of unintelligent arrangement is this? I had run the school before this. Did I ever strike off any names without due notice? You are an old time worker, you must have known all that—

Haralal said—Sir, I asked the head master mashai, he himself told me to cross the name out—

—Who? Bhaba? Bhaba told you to strike the name off? Give me the attendance book, give it to me—

He went straight to Bhabaranjan's room, saying this.

The Secretary Naren Chakravarty was sitting there at that time.

—Ah! Here you are, Naren, that's all the better. So saying he put the attendance book before them and said—Look at this, Srimanta Hazra, a class six boy, his name has been crossed out.

Bhabaranjan saw. Secretary Naren also saw.

Bhabaranjan said—Pandit Mashai, sir, his fees had not been paid for six months, so I instructed that his name should be removed—

Looking at the Secretary, Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, I gave you an application from Srimanta about a month back, what did you do with that?

—You gave it to me?

—Yes, yes, think well. It was for Srimanta's free studentship. I went personally to your house and gave it to you; think about it.....

Naren Chakravarty hurriedly began to turn over the papers in his portfolio. A great heap of papers. Briefs, documents, etc., for the court, papers connected with school affairs and a lot more. At last that application from Srimanta was found. Holding that he said—Here it is, I have got it—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Look at the date, on what was it put in—

Really, it was discovered by examination of the date that it was made about a month ago and placed with the Secretary.

—And you have crossed his name out and thus finished the matter. The poor boy was crying his eyes out and standing near the class door without daring to enter. If you run things this way, how will the school function? Before crossing his name out he should have been notified. What sort of justice is this? I have managed the school before this, and have I ever crossed out any names without giving a notice? You are all my old pupils, you have been seeing things.....

Bhabaranjan lowered his voice and said—The school was small then, those were different times. Pandit Mashai, now numbers of boys have grown, all are defaulters, how many can be notified?

—Well, they have become defaulters due to circumstances. Look at the condition of the fathers; they cannot manage, that is why they are defaulters.

Then he looked at Naren and said—I must tell you too, I gave you the application for free studentship a month ago and you just left it without taking any action.

Naren Chakravarty said—Only Srimanta alone did not apply for free studentship, Pandit Mashai. You yourself had given me many more such applications. Just look—so saying he pulled out a bundle of applications from his case.

He said—If so many students studied with

out paying fees, how could one run a school, tell me? The institution must run too; there are heavy expenses for a school of this size.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I admit that the school needs money. Doesn't it need money to pay so many teachers their monthly salaries? But the fact that the school requires money cannot justify forcible realisation of money from those who cannot pay. The school is not a grocery, nor a shop selling bricks and building material. The purpose of a school is to spread education, so that men may acquire knowledge, are trained and develop good character. Did I not arrange free studentships for boys who showed merit? You have all seen what was done then. Did I not go from house to house with my collection bag for donations? Then when there were shortages of funds I have gone to your father, to Mathur Shaw Mashai. They had given loans and we had repaid those borrowings to the last pie when better days came. If the school has shortage of funds, you should advance money to it. Nimai Shaw is there and there are committee members, let them give money. Why are they there then? They cannot just hold meetings here and have refreshments; they have responsibilities too.

He stopped a little after this speech to recover his breath. Then he said—Let it rest at that; you do what you think best. Who am I to speak at length about these matters? I am neither the founder of the school nor its life member. You are its Secretary, Nimai is the President, and there is a Managing Committee, all that an organisation needs is there. You should do what you think best, I spoke out of a sense of duty, now it is your choice—

He did not wait after that. There were other classes to attend. He walked fast and went out.

Bhabaranjan said—You see, Master Mashai has latterly become like this.

Naren Chakravarty said—Oh well, let him talk. One cannot manage schools with such antiquated outlook any more. It is a question of the needs of those days 'as against the requirements of these days.

Bhabaranjan said—Then when should the next meeting be held?

Naren Chakravarty said—At least seven days' notice should be given. You put it down for the fifteenth—

—What agenda should I give?

Naren Chakravarty said—To discuss the necessity for increasing the tuition fees of students—

Bhabaranjan brought out his memorandum book and noted the point.

It was Fatik who caused most of the trouble. Fatik joined all those who studied early in the morning on the open verandah of Gour Bhattacharjee's house.

Rani said—Look Grandpa, Fatik is not reading—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned round and saw Fatik sitting with a small kitten in his lap. He was fondling it and it was quietly lying in Fatik's lap and enjoying the experience.

—Here, drop it, drop it at once! Where did you get a cat from? And where from do these cats come to this house to create a nuisance?

As soon as the cat was put down it crawled away and vanished. Gour Bhattacharjee caught Fatik by his ear and shook it—Only play and play! No attempt at all to study—that's how you are going to grow up into manhood? If you play like this you will be an ass, a goat like your father—

Shibani could hear everything from the kitchen. When the beating increased in inten-

sity she would not keep silent any more. She walked out on the verandah.

And said—Why are you beating him like that?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Should I not beat him? If he does not study why should I not chastise him? Must I treat him with honour because he is a grandson?

Shibani said—That's no reason why you should abuse his father in front of him? Call him a donkey? A goat?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, is your son-in-law a human being? Would he smoke a cigarette in front of you if he were a gentleman? Would he cause the death of your daughter if he were human? What's wrong if I called him an ass? It is his good luck that I did not describe him more fully...

Shibani said—Well, you selected him as a son-in-law. You said that the son-in-law did not wish to see the girl after he heard your name. Why did you not make proper enquiries? One who can manage a school and teach so many boys and girls should be able to manage household affairs.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, don't I manage my household affairs? Have I kept you starving?

Shibani said—Whether I am starving or having a very happy and well fed existence is known only to my God. It is not necessary to discuss my happiness. Have you ever thought of my happiness? Whether I lived or died never meant anything to you. Only the proper management of your school mattered.

Rani would find it hard to tolerate any more. She went up to Shibani and said—Will you stop now grandma? You have scolded grandpa quite enough—now, will you kindly stop?

Shibani recovered her balance at this admonition from Rani. She did not wait there and went straight into the kitchen to get busy with ladles and tongs.

Rani also went and stood near the kitchen door.

She said—Why do you scold grandpa constantly grandma, tell me that?

Shibani said—You shut up. You need not bother me---

Rani said—Yes, that's a very convenient arrangement. You will scold my grandpapa and I shall keep my mouth shut, isn't that it?

Shibani said—Can't you see how your grandpapa scolds that motherless boy? A small boy like that cannot study so much. He is so small, he cannot study so much. Would not he play a little, but go on studying the whole day long? Are all people aged and old like your grandpapa? Shouldn't young people have some whims and desire for fun?

Rani said—Yes, but Fatik is very unruly too, grandma.

Shibani said—Small boys are usually a little unruly. That is no reason why they should be beaten so much. He does not beat you, does he? Just because his father is not here, should he be scolded like that? He is after all a son of another family—

Suddenly grandpapa's voice was heard—Rani, Oh Rani!—

Rani ran up. Said—What is it grandpa?

Gour Bhattacharjee took Rani to one side and asked—What was grandma telling you, darling? Is she very angry with me?

Rani said—You are not at fault grandpa; why do you beat Fatik so much? You do not beat me, do you; and I also am naughty—

Grandpa said—Why should I beat you, little Mother, even if you are naughty? You do your studies so well. Anybody who studies well is never scolded or punished. You stand first in your class! You are so nice and good.

So saying the Pandit Mashai lovingly touched her head.

Rani said—Don't waste time showing your

love; you will be late for school and grandma will scold me, you better go—

Gour Bhattacharjee got up and went to get ready.

Rani also got up. She picked up her books, slate and other paraphernalia and said—I am going grandma.—Everybody had left by then. Only Fatik was sitting with his face close down on the pages of a book.

Rani suddenly went up to him. Said—Here, get up, you have studied too much, there is no need to study any more. Get up, eat your rice and go to school, it is getting late. So saying she began to hit him lightly on the head.

Fatik got annoyed and said—Why are you hitting me, why?

Rani said—Why not? Why shouldn't I hit you? I get scolded for you every day. You neglect your studies, behave wickedly, and I get scolded—

By then grandma had arrived on the scene. Grandma also said—Here you, get up, get up, go for your bath, I am getting the rice ready, hurry up or you will have no time to eat. You and your grandpapa will sit down together to eat—

Fatik cried out—Look grandma, Rani has hit me—

Grandma said—Rightly too. She should hit you. No reading or writing, only wickedness! If you are wicked you will be beaten. Can you come first in your class like her?

Fatik stood up. He said—All of you only beat me. If you go on beating me like this I shall certainly run away one day,—I tell you that—

Grandma said—I wish you to run away, why don't you do so? Where will you run away to, let me hear? To which sticky corner of this earth?

Fatik said—I shall go off to my father—

Rani exclaimed—My goodness, isn't he clever for his age grandma? If you will run

off to your father, will you be able to find the way?

Grandma said—Let him go to his father and discover how lovingly he will be received. The father just left him here and then never even wrote a letter to enquire about him. We know well enough how worried the father is about his son—

—Oh Rani, Rani!

Basanti arrived suddenly. She was astounded to see what was going on.

Said—Rani, why are you so late? Aren't you going to school?

Rani said—Just listen mother; Fatik says he will run away.

—Good heavens! What sort of talk is that Aunt, why should he run away? Where will he run away to?

Aunt said—He alone knows where he will run away to. He says, to his father. How fond the father is of his son is well understood. Doesn't even write a letter to find out how the son is. What a father!

Basanti said—How is that? The son-in-law has not written a single letter since he went away?

Shibani said—The daughter kept the relationship going so long. Now that she is gone, to what purpose will the relationship be kept up? He cares two pias for the relationship!

Basanti said—She who has gone, has gone; but the son is his own son.

Shibani said—That uncle of yours; spent his whole life after his school, that school, never even bothering to find out if we were alive or were getting food to eat in the house. Daughter had to be married, so he does not even find out what sort of a man he was marrying her to. Should I tell about all this; it is all my bad luck and destiny—

Gour Bhattacharjee had by then had a dip in the pond, Fatik had gone to bathe. Basanti

said—We shall go now Aunty. Come Rani, come, it is getting late—

Basanti and her daughter thereafter left.

In the beginning Balarampur High School was housed in a single building. Commencing with a tin shed with a couple of rooms in it, which was Gour Bhattacharjee's Pathshala. Sitting under the sheet metal roof he used to fan himself with a palm leaf hand fan and perspire heavily in the unbearable heat. People referred to it as Gour Master's Pathshala. He dreamt of a great institution while he sat in the tin shed. The tin shed will become a properly built permanent structure some day, he imagined. Students will come to that building to grow into perfect men. Well, that also happened eventually. A well built house it was. And the boys came to that well built house for their education.

Binod was a pupil of that period.

Binod's mother was a widowed lady. When she became a widow, she came one day to Gour Bhattacharjee carrying her little son and put him down at the pandit's feet—said, I have brought him to you Pandit Mashai, do look after him as your own son—

A slip of a little fellow, lean and thin, was Binod. Gour Bhattacharjee felt compassion for the little boy. He said—Who am I, that you expect me to do things? It is His will that will determine whether Binod will grow into a good and capable man. That I have built a school is not my achievement as you might think. If He so wills, the school will run and grow bigger; so, if He wishes, your son also will become a man. Learn to leave everything to Him, He will look after His own affairs, you will see; you and I are mere instruments—

Then, it was Binod who passed from this school, got a scholarship and went to district

headquarters for further studies. He got scholarship there too, and went to Calcutta. He graduated from Calcutta. Then.....

One day Gour Bhattacharjee came running back home.

—Have you heard, Barabou; our Binod has stood first in the B.A. examination.

Shibani was very pleased to hear this news. She said—How glad would his mother have been, had she been alive!

Gour Bhattacharjee was holding Binod's letter in his hand. He said—Just see; he has written—It is only with your blessings that I have achieved this success. I shall come to Balarampur next week and take the opportunity to touch your feet. I am getting ready to appear in the I. A. S. examination. Very respectfully and obediently yours Binod—

Gour Bhattacharjee was not pleased by reading out the letter to Shibani. He went out with the letter again.

Shibani said—Where are you going now?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You repeatedly said I was insane over the school and the school. Now you see why I was mad about the school. I am going to read the letter to Naren—

—Yes, but must you go out at this time of the day? Why not have your meal and then go out in the evening—

But Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had already gone out on the road. He shouted back from the road—No, no, food can wait; you better eat. I shall be late. Let me first tell everybody about this.

That day when Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai returned home, it had passed well beyond the afternoon into late evening. By that time there was not a soul in Balarampur who did not know that Binod Bihari Bandyopadhyay of Gour Master's school had stood first in the B. A. examination from a Calcutta college, had obtained a scholarship and was preparing to become a District Magistrate.

Naren Chakravarty was then in Court. Gour Bhattacharjee went right into the house. Naren may not be at home ; but the Bouma would certainly be in.

—Bouma, Oh Bouma, where are you Bouma ?

Basanti had finished her meal and was stretching out for forty winks. She came up and said—What is it uncle ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai brought out Binod's letter from his pocket and showed it—See here, Bouma, read this letter, our Binod has written—

So saying he started reading it himself—Respected sir, you will be glad to learn that in the Calcutta University B. A. Examination I have.....

He continued to read right down to the last word. And said—You have seen, your Aunty complains constantly that I am mad about the school. Now you see why I am mad over the school. When Naren comes home, give him the news, you understand ? He will be pleased. I have read out the letter to Bhabaranjan. I read it out to your Aunty and now to you. I shall now go to the Gunge in the Eastern Zone, must read it out to Nimai too, then.....

Then it looked as if he suddenly remembered. He asked—Where is Rani ?

Bouma said—She has gone to school—

Then tell Rani too, Bouma, that our Binod has stood first—

There was hardly any time to wait. From there straight on to Nimai Shaw at the "Balarampur Variety Stores". Nimai Shaw was then the President of the School Committee. Busy the whole day with trading. He had so many different business affairs to look after. Still he attended to school matters in between all that.

—Nimai, oh Nimai, are you in ?

Nimai was then sitting inside with a mountain of papers relating to accounts. Hearing

the voice of the Master Mashai he got up and came out. He said—Come in Master Mashai, come in. What news ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Nothing, I shall not stay, heard the news ? My pupil, Binod, you know Binod, he has stood first in the B. A. examination. See here, he has written to me—

So saying he brought the letter out and read it aloud once more. He said—See, he is the pride of the school, pride of you all and of Balarampur—

Nimai Shaw said—Then you should declare a holiday for the school. A day's holiday in honour of Binod ; shouldn't that be the right thing—?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, no, that would not be right Nimai. A holiday is a day lost, neglecting studies cannot be of advantage. Better, you send round a circular, informing everybody about this, that will boost the morale of the boys. Saying that, he was moving away. Nimai Shaw came with him to see him to the door.

He said—One thing, Master Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee turned round—What is it ? He said.

—The teachers have made a joint petition.

—Petition about what ?

—They have said their salaries should be increased as they can no longer live on what they earn. Prices have gone sky high and are still on the increase—

Gour Bhattacharjee stopped dead in his track at this and said—Why ? Why do they want an increase of pay ? I am also a teacher. They never said anything to me ? If I can manage to live with some strain and difficulty, why cannot they manage to meet their expenses of living ? They earn extras by writing notes, taking students for private coaching and tuition, they should have no wants. No, no, no increase of pay is necessary. And how

will you manage to pay more ? Have you any funds ?

Nimai Shaw said—That was what we were discussing in the School Committee the other day. Everyone said if the school fees were increased and the students paid a rupee or eight annas more per head then out of.....

--No, no; no, do not do any such thing Nimai ! You do not know the condition of the boys' parents. I know everybody. No one has the ability to pay more. Or they would not be coming to me all the time to make appeals. They all want their sons to be made free students--no, no, do not agree, be very careful, absolutely unyielding--

After that he went out on the road. But his head was full of Binod's achievement. Who else should be told about Binod's letter ? To whom else should he read out the letter ? He was busy thinking out that. He said—I must go now Nimai. I have a lot of places to go to and visit a number of persons.

In the beginning all work was done after consulting Gour Bhattacharjee. Gour Bhattacharjee was then a member of the committee. Representative of the teachers. Things were done as Gour Bhattacharjee advised.

But later on there were differences and irritated arguments.

Suddenly Gour Bhattacharjee returned home before it was evening. He never came home so early. Shibani was astonished.

She said—Well, well, why are you home so early ? Haven't you got a Committee Meeting to-day ?

Rani was sitting there at one corner. She said—Bah, haven't you heard, grandpa has resigned from the committee.

Grandma was surprised to hear this from Rani. She said—My goodness ; how do you know all this ?

Rani said—Daddy was telling mother the other day and I heard—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, my dear, it is not like that. How much longer should I work myself to death ? They are all youngsters, they should learn all the tricks of the trade. I shall not be there for ever to run the school. How will they manage things then ?

Then he looked at Rani and asked—Why is she here at this hour ?

Shibani said—Do you know, she has stood first in her class again—she has come to tell me that--

--Is that so ? Pandit Mashai said as he stopped in the act of taking his shirt off.

Rani said—Yes Grandpa, I have obtained ninety marks in Sanskrit—

—Splendid ! This girl will certainly maintain my prestige. Then what did your father say ? Has he heard ?

—Father has not come back home yet. I came straight from school to tell you. You had promised to give me something ; give it.

Pandit Mashai started to laugh—That is so, she has to be given some thing. Well, what will you have ?

—I shall take a sari.

—A sari ?

Rani said—Yes, a sari, ma does not give me any saris to wear. Says I am not grown up enough. But grandma, I can cook rice, can't I ? When you fell ill didn't I cook the rice for you ?

Grandma was laughing.

She spoke to the Pandit Mashai—Well, why don't you buy her a sari ? The fact is she wants to dress in a sari like her elder sister—

Once when Abanti, Pandit Mashai's daughter, had come to Balarampur, Rani persistently demanded that she should be allowed to dress in saris. Would put on a

sari and veil her face as Didi did. Rani was much younger then.

She went home and pleaded to her mother
Mother, I want to dress in a sari like Didi—

Basanti got angry—Why must you wear a sari? Are you grown up as Didi is that you will put on a sari? No, no, you will not get any saris now—

Mother did not buy her a sari on that occasion in spite of all pleading. But when the Pandit Mashai learnt about her ninety marks in Sanskrit he said—It is all right; Bouma did not give you a sari; I shall buy you one this time—

He took Rani right away to the market that time. Nimai Shaw had a sari department to his shop.

He arrived there and said—Nimai, please give a nice sari to this grand daughter of mine. She is very eager to put on a sari!

Nimai Shaw had a look and said—Who is this? Isn't this Naren's daughter?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—So she is; but what does that matter; she is my grand daughter too. Her father does not pamper her; nor does her mother respond to her pleading; so she makes her demands to me. She has got ninety marks in Sanskrit. So she is to get a sari—

Rani chose a sari.

By that time people at home had started looking for Rani. Where is Rani? Where has she gone after she came back from school?

Basanti asked Panchu's mother, the maid servant—Oh, Panchu's mother, do you know where Rani has gone?

Panchu's mother has grown old working in this house. She looked after Rani since her birth.

Basanti said—She has gone perhaps to Aunty's house, she has eaten nothing, go and bring her home—

Panchu's Mother had eaten a good meal. She was dozing at one corner of the floor. She said—And who is going to call that daughter of yours madam? Who has got that reckless courage?

—Why, you go and get her by the ear and drag her home. I shall teach her to loiter about at all hours—

Panchu's Mother did not budge an inch even then. The previous day Panchu's Mother had such scratches and bites on her hands that the wounds were still quite raw.

Eventually Basanti went herself. It was a hot afternoon. Yet Basanti followed the shady path by the pond and alongside the leafy pakur tree. She arrived non stop an Aunty's place.

—Aunty!

—Bouma, come in, come in. You have come in search of Rani?

Basanti said—I had guessed right that Rani would be here. She came back from school but did not stay at home for a minute. I was thinking of giving her food to eat and she just slipped out and came here.

Shibani went on laughing. She said—Why did you take the trouble to come in this heat? You could have sent Panchu's Mother. I asked her whether she had come after informing you and she said—Mother knows.

—You see Aunty, what a liar she has become latterly. You spoil her and she is becoming quite impossible. She does not listen to us at all. But where is she? Where?

—You want to see her? Have a look.

So saying she pointed to a bedstead inside the room. And said—Look there.

Basanti looked inside and saw Rani lying fast asleep on Uncle's bed. She was dressed in a striped sari.

—My goodness, where has she got a sari from? Who gave her a sari?

Shibani laughed and said—Don't scold her Bouma, she is very eager to dress in a sari—

Basanti asked—Had she been demanding a sari from you ?

Shibani said—No, no, your daughter is not so ill mannered. I told your uncle to buy her a sari. She has got ninety marks in Sanskrit I am told. Your uncle had said that he would give her something if she stood first. She talks about saris, so he took her to the market and got a sari for her—

Basanti said—Really Aunt, you do pamper and spoil her. She could not get it from me, so she went after you—

Shibani exclaimed—Oh, let it be ; don't take her to task for this. Let her sleep now.

When he returns from school he will take her home personally ; you go back now—

--But she hasn't had any food.

--Have I forgotten that ? I have seen to her comforts and she has no hesitation to ask for more if she felt like that. She was born your child but she is really my daughter. You should not worry about her.—

Didi :—Elder sister. In this case Abanti was called Didi by Rani.

Barabou :—Eldest daughter-in-law. It is customary in Bengal for a husband to address his wife as other members of the family address her.

Bouma :—Elders address the wives of their juniors as Bouma.



APPOINTMENT OF THE GOVERNOR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS, IN THE LIGHT OF THE INTENTION OF FRAMERS

MAHINDER SINGH DAHIYA

The office of the Governor though a hang over from the British Rule in India was thought by the framers of the Constitution indispensable for the provinces. On account of the fact that some restrictions were imposed by the Cabinet Mission plan on the Constituent Assembly of India, the framers of the constitution followed the system of provincial autonomy as it existed under the Government of India Act 1935. Though the framers purported to make the office of the Governor almost similar to that of the 1935 Act, yet they were not inclined to adopt it in entirety.

The Constituent Assembly of India appointed a Provincial Constitution Committee under the Presidentship of Sardar Patel and this Committee was entrusted with the business of drafting the provincial constitution. The memorandum on the principles of a provincial constitution prepared and circulated by the constitutional advisor, Sir B. N. Rau, provided that the Governor would be elected by the provincial Legislature by secret ballot according to the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote.¹ While making this suggestion, the constitutional advisor stated in a note that in a Unitary constitution and even in a Federal constitution approximating to the unitary type like that of Canada, provincial Governors may be appointed by the Central Government. Under the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946, the Union Government will not have this power and some other method of selecting Governors has to be adopted. We can have direct election by the people of the province or some system of

indirect election. As the Governors are intended for the most part to be responsible heads acting on the advice of the ministers, it is perhaps unnecessary to have direct election with all its complications. As at the Centre we may have election by the legislature. This is what has been proposed in the above provision.²

The provincial constitution committee in its meeting on June 6, 1947 considered and discussed the system adopted in U.S.A., appointment through indirect election, and the nomination by the Central government.³ The joint meeting of the provincial constitution committee and the Union Constitution Committee decided that the Governor should not be appointed by the central government but chosen by the respective provinces".⁴ Hereafter, in the memorandum of the provincial constitution committee it was stated, "For each province there shall be a Governor to be elected directly by the people on the basis of adult suffrage." The committee was of the opinion that the election of the Governor should, as far as possible, synchronize with the general election to the provincial Legislative Assembly. This may be difficult to provide by statute, because the Legislative Assembly may be dissolved in the middle of its terms." While defending the provision of the election of the Governor, Sardar Patel, the Chairman of the provincial Constitution Committee, stated in the Constituent Assembly, "It is considered necessary because of the dignity of the office which a popular Governor will hold and naturally a Governor who has been elected by adult

franchise of the whole province will exert considerable influence on the popular Ministry as well as on the province as a whole. His dignity and status also demands that he should have the unanimous and general support of all the sections of the people in the country."⁶

The Provincial Constitution Committee had further suggested that the President of India should appoint an acting Governor in case a Governor happened to remain absent from his duty or incapacity or failure to discharge his functions "for a period not exceeding four months".⁷ During the course of the discussion Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant moved an amendment to create the post of Deputy Governor and the constituent Assembly accepted the amendment. While speaking in the Constituent Assembly Pt. Pant stated, "It is likely that the Governor may have to go abroad for important public business that he may be deputed for diplomatic service of an important character for a short term or he may be required to perform other duties for a limited period which may not allow him to discharge his normal functions. For such occasions we should have a Deputy Governor to take his place."⁸ The amendment of Pt. Pant which states that for every province there would be a Deputy Governor elected after every general election by the provincial Legislature on the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote,⁹ was accepted by the Constituent Assembly and the method of appointment by the president of the Federation was deleted. The Deputy Governor was to fill a casual vacancy in the office of the Governor for the remainder of his term of office. He was also to act for the Governor in his absence.¹⁰ While defending his amendment, he stated that the nomination of an officiating Governor by the president would be an embarrassing duty and repugnant to the principle of provincial autonomy.¹¹

The Drafting Committee gave one more alternative that the Governor would be appointed for a panel of names chosen by the Legislative Assembly of the Province.¹² When Draft article 131, which related to the method of choosing the Governor came for discussion in the Constituent Assembly on May 30, 1949, the method of election adopted earlier seemed inconsistent with the system of responsible government.¹³ The method of election met vehement criticism and it was dropped on the following grounds.

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru stated in the Constituent Assembly, "Nearly two years have passed, two years which have made an enormous difference to the Indian scene. And if we seek to reconsider something that we have passed two years ago, before the 15th August 1947, it should not appear to be a strange thing to do, for we have had a great deal of experience, bitter experience during this period Now, one of the things that we have been aiming at a great deal has been to avoid any separatist tendencies, the creation of groups, etc..... Apart from the tremendous burden of these elections for the provincial and central legislatures, to add another election on this major scale would mean not only spending a tremendous deal of energy and time of the nation but also the money of the nation and divert it from far more worthwhile projects."¹⁴ Dr. Ambedkar said, "Having regard to this fact it was felt whether it was desirable to impose upon the electoral process which would cost a lot of time, a lot of trouble and I say a lot of money as well".¹⁵ H. V. Kamath was of the opinion that if the object of the Constitution is to have a parliamentary form of government in every state, then it is patent, it is obvious that the method of choice by direct election is absolutely "inappropriate and unacceptable".¹⁶

It is an admitted fact that one of the essentials of successful cabinet government in

a province or in the country as a whole is the existence of a fairly impartial constitutional Head, who is more or less a symbol or a constitutional figure-head. If the Governor were to be elected by the direct vote of all voters in a province he is very likely to be a party-man with strong views of his own, and considering that he will be elected by the whole province—he will think that he is a far superior man and a far more powerful man than the Chief Minister or the premier of the State who will be returned from one constituency only. There will be two conflicting authorities within the state : one is the premier, whom, under this constitution we have invested with executive authority so far as the State is concerned, and the other is the Governor, who, though the constitution does not confer on him very substantial powers and functions, will arrogate much to himself,¹ because he will say that “I have been elected by the people of the whole of the province and as such I am a person a gratia with the people and not the Chief Minister”¹⁷. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar shared this view and said that there was a fear that the Governor might get into clash with the premier and the cabinet responsible to the legislature.¹⁸ Further he said that “the election itself under modern condittons will have to be fought out on a party ticket. The fact is that even at or during the elections the party will have to rally round a leader who will presumably be the future premier of the province.” It was also maintained that “nowhere does the system of election of the Governor exists where the Institution of responsible government is the main feature of the constitution.”¹⁹

During the discussion it was the general opinion of the members that the election of Governor on the basis of universal suffrage was incompatible with parliamentary form of

government which had been adopted in the provinces. K. M. Munshi stated, “After we have adopted the British model the election of the Governor by adult franchise in the province remained an anomaly, a completely out-of-date and absurd thing.....The expenditure and energy of a province under election would have been wasted in putting a second rate man in the party at the head of the government. That would mean that he will be subsidiary in importance to the Prime Minister, as he would be his nominee. If that is going to be the case, there is no reason why the farce of a huge election has to be undergone.”²⁰ On behalf of the Drafting Committee, Dr Ambedkar made the position clear and maintained that “it was also felt, nobody, knowing full well what powers he is likely to have under the consttution, would come forth to contest an election. We felt that the powers of the Governor were so limited, so nominal, his position so ornamental that probably very few would come forward to stand for election.”²¹

The other factor which led the framers to abandon the method of election is that when India got freedom on August 15, 1947, the restrictions on the supremacy of the constituent Assembly imposed by the Cabinet Mission plan disappeared. Hereafter, under the circumstances when this provision was being discussed, the unitary system instead of the provincial autonomy was gaining ground. Pt. Nehru stated, “we have still to pass through difficult times and I think we should always view things from this context of preserving the unity, the stability and the security of India and not produce too many factors in our constitutional machinery which will tend to disrupt that unity by frequent recourse to vast elections²².....”

The panel system suggested by the Drafting Committee was also left due to certain factors.

Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad stated that the nomination by the president from a panel of names really means restricting the choice of the president. It gives power in the hands of the Legislature. It is necessary that the president should be free from the influence of the Legislature.²³ H. V. Kamath opposed the panel system on the ground that if the president does not choose the first nominee and he chooses the third or fourth, the Legislature of the State will certainly have a grouse against the man chosen by the president because he has been chosen in preference to the first man²⁴. It was also stated that when the election would be held for the panel of names, the groupism was bound to be generated within the party.²⁵ The other factor which led the members to leave this system was that the experience gained in connection with the appointment of Vice-Chancellors of the Universities was a bitter one.²⁶ It was also stated that "it carries no responsibility of either the president or the cabinet or the provincial cabinet because the responsibility here is very much divided."²⁷

The system of proportional representation as suggested by the constitutional adviser was not discussed in detail and it was dropped immediately. Shrimati G. Durga Rani maintained that "the system of proportional representation would not improve matters in any way. That would only produce the effect that it would divide the whole House into warring groups and it will also produce all the disadvantages and defects of the French system."²⁸

When the provision pertaining to the selection of the Governor was being discussed, Mr. Brajeshwar Prasad moved an amendment proposing that the Governor should be appointed by the president "by warrant under his hand and seal". He stated that in the interest of the All India Unity it was necessary

that the authority of the Governor of India should be maintained intact over the provinces.²⁹ While supporting the amendment, Dr. Ambedkar said that the Governor had no functions which he is required to exercise in his discretion or individual judgment. According to the principles of the constitution, he is required to follow the advice of the Ministry in all matters. If the Governor had no power of interference in the internal administration of a Ministry which had a majority then it seemed to me that the question whether he was nominated or elected was a wholly immaterial one.³⁰ Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru said, "we must base democracy on the electoral process. We have done it. But the point is whether we should duplicate it again and again.....Therefore, I should like to support fully the amendment proposed that the Governor should be a nominated Governor."³¹ Further, he was of the opinion that the minority may also get nomination by this method.³² B. G. Kher supported the method of nomination on the ground that "the only insurance for smooth government in the provinces is to allow the president of the country to nominate a person who enjoys his confidence, which certainly means, the confidence of his cabinet, as also the cabinet of the province, to be the Governor of the province. Any other mode, whether by election on adult suffrage or by election by the representatives of the people in the House will give rise to considerable friction."³³ Dr. P. S. Deshmukh also supported it on the plea that "Our constitution is based on the 1935 Act which in itself is based on the principles of responsible government.....That being so, the head of the administration must be one who cannot interfere with the day to day administration." Therefore, the decision embodied in the amendment is a correct one.³⁴

It is clear from the speeches of the various

uminiaries that the method of appointment by the president, was gaining ground and besides it the framers purported to establish some link with the provinces and it was possible through this method. Pt. Nehru was very critical of the fact that the elected Governor would have fewer common links with the Centre.³⁵ Therefore, the framers adopted the method of nomination.

H. V. Kamath supported the idea of appointment and said that considering the constitution as a whole, considering the powers given to the State Cabinet and the relations between the units and the Centre, I think that the lesser-most evil is this system of appointment by the president.³⁶ It was also thought that in the interests of harmony, good working and sounder relations between the provincial cabinet and the Governor, the Canadian method would be better.³⁷

Keeping in view the said facts, the constituent Assembly accepted the amendment moved by Mr. Rajeshwar Parsad³⁸ and rejected all the other proposals. While defending the appointment of the Governor, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar said that the Governor might occasionally have to use his extraordinary powers and this point is more in "favour of nomination rather than in favour of election".³⁹ Again he said, "If the choice is left to the president and his cabinet, the president may, in conceivable circumstances, with due regard to the conditions of the province, choose a person of undoubted ability and position in public life who at the same time has not been mixed up in provincial party struggle or factions."⁴⁰ It was desired that the man to be appointed would be from outside and the convention would grow up of the Government of India consulting the provincial cabinet.⁴²

Although the convention of consulting the State cabinet appears to be sound, yet it has

not been followed strictly. Before the General Election of 1967, there was no importance of this convention that is why in the Centre and almost in all the States, congress was the ruling party but after 1967, it has resulted into a conflict between the centre and the non-congress governments. If it is simply consultation and not the consent of the Chief Minister or the State Cabinet, there is no logic in it. In Haryana, when Rao Birender Singh was the Chief Minister, he had consultation with the Central Government leaders on the issue of Governor's appointment, they refused to accept the principle that the panel of names should be discussed with him or he be taken into confidence. The centre suggested only one name to him and not a panel of names.⁴³ In Punjab, Mr. Gurnam Singh had disapproved of the two persons either of whom the Union Government proposed to appoint the Governor of the State. Mr. Gurnam Singh had suggested to the centre a few names who had nothing to do with Punjab.⁴⁴ It was not more than consultation and the more they could do, achieved non-congress men as Governors of their respective States.

There are cases where the Chief Minister was not consulted at all. For instance, in the appointment of Sri Prakasa (Madras) and Kumarswami Raja (Orissa), the respective Chief Ministers have gone on record that they were not consulted. The former case was probably justified in view of the fact that the then Chief Minister, as well as his party, was routed in the first General Election in Madras, but there was no such excuse in the latter case, except that probably Nabakrushna Chaudhry was too mild a Chief Minister to be consulted.⁴⁵ In U.P., the appointment of Dr. B. Gopala Reddy was announced before the formation of the new government headed by Mr. Charan Singh. In Lok Sabha, Mr. S. M. Banerjee wanted to know whether

Mr. Charan Singh would be consulted and this appointment would be reconsidered.⁴⁶ Mr. Chavan said that there would be no consultation now.⁴⁷

In Bihar, the controversy arose over the appointment of Mr. Kanungo. The Chief Minister of Bihar Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha publicly protested against the 'imposition' of Mr. Kanungo. He regretted that the centre had gone ahead with the appointment despite 'clear rejection' of Mr. Kanungo by the State Cabinet. He called it a violation of the convention that the Governor be appointed in consultation with the State Government. The Chief Minister said that Mr. Kanungo would not be welcome in the State⁴⁸. One of the national dailies published in Delhi called "Kanungo" an unwise imposition on the Bihar Chief Minister⁴⁹. A spokesman of the Central Government said that the Prime Minister and Home Minister had consulted the Chief Minister⁵⁰. Mr. Nath Pai stated in Lok Sabha that Mr. Chavan asked Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha as to what did he know about Kanungo? Mr. Sinha replied that he is a good man. It does not mean that he approved his appointment⁵¹. Mr. Chavan said that after the announcement was made, a telegram came from the Bihar cabinet that Mr. Kanungo should not be appointed as Governor⁵². But this is immaterial that is why the central government could have changed it. Mr. Mahamaya Prasad Sinha cited the instance of 1947 when Mr. Jai Ram Dass Daulat Ram had to give up the post of Governor following objections by Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha, the then Chief Minister of the State⁵³. Sh. Ambazhagan (D.M.K.) branded the Central government and stated that the appointment of Mr. Kanungo had been made to protect the interest of the congress party⁵⁴.

The other convention of appointing Governors from outside has also been violated

in some of the cases. For instance Sardar Ujjal Singh was appointed as the Governor of Punjab. Mr. H. C. Mukherjee who was the Vice-President of the Constituent Assembly, was hundred percent a Bengali by any definition though domiciled in Bihar, was appointed as the Governor of West Bengal. When Nehru wanted to appoint a non-Bengali, it seems, B. C. Ray, the Chief Minister, strongly objected saying that Bengal would not tolerate a non-Bengali Governor, and B. C. Roy was not a man to be trifled with. Then the Union Government had to rack their brains and find out somebody who satisfied both conditions. Nehru's for an outsider and Roy's for a Bengali, and it was easy to hit upon H. C. Mukherjee because it was discovered that Mukherjee was a Bihari by domicile. Similarly, after Mukherjee's death, when the same problem arose, to the satisfaction of both Nehru and Roy, Miss Padmaja Naidu whose mother was a pure Bengali, married to an Andhra citizen, was discovered. It is only after B. C. Roy's death and the loss of solidarity of the Bengal Congress that a non-Bengali could be sent to Raj Bhawan⁵⁵. In these cases the intention of the framers and the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission found no place⁵⁶.

As a matter of fact, there is no criteria for the appointment of Governors. In most of the cases, the tools at the central government and the men from the Congress party are sent to Raj Bhawans and on account of this fact, the recall of the Governor is demanded by the Chief Minister⁵⁷. Since independence up to 1964, out of 45 Governors, 24 had been from the congress party. Only one Governor—Pattom Manu Pillai was appointed from the opposition party—S.S.P., but he is considered from the congress that is why he was the Chief Minister of Kerala and was sent to Punjab to make room for the congress party. Mr. Nath

Pai said in Lok Sabha that the office of the Governor was degraded by the Centre by making it a patronage and largesse⁵⁸. In some of the cases, the defeated candidates of the congress party had been appointed as Governors. N. V. Gadgil, H. V. Patasker and V. V. Giri fall under this category. There are instances, where the Chief Minister had been appointed as Governor to make room for his successor. K. C. Reddy was removed from Mysore to make room for Hanumanthaiya. B. Gopala Reddy was removed from Andhra to make room for Sanjiva Reddy. For some-time they had been in the Central Cabinet and later on appointed as Governors. A. J. John from Kerala, H.K. Mahtab from Orissa, Bhim Sen Sachar from Punjab and Ramakrishna Rao from Hyderabad were all made Governors to make room for their successors as Chief Ministers. V. V. Giri was a reluctant Governor in the beginning and H. K. Mahtab resigned Governorship to become the Chief Minister of Orissa (1956) K. C. Reddy and Ajit Prasad Jain first grudgingly accepted Governorship and both declined office after the announcement was made though later they both accepted again⁶⁰. Really speaking, it seems, as if the Governorship is reserved for the congressmen. Another category of Governors is that of civil servants, who are considered as the favourite boys of Central government. Mr. Dharamvira, B. N. Chakravarty, Y. N. Sukhtankar and Vishnu Sahay belong to this category. Although the civil servants have no connection with the congress party yet they are inclined to safeguard the interest of the congress party.

The standard of appointment is deteriorating day by day and men like E. M. S. Namboodripad are demanding the abolition of this post.⁶¹ The Setalvad Study Team is of the opinion that the post of the Governor is considered as a consolation prize for burnt

out politicians.⁶² Being so, during question hour in Lok Sabha, Mr. P. K. Deo demanded from the treasury benches that the congressmen particularly the defeated candidates, would not be appointed as Governors.

The main purpose of the framers in accepting the method of appointment was that the Governor would be a harmonious link between the centre and the provinces and he would be above party politics. In this connection, the first question is that the Governor can be either a constitutional head or a link. These two roles are independent of each other and contradictory. Of these two, one is actually stated in the constitution itself and the other is implied by the provisions. He has to act as a link as well as an agent not merely because of his appointment but because of his holding office.⁶³ So far as the question of party politics is concerned, the intention of framers has no place in practice. The Governors are appointed by the Central government and in most of the cases from its own party and therefore the conflict arises between the state government, if there is a government of another party, and the centre on the one hand and the Governor on the other. While opposing the method of appointment Rohini Kumar Chaudhry stated in the constituent Assembly that Governor who is selected by the congress party cannot act in harmony with the provincial cabinet if it is of another party.⁶⁴ Moreover, the method of appointment is antithetical to the concept of real democracy. Shri Bishwa Nath Dass called it democracy from toe to neck and autocracy at the head.⁶⁵

Another plea taken by the framers was concerned with expenses of elections, etc. This is not convincing that is why the expenses should not be considered as a hurdle in the way of principle. Besides, we are holding elections of State legislatures, Lok Sabha,

President and moreover the mid-term elections of day to day. There would have been no harm in the election of the Governor, had the framers adopted it. Mr. Rohini Kumar Chandhry stated that if an election takes place on the same day as on the day of General Election, there cannot be any question of additional expenses.⁶⁶

Now, the question is as to what should be done? Mr. Nath Pai suggests that the appointment of the Governor should be subject to the approval of parliament.⁶⁷ But the difficulty is that this system cannot solve the problem that is why the parliament is dominated by the party in power in the Centre and the members in Parliament act according to the directions given by their party. A. R. C. team suggests that the Chief Minister should be consulted.⁶⁸ It was intended by the framers also but this too is not workable. If the consultation is simply consultation and no more, there is no use of it. If the consent of the Chief Minister is necessary, the appointment falls in his hands and not in the hands of Central government. Moreover, suppose, a new Chief Minister comes, he would say that the Governor should be removed and a new Governor should be appointed with his consent. Syed Muhammad said that the Governor has to be appointed first and the Governor then would ask the leader of the largest party to form the ministry. "Now where is the ministry to be consulted before the Governor is appointed by the President?"⁶⁹ Mr. A. B. Vajpayee suggested that a panel of names should be placed before the Chief Minister to select one of them.⁷⁰ This is also a vague suggestion that is why it is not certain that one of the names would surely be acceptable to the Chief Minister. Moreover, the central government may suggest in the panel all the four or five persons who are bent upon to protect the interests of the

party to which the central government belongs. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh says that the appointment should be made by the president aided by a council of impartial advisers.⁷¹ It appears that Dr. Singh is talking in the air. At present, the difficulty is that the Governors are considered as partial and if the suggestion of Dr. Singh is accepted, the advisers would also be characterised as partial. He has not made any suggestion for the selection of the advisers. If they are selected by the president himself it would be a farcical element because there is no difference between the appointment made by the president himself and by the advisers selected by him. He would select the advisers of his liking. Mr. E. M. S. Namboodripad has made a very good suggestion which deserves consideration. He says that the Governor should be elected directly by the people.⁷² The elected Governor would have the confidence of the people and he would have to go to the polls to seek the verdict of the people for his actions. Under such circumstances he is bound to be fair. Prof. Sibani Lal Sexena supported the method of election on the ground that "we are modelling our constitution on the British model, we must give our president and Governors the dignity that the King enjoys in England. I feel that this dignity cannot be given to the Governor if he is a nominee of the president. If he is elected by the adult votes of the people, then alone he can get, can he acquire the dignity that the King enjoys in England."⁷³

As far as the post of the Deputy Governor was concerned, the Drafting Committee suggested the abolition of this post and it was accepted. The president was empowered to make such provision as he thought fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor on the occurrence of a vacancy or when the Governor is unable to discharge his duties for any other reason.⁷⁴

Keeping in mind the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and the said facts and figures, we are bound to draw inferences that the framers of the constitution did not pay much heed to the consequences occurring in the future. Their intention was that the Governor would be simply a constitutional head and no more but the difficulty is that there are too much ambiguities in the language of the subsequent articles pertaining to the office of the Governor. The problem is not that the Governor is an appointed one but it remains in the fact that the Governors are misunderstood about their constitutional position inspite of the fact that it was made clear by Dr. Ambedkar that the Governor would generally be bound by the advice of the council of Ministers. Moreover, the plea taken by the framers that nowhere the system of elected Governor was adopted but they did not try to know that nowhere the constitutional head was given powers in theory and denied in practice. Had there not been ambiguities in the Constitution, the controversy over the appointment of the Governors would not have arisen. The defect lies in the fact that what was intended by the framers was not depicted in the constitution.

1. Vide B. N. Rau, *India's Constitution in the Making*, Edited by B. Shiva Rao, P. 167.
2. Vide B. N. Rau, *India's Constitution in the Making*, Edited by B. Shiva Rao, P. 167-168.
3. Minutes, Select Documents II, 22 PP 646-47 cited in B. Shiva Rao, *Framing of India's Constitution*, P. 485.
4. Minutes, select Documents, II, 19, PP 608-9 cited in *Ibid*.
5. Vide clause I of the Memorandum on the Principles of a model provincial constitution C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 593.
6. C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 586.
7. Vide clause 3 (2) of the Memorandum of

- the principles of a model provincial constitution C. A. D., Vol. IV, P. 593.
8. C. A. D. Vol. IV, P. 610.
9. *Ibid*.
10. C. A. D. Vol. IV, P. 610.
11. *Ibid*
12. Draft Constitution, Article 131
13. Vide speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 431.
14. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, PP 454-55
15. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 467
16. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 428
17. Speech of H. V. Kamath, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 428-29.
18. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 431.
19. *Ibid*
20. Vide speech of K. M. Munshi, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 452
21. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P 467-68
22. Speech of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, PP 455-56.
23. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 426
24. Speech of H. V. Kamath, C. A. D., P. 429
25. *Ibid*
26. Speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 432.
27. Speech of Shrimati G. Durga Rai, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 450.
28. *Ibid*
29. C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 426
30. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, PP. 467-69
31. Vide Speech of Pt. Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 456
32. *Ibid*
33. Speech of B. G. Kher, C. A. D., Vol. VIII P. 436.
34. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 433
35. Vide speech of Pt. Nehru, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 455
36. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 430
37. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 433
38. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 469
39. Speech of Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 432.

40. *Ibid*, P. 431
42. Speech of Alladi Krishna Swami Ayyar, C. A. D. Vol. VIII, P. 431.
43. *The Tribune*, August 19, 1967 ; P. 1
44. *Ibid*, August 18, 1967, P. 1
45. K. V. Rao, "The Governor at Work", *Journal of the Society for the study of State Governments*, Vol. I, July--September, 1968, No. 3, P. 90
46. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2794.
47. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2795.
48. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
49. Nath Pai, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 799
50. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
51. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 800
52. *Ibid*, Cols. 1779-77
53. *The Statesman*, November 10, 1967, P. 1
54. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, 1967, Col. 843
55. K. V. Rao, *Op. cit.*, P. 89
56. Vide Report of the States Reorganization Commission, 1955, para 243, P. 69.
57. Mr. Jyoti Basu and Mr. Mukherjee, Deputy Chief Minister and Chief Minister of Bengal respectively, met Mrs. Gandhi and demanded the recall of Dharamvirā, *The Statesman*, March 8, 1969, P. 1.
58. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2793.
59. *Ibid*, Col. 2795
60. K. V. Rao, *Parliamentary Democracy of India*, 1965, P. 436.
61. *The Statesman*, March 23, 1969, P. 1
62. *The Statesman*, December 15, 1967, P. 9
63. K. V. Rao, "The Role of the State Governors in India" *The Indian Political Science Review*, Vol. II, April-September 1968. Nos. 3 & 4, P. 174.
64. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 437.
65. *Ibid*, P. 447
66. *Ibid*, P. 438
67. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, 1967, Col. 2793.
68. *The Statesman*, December 15, 1967, P. 9
69. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 458
70. *The Statesman*, November 17, 1967, P. 7
71. *The Indian Express*, November 30, 1970, P. 5.
72. *The Statesman*, March 23, 1969, P. 1
73. C. A. D., Vol. VIII, P. 450
74. Article 160.



THE LIARS OF PAKISTAN

A. C.

Lying is a game which once begun never terminates. One lie requires half-a-dozen more to uphold it as truth. If a lie is found out to be a lie, then the liar has to disclaim his connection with it by concocting more tales of non-existent facts, happenings, actions and interrelations. The liars who insisted on a partition of India supported their demand by a fictitious two-nation theory. The world was informed that India had two nations with their separate languages, cultures, racial characteristics and ways of life. Of the two nations the Muslim nation had a Muslim way of life with Urdu as the Muslim language of India. All Muslims of India formed a single happy family which wished to live separately in their own Muslim state of Pakistan. Soon after the formation of Pakistan 10000 Kadiani Muslims were slaughtered by other Muslims of different sects in the newly formed West Pakistan. Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs and members of all other non-Muslim communities were terrorised and subjected to merciless persecution in the course of which several hundred thousand non-Muslims were murdered, wounded and rendered totally destitute. Thus contrary to the teachings of Islam, non-Muslims were not protected by the Islamic state of Pakistan. When the Bengali Muslims insisted that Pakistan must accept Bengali as a joint state language, as Urdu was not their language; there was grave trouble and, even-

tually Bengali was raised to the level of a state language in Pakistan. Numerous Bengalis (Muslims) had to die and suffer before this privilege was conceded to their mother language. The Bengalis also ate rice and fish as their staple food, dressed in Dhotis and Saris, sang their own time honoured songs in their own style, had a literature which dated back to the eleventh century and their way of life gave a prominent place to swimming, rowing, fishing, boat racing; while the West Pakistanis ate wheat, dates, Indian corn and meat; wore pyjamas, rode horses and shot down one another for family feuds. Their languages were Punjabi, Pushtu, Sindhi and Baluchi which had no literature worth anything. What they borrowed from Urdu came from the Delhi and Lucknow areas of India. Only about 18% of the Urdu speaking people of prepartition India were Muslims and 82% were Hindus. So, the assertion that Urdu was the mother language of Indian Muslims (prepartition) was a lie as was the story of a common nationality of the Muslims.

When Pakistan was carved out of India and the Pakistanis set up embassies and diplomatic missions everywhere, this lying went on non stop with a view to blacken India's image before the world. The smallest communal trouble in India was exaggerated to fantastic proportions while a steady stream of non-Muslims fled from Pakistan due to the bar-

barous persecution they were subjected to by the Pakistanis. Before the present Bangla Desh struggle began, several million Pakistani non-Muslims had already left that country to seek refuge in India. The reasons for this were expropriation, murder, rape and total lack of protection for the non-Muslims of Pakistan. The offenders were by and large the West Pakistani officials who dominated all services in both sections of that country. The West Pakistanis also exploited the Muslims of East Bengal mercilessly and in a shameful manner. While palaces went up in the cities of West Pakistan in their hundreds, essential roads, bridges, railways, dykes and protective breakwater walls, remained on paper only, thus exposing the Bengalis to dangers of floods and tidal bores and to a general lack of easy communications. 80% of the lucrative jobs went to West Pakistanis. The same was the case with contracts, permits for new industries and allocations of internationally borrowed and procured funds. The Bengalis, however, produced all the tea and jute which provided the major portion of the foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan. All this exploitative lack of justice and fair play caused the Bengali led Awami League to demand the abolition of the Martial Law Administration of Pakistan and establishment of a democratic form of government. Thus the fight began which is increasing in tempo day by day all over East Bengal. The Pakistan Army, which is now exclusively manned by West Pakistanis, is finding great difficulty in coming into contact with the forces of Bangladesh which are quite numerous, lightly armed, elusive, experts in guerrilla fighting and in avoiding open warfare with the heavily armed forces of Pakistan when they deployed in numbers and in mechanised formation. These Bangladesh troops are taking a heavy toll of the soldiers of Pakistan wherever they are found in small numbers, they are destroying roads, bridges,

railway tracks and are training up more and more freedom fighters with a view to begin attacks on the cantonment towns of East Bengal. The Pakistanis have about 200 small crafts to carry soldiers to the 65000 villages of East Bengal. The freedom fighters have some power driven crafts too ; but their number is not precisely known. It may be assumed that there are many such boats fitted with outboard motors. So, even if the Pakistan army goes from village to village they will have to travel in force by several boats moving together which will require several thousand such boats to make such movement militarily effective. While the Pakistan army is arranging river transport the army of Bangladesh will not remain idle—so that, this riverine warfare will not be entirely one sided. Small rivulets and canals can be blocked too and river craft ambushed. In short, this war will not end easily.

But the Pakistanis are not giving up their habitual practice of false propaganda and spreading of lies in a blatant and shameless manner. They are going about vilifying the Awami League for this fight ; and telling the world how India instigated Sheikh Mujibur Rehman to break up Pakistan by rebellion. The liars forget to explain why the army, navy and air force of Pakistan had 90% West Pakistani personnel, why government offices in Pakistan had 85% West Pakistani incumbents, why allotment of economic development expenditure had been so far 1500 crores for East Pakistan and 5000 crores for the Western section of the country, why foreign help utilisation has been 20% for East and 80% for West Pakistan and many other such acts of injustice that alienated the Bengalis. They also forgot to explain how and why when the great cyclone which devastated East Bengal before the elections in Pakistan, it was not taken much notice of by the Military

autocrats of Pakistan, thus causing death and suffering to millions of Bengalis. They also forget to mention that the Awami League won the elections by a 98% majority in East Pakistan, much too large a majority to be explained away by Indian instigation. The cyclone whipped up tidal bores which travelled inland in an unobstructed manner for the reason that the West Pakistani autocrats did not take the trouble to have dykes and break-water walls built, although that was advised by internationally famous specialists many years ago. Having ordered an election and announced the intention to terminate martial law administration and to establish a democratic government after the elections, Yahya Khan went back on his promises when he found the Awami League had won an overall absolute majority. He thus provoked a rebellion and tried to subdue it in the most heartless and barbarous manner. He slaughtered 1500 persons in 24 hours on the 25th—26th March 1971 in Dacca, his soldiers abducted 400 college girls from the University hostel there and he ordered bombardment of Chittagong port and town about the same time. In a matter of weeks the West Pakistanis killed 500,000 persons in East Bengal, raped defenceless women everywhere and set fire to all dwellings in the poorer quarters of Dacca and other towns. "At Dacca, Khulna, Jessore and Rajshahi sixtytwo distinguished persons including poets, novelists and academicians were shot dead on March 25 midnight and March 26.....those killed included Prof. Lutfar Rahman of Rajshahi College, Prof. Syed Abdul Hai, Mrs. Nilima Ibrahim, Muhammad Abdul Hai, Prof. Anarul Karim and Ahmed Jamal Rashid a young poet of Bangla Desh.....20 academicians of Dacca University were lined up against the wall inside the campus on March 28 and shot dead." (UNI Report.)

This genocide continued unabated since

those terrible days and thousands trekked towards the Indian borders daily and entered our territory. The number who are now in refugee camps would be about four million. This number would increase to ten million unless the powers put pressure on Pakistan and force the fascists of Islamabad to liquidate their autocracy and replace it by a democratic form of government in which East Bengal will be free to change its name from East Pakistan to Bangladesh and arrange for their own government in their own manner. What Yahya Khan has done, will prevent any integration of the two states of Pakistan.

In the mean time the liars must stop lying. For example one liar has written an account of what has happened in East Bengal in the *Guardian* weekly of Britain in which he has accused the Awami League men of the atrocities that were actually committed by the soldiers of Pakistan. Such lying is not only highly reprehensible but it also lowers the Pakistanis still further in the eye of the world. For, this liar says the Pakistan army has now suppressed the revolt and the Awami League men have gone into hiding in the remoter villages of East Bengal. If that is so, then why are thousands of men, women and children entering Indian territory everyday and why are many of them suffering from bullet or bayonet wounds? Why do they all say that Pakistani soldiers have attacked them in their villages and set fire to their huts, dishonoured their women and, even, killed their children? This liar should know that atrocities of the size that Yahya's men have perpetrated cannot be white washed. Millions of men, women and children do not fabricate lies in that expert manner in which this liar has tried to put all the blame on the innocent sufferers of Yahya Khan's fascistic frightfulness. Men have been hanged by the Anglo-Americans for war crimes which were not quite so heinous and

large scale as the atrocities committed by the commanders of the Pakistan army whose El Supremo is General Yahya Khan. These men should be brought to trial as soon as possible and punished in an exemplary manner. If this is not done, genocide in peace time may become a popular pastime for top ranking sadists. We do not know whether deliberate lying can be proved to be a crime of the nature of being an accessory after the fact. If that can be accepted as a cause of action by prosecutors all the liars who have been, are and shall be aiders and abettors of these hideous crimes by their attempts at white washing the same, should be brought to trial too. There are

some newspapers in Pakistan which spread lies and the editors of these papers should be charged with aiding genocide.

The arrival of millions of refugees is a great problem for India. The Indian Government have asked the U. N. to give Rs. 200 crores for the relief of these destitutes. The U. S. Government have paid \$500,000 (Rs. 37,50,000) to India for this purpose. Other nations have sent assistance too. Scores of foreigners have personally seen what the Pakistan army has done and described the horrors to their own countrymen. But the liars of Pakistan go on lying in an unashamed manner.



A VILLAGE ASTRONOMER

APURBA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

Very few people of to-day are acquainted with the Astronomical genius of Radha Govinda Chandra whose papers on occultation of stars, variable stars, etc., were once widely published in western journals of Astronomy. The biography and career of Sri Chandra is further more important because it throws some new light on the history of Astronomical researches in Bengal. Originally a Poddar (coin-tester) in the Jessore collectorate (now in E. Pakistan) Sri Chandra studied Astronomy in his spare time at home after his whole day's office work and, within the very limited scope available in that age, he could make so much advanced studies as to draw attention of western scholars. In recognition of his published papers, Sri Chandra was offered membership of several Astronomical Societies in U. K. U. S. A. and Europe. It is unfortunate that the merit of such a scholar has remained unadmired in Bengal.

Radha Govinda had written an autobiography containing the scope and aspiration of his researches; but unfortunately the complete manuscript is now missing. The first half of it has recently been traced in his home library and the present essay has been written on its basis. The title "A Village Schoolmaster" by the English poet Goldsmith was a very favourite one to him and Sri Chandra always assumed the title "A Village Astronomer." As a token of respect to his sentiment, the present essay has also been so named.

Radha Govinda was born in B. S. 1285, 1st Sravana (1878 A. D.) in Bagchar, a suburban village of Jessore in the house of his maternal uncle. He was brought up there amidst

abundance and affluence and was educated first in the Bagchar Primary School and then at the Zilla School at Jessore. He was married at an early age while still a student of High School. The academic career of Sri Chandra was very short and simple; after three unsuccessful attempts to pass the Entrance Examination, he left the school and sat idle at home for two years. At last he joined the Jessore Collectorate as a Poddar, i. e., tester of counterfeit coins at a monthly salary of Rs. 15/- only—a post unwarranted by his family aristocracy—and after 35 years of service, with a promotion to the rank of a cashier, he retired from service.

Although nothing bright in his school career, Sri Chandra was a serious reader at home. His maternal uncle had a very rich collection of books and a very high academic atmosphere prevailed in the family. His uncle Avoya Charan Dey had published a collection of the verses of Vidyapati from the Amrita Bazar Press; even his grandmother, an old lady of that age, had some fundamental knowledge of Astronomy. She knew the celestial positions of the important stars, constellations and planets. The editor of *Arya Darsan* Sri Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan was a friend of this family. Born and brought up in such an environment, Radha Govinda developed a special fascination for Astronomy from his very childhood. Apart from his domestic atmosphere, an essay on 'How vast is the universe', appearing in his school text-book *Charupath*, Part III, edited by Akshoy Kr. Dutta, fascinated him. He was further inspired in his astronomical career by the famous lawyer of Jessore, Sri Kalinath

Mukherjee, a reputed author and writer on Astronomical matters.

Sri Mukherjee had written a Star-Atlas in Bengali which was published by M/S Thacker, Spink & Co, in 1901 A. D. He had also published two other books on Astronomy in addition to several popular essays in the journals "Hindu" and "Brahmabadin".

Sri Chandra, after he had discontinued his school career, pursued his studies at home with deep devotion and continued it with equal zeal even when he joined the Jessore collectorate. The way to his office ran beside the residential home of Sri Mukherjee and on his way to and back, Radha Govinda noticed lively discussions of Mukherjee on Astronomical matters with his other friends. Finally, Sri Chandra also joined the circle; the manuscript of the Star-Atlas was then under preparation and Sri Chandra also corrected some proofs of it.

Halley's comet was first visible to the naked eye in India on 24th April, 1910. Sri Chandra published in two essays the results of his observations of this comet which at once attracted the attention of interested readers. Sri Jagadananda Roy of Santiniketan advised Sri Chandra to expand his personal observatory by including a telescope of higher power for advanced course of study of the sky. His personal observatory was really poorly equipped, compared to the task he had undertaken and a moderately powerful telescope was a necessity to him. He finally purchased a 3" telescope from M/s F. Barnard & Co. of England. The original cardboard tube was later on replaced by a brass tube prepared by M/s Broadhurst & Clerkson. The total cost in these two stages amounted to Rs. 260/- whereas a similar telescope would then cost Rs. 600/- in the Calcutta market.

On 7th June, 1918 A. D., a new star was visible in the constellation Aquila. The

apparent brightness of some classes of stars changes; the Nova-stars remaining faint for a long time suddenly flare up into brilliance. A Super-Nova star flares up suddenly into millions of times of its original brightness and then gradually fades away. The above star belonged to the Nova-class named Nova Aquilae no. 3. Sri Chandra and Jagadananda Roy each published two essays giving further details of this star. It may be mentioned here that the Astronomical Society of India had recognised Sri Chandra as the first discoverer of this star. Sri Chandra at the suggestion of Jagadananda Roy, who was highly impressed by his published essay, sent a copy of it to Mr. E. C. Pickering, Director of the Harvard College Observatory. But because of some pre-occupations he was late by nearly six months in doing this and by that time this Nova-star had already drawn the notice of all other Astronomers. However, Mr. Pickering, in acknowledgment of Chandra's work, presented him with a copy of the Revised Harvard Photometry and other booklets relating to studies on this Nova star. Shortly after this Sri Chandra was awarded membership of the American Association of Variable Star Observers (A. A. V. S. O in brief) and since then he had been regularly publishing papers in the journal of the Harvard College Observatory. Soon afterwards, he was awarded by the Government of France a very honourable title "Officer of the Academic Republic of France". The Diploma and badge relating to this title were forwarded by the Consulate General of the Govt. of France at Calcutta on 1st August, 1928 to Sri Chandra at Bagchar. In recognition of the merit of his published papers, Astronomical societies from several other countries also offered him membership. He, however, accepted membership of the British Astronomical Society and the Lyon Observatory of

France. Two letters are printed below to exhibit his appreciation in foreign countries.

Harvard College Observatory
Cambridge, Mass.

November 14, 1918

Mr. R. G. Chandra,
Bagchar, Jessore, India.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of September 7 is received. I take pleasure in sending you without charge a copy of the Revised Harvard Photometry, circulars 208, 210 and bulletin 661 which relate to Nova Aquilae no. 3. We are measuring its parallax, and a careful study of its spectrum is being made by Miss Cannon, but is not yet printed.

Yours very truly,
E. C. Pickering

Consulate General de La Republique
Francaise. Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my letter dated 26.3.28, I have the honour to inform you that the Ministry of Education has decided to confer upon you the distinction of "Officier d'Academie".

You will find herein enclosed the Brevet and the badge of this distinction for which I shall be obliged to receive a receipt.

I am pleased to convey to you my best congratulations for the token that has been granted to you in recognition of your valuable services to the observatory of Lyon.

Yours faithfully,
R. Lazonies
Consul General for France

Mr. R. G. Chandra,
Bagchar, Jessore.

The Harvard College Observatory, to aid expansion of the domestic observatory of Chandra, presented him with a 6½" telescope for his personal observations of the variable

stars, and undoubtedly this was a remarkable event. This recognition of his merit by western scholars also won him admiration from his countrymen. In this connection, part of a letter from Sri N. G. Dhar, an ex-subjudge of Purnea and founder of the telescope-manufacturing firm 'Dhar & Bros.' may be quoted here: "I would not have rejoiced so much if you had purchased even a better telescope; you have won it by your merit and hence I am so much overjoyed. The Harvard College Authority deserves special thanks because it hesitated nothing to honour the genius of a scholar from defeated India".

It must be remembered here that Radha Govinda's chief occupation at this time was strenuous work in the Jessore Collectorate and whatever researches he had been pursuing were in the spare time available to him. The difficulties of continuing researches on celestial bodies with very meagre instruments in his command must also be appreciated.

Radha Govinda will also be ever remembered in Bengal for his contributions to the calendar reformation movement. This movement originated in Bengal towards the end of the 19th century. The only two Bengali almanacs published at that time, the Gupta Press from Calcutta and Kalachand's Panjika from Serampur were both based on the Astronomical principles of the traditional Hindu Astronomical texts like the Surya Siddhanta, etc. But these texts, composed in the medieval period, were never revised in later age in the light of new discoveries in Astronomy and hence failed to give correct results. Some scholars educated in Western Astronomy observed that the planetary positions, as forecast by these two almanacs did not correspond to their real positions as seen through a telescope. Sri M. M. Banerjee, Zemindar of Telenipara, published an essay to draw public attention to such discrepancies

in the conservative school of almanacs emphasising the need of reformation of calendrical calculations in light of modern Astronomy. Since then an opinion had been forming for preparation of Bengali Almanacs based on the Astronomical tables of the British Nautical Almanac;—this is known as the calendar reformation movement. Sri N. C. Chatterjee, a retired engineer, published for the first time in Bengal a reformed calendar, the 'Bisuddha Siddhanta' in B. S. 1297 based on the Nautical Almanac.

The initial excitement of this movement did not last long and later on it was reduced to a routine-work only. Radha Govinda took interest in the matter and after a thorough study of the relevant texts formed opinion in favour of the reformation movement. He published an essay on the calendars of Bengal in Pravashi, (Kartick 1334 B. S.,—which was reprinted in the Bisuddha Sibbhanta Panjika B. S. 1336 which gave a new momentum to this calendar reformation movement. An Astronomical journal was then published by the Jyotish Parisad, an association formed by Sri Indranath Nandi at 37, College Street (Later on removed to 6/2, Ram Banerjee Street). Radha Govinda became a member of this Parisad and regularly published essays in its journal (and in several other magazines also) showing the discrepancies in 'tithis' and position of luminaries as shown in the conservative school of almanacs like P. M. Bagchi, Gupta Press, etc. Within a very short time this movement was revived with new impetus and there developed a great controversy amongs almanac-makers.

It is interesting to note here that the dispute between the conservative and neo-school of almanacs is still continuing and even to-day the former school greatly overrules the latter one. It is an established fact that the position of the luminaries and 'tithis', as fore-

cast in the traditional almanacs do not conform to the correct positions. Despite this the conservative school predominates over the neo-school. The chief reason for this is perhaps the Smarta Pundits' view that for religious and ritual ceremonies, the mean motion of luminaries as set forth in the Siddhantas, particularly the doctrine on tithis—mean tithi increases by 5 dandas and decreases by 6 dandas—must always be observed. Only in such phenomena which are conspicuously visible like full & new moon, eclipses, etc., the real motions are to be considered. The opinion of Mm. Pachanan Tarkaratna, a scholar of very high esteem may be quoted here. He wrote in a letter to Radha Govinda—"Any calendrical scheme based on the British or European Nautical Almanac is completely opposed to religious ceremonies. The reformers do not respect this long-standing tradition."

The Jyotish Parisad observed the Chandrasekhar memorial day on 22nd December, 1936 at the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Sri Chandrasekhar was a member of the Royal family of Kendrapara, a native state of Orissa, who had reformed the traditional conservative calendar of Orissa. Radha Govinda in an essay read in this meeting (which was later published in the Education Gazette) made the following remarks regarding Bengali calendar: Bengali Almanacs mention tithis and nakshatras in units of dandas, palas, vipalas, etc. But as time is now measured by Western clocks and not by the primitive ghatika yantra, dandas etc. are always reduced to minutes and seconds in the almanacs and even the orthodox class of devouts have accepted this Western scheme of time measure in social and religious ceremonies. Similarly also, there should not be any objection to our use of Western astronomical instruments like meridian circles, transit instruments, etc., for determining correct planetary positions.

The calendar reformation movement had since then been progressing with a new momentum and it was Radha Govinda who spurred this gallop. Even today also when a National Calendar has already been suggested by the Calendar Reform committee and adopted by the Govt. of India, calendar makers have not reached any unanimity. Radha Govinda was actively associated with this movement in this later phase, but a complete history of his contribution to this part of the movement could not be compiled because the relevant part of manuscript of his autobiography is missing. After partition of Bengal when he had already retired from the Jessore Collectorate, Radha Govinda moved to a small village in the 24-Parganas of West Bengal and founded an Astronomical Club at Panihati with a view to popularise Astronomy and the cause of calendar reformation movement. He also wrote some popular books on Astronomy but only one of them, a general treatise on comets (in Bengali) could appear in printed form—the rest are till now in manuscript only. Although at his new settlement at 24-Parganas, he had to forego a major part of the affluence and domestic aristocracy commanded at Jessore,

he adjusted himself to the new environments. He, however made frequent visits to his original home at Jessore and in course of such visits, some very valuable books and astronomical instruments of his observatory were lost in transit.

Radha Govinda has now permanently settled up in Barasat town. He is now slightly over 90 years of age, with very faint eye-sight and hearing power. He had written over a dozen of essays on calendar reformation alone in different magazines and all his published works, both in English and Bengali, are now scattered in different journals and magazines all of which are not readily available. The present writer had some earlier correspondence with an ex-Minister of Education of the Central Govt. regarding an well-edited publication of all the works of Radha Govinda but no progress could be made in the matter.

Radha Govinda's career serve as a beacon light in the path of progress of all others who have sincere and pious ambition and thirst for knowledge. It will always be held high as an example that no amount of preoccupation can stand in the way of acquiring knowledge.



MAO'S SMILE MAY BE DECEPTIVE : NEED FOR CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

Dr. G. S. RAJHANS

It all began with the May Day celebrations last year. Chairman Mao gave a broad smile and a warm handshake to our Charge d' Affaires in Peking. It was followed by a few meetings of our diplomats in foreign countries with their Chinese counterparts. The Indian External Affairs Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, was quick to announce in the parliament that India would readily respond to any worthwhile gesture from China with a view to normalising relations between the two countries. For once, it was made abundantly clear that the compromise proposals made by the non-aligned Colombo powers in January 1963, would not be a precondition to talks any more. Owing to these developments, China-watchers in India and abroad have started wondering if there is any possibility of a thaw in Sino-Indian relations.

There is no denying the fact that China is gradually settling down after the Cultural Revolution. Her attitude towards outside world has been changing lately and she has been trying to re-enter the main stream of international life. But it would be naive to think that there has been a sea-change in her attitude towards India and the former is prepared to undo all the wrongs she did in 1962 and before.

It is true that China considers Soviet Russia to be a more formidable enemy than India and does not relish the growing friendship between them. It is also true that lately she has become very apprehensive of Japan's growing economic and military powers. It may be equally true that she wants to develop her trade with the neighbouring countries. But all these do not seem to be plausible

reasons for her desire to have friendly ties with India.

It is a misfortune that from the very beginning India's China policy has been guided by factors which were never very realistic. Even Mr. Nehru, the chief architect of our foreign policy, despite his deep understanding of international affairs, misjudged Maoist China's real intentions a fact which he confessed with disarming frankness when he became a victim of Peking's perfidy. The fact that there was no war between China and India during last 2,000 years, led Mr. Nehru to believe that these two countries could never be at loggerheads, howsoever big might be their differences. China, on the other hand, was following a hostile policy from the very beginning and never took India to be a genuine friend. Soon after the Communists usurped power in China, Chairman Mao personally sent a cable to the Indian Communists, giving them his full support against the Nehru government, and expressing the view that the day was not far off when India, like China, would be liberated by the Communist party from Anglo-American imperialism and its lackeys.

Such unfriendly gestures of the Communist neighbour was conveniently dismissed, and the country was told that torn by long drawn and destructive wars, Communist China, despite her ideology, wanted peace and friendly relations with all, especially with India. It is surprising that the policy-makers in India did not wake up even when Communist China grabbed Tibet des-

pite her promise to India to the contrary. India's belief that China would settle down to peaceful internal development once her irredentist ambitions were satisfied, proved to be dangerously mistaken by subsequent events.

When, in 1954, Mr. Nehru took up the question of the maps published in China showing incorrect boundary alignment, he was told by the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, that the People's Government of China had no time to revise old pre-liberation maps. The force of the argument was accepted by Mr. Nehru in view of his assumption that China was sincere towards India in her friendship.

When these inflated maps were again questioned in 1958, Mr. Chou En-lai bluntly told Mr. Nehru in January 1959, that the border question was raised in 1954 only because conditions were not ripe for its settlement at that time. It is significant to note that the conditions became ripe only when China had completed her strategic road in the Indian territory in Aksai Chin area and built strong military bases near NEFA.

Writing on the wall

How China duped India since then, is a commonplace. Unfortunately we never tried to read the writing on the wall. If the Chinese are sincere in their gesture of friendship, how is it that they are still propping up the Naxalites and the Nagas against this country? Besides, President Yahya Khan's recent visit to Peking should be an eye-opener to them who are fondly hoping for a thaw in China's

attitude towards India. During the visit the Chinese leaders promised the Pakistani President an aid of Rs. 1,000 million which will perhaps be the largest quantum of aid received by Rawalpindi from Peking to-date. Once again, they harped on their only common link—hatred towards India.

Reports from Hongkong suggest that China is again propping up Nepal against India. The New China News Agency is giving currency to false propaganda that "India had increased the number of its troops along its border with Nepal last December and Indian Military aircrafts at Bagdogra military base on the Nepal-Indian border made daily flights over Nepal's border areas". Everyone in India knows that nothing can be farther from truth.

Trade and friendly relations are quite different issues which has got to be relised by our policy makers. Japan and West Germany have been trading with China without buying her friendship. India too can follow suit and start trade with China either through Hongkong or directly. But we should never be complacent about our relations with the formidable Himalyan neighbour. Although India and China cannot afford to be bitter enemies permanently, the geo-political reasons are such that they cannot be close friends either in the near future. China's real fear is that if India succeeds in building a dynamic and expanding economy under democracy, her political ambition in Asia Africa will be dealt a shattering blow. Our policy-makers have got to realize this if India has to deal effectively with the challenge posed by her giant neighbour in the north.

MYSTICISM & MAGIC IN ANCIENT INDIA

ADRIIS BANERJI

Evidence of any kind can be stretched to any extent. This is what Dr. Mukraj Anand has done in interpretation of data from Pre Harappan sites in Baluchistan. (Marg, Vol. XVI, No.1.) According to him, the terracotta sculptures from Kulli and Zhob Valley seem to have been magical in significance. Ritual objects like amulets of other ancient civilizations and for instance there are many images of humped Bulls. Obviously these were ritual figures exalting a forceful expression of the superhuman power of the Bulls' personality. The first emphasis on the vitality of the whole figures is important, because, it was to characterize all later art. The early people believed that the magic of the image could enable them to conquer all the vitalities of nature. The more powerful the image the more strength they could transmit. Therefore they departed from naturalistic modelling, copying, and resorted to the exaggeration of certain features in the figurines. The humps of the Kulli Bulls are a significant form, because of the terrific impact they make on the onlooker.

The terracotta figurines from Kulli display a coarse power. Conceived on flat surface with the superimposed pellets, radiating powerful, somewhat uncanny influence worthy of the female divinities of the fertility and other cults of the ancient civilizations (which Tylor and Frazer have acquainted us with)

In the Zhob valley, according to the same authority an improvement in the handling of clay is noticed. The expressionism is sustained. The vitality of these from the Bulls of Periano-Ghundai is suggestive of emphasis on magic.

Naturalism is elsewhere. Naive but vigorous fundamentalism of the Kulli and Zhob cultures have therefore contributed that important strain of impression as the dominant part of the sculptures, in order to make it the medium of magic. The technique is elaborated, to heighten the passion and the plastic values arise from the impulse with the object.

The terracotta of Harappa and Mohenjodaro are distinguished by a finer finish and embody greater care for details though they still achieve the dramatisation of the structure, through the imposition of the mouths, lips, the eyes and the jewellery.

There is a warmth of treatment which contributes to freedom of expression. The enormous numbers of animal terracotta figurine as well as dynamic vegetation shows great familiarity with life force. From the Yogic posture of the three faced figure, it is possible to presume that the magical cults of the people had evolved some kind of pantheon though it is difficult to postulate whether any mystic method of approach to the deity had been evolved.

Now these statements contain great deal of easily challengeable material, not borne out by acceptable evidence that the significant forms in the Zhob and Kulli Bulls convey magical values is not correct. As pointed out by Clive Bell, they might be due to the primitiveness of art, lacking the swagger and superciliousness of mature plastic style. The significant forms are the hall mark of primitive art. In the second place, the contents of the Seals and Sealings of the Harappa Culture are what is best known as 'descriptive sculpture' which by no stretch of the

imagination can be regarded as cult objects. Sir John Marshall had specifically warned us not to take them as exact copies of the pantheon of cult objects and in India a cult object and forms in a descriptive sculpture have often differed. Whether the three-faced divinity, with tigers and other animals, seated on a deer throne, was actually, worshipped as such by the Harappa people has not been established. In the third place Patanjali's **Yoga darsana** merely mentions eight stages to reach **samadhi** but does not specify **asanas**. Therefore whether a primitive and crude form of Yoga existed or was practised is another moot point. Again, mysticism is something which has often been distorted. Mysticism is not magic, nor is it Hathayoga. It implies in the highest sense of the word an intuitive and ecstatic union with the deity obtained by means of contemplation and other mental exercises. Blehmann thought that it is very rarely found amongst primitive people, who had no idea about the Absolute. It is indeed correct to question, in view of our extreme ignorance of the religious condition of the Harappa culture, whether they had developed any concept of the Absolute or the Soul. Because, Caird had correctly pointed out that "Religion in its most concentrated form is an attitude of mind in which all other realities are swallowed in the relation of soul to God. (ERE, vol. pp. 85, 113 and 114 of article on mysticism).

The existing evidence from Mohenjodaro and Harappa permits us to conclude that the plastic art though betraying generations of experience at the stage whose materials have reached us, is nonetheless comprehensive. The stage is evidently a declining slope, neither the classical nor the primitive or archaic stage have been found except in Baluchistan. Whether there was Saktism practised by the

city builders and traders of Harappa's maritime empire can not be affirmed or denied in the present state of our knowledge. That there was practised some sort of magic or rituals similar to it, is evident from several seals. Whether there was **Tantras** as suggested by late Dr. Prannath of the Benares Hindu University it is difficult to state, but esoteric practices might have been the base of Harappa religion. These sometimes survived in more evolved and polished form is also evident. Take for example the Phallus, the **urdha-medha**, the sanctity of Bulls etc.

With the dawn of the historical period, we find often on clay and stone and gold objects a female figure with a prominent vulva. These have been found at many historical sites from Taxilla to Lauriya Nandangarh. Exactly what was its cult or spiritual value, we do not know, but, they are suggestive of female fertility cult, possibly even Saktism. But whether it was an esoteric divinity can not also be gainsaid. That in the Buddhas' time Magic was practised is more than evident from Pali cannon. The most prominent case is that of Pindola Bharadvaja, whose performance of magical power was objected to by Gautama and the fraternity was forbidden to resort to Magic. Yet when he was challenged by the Jainas and others he resorted to it himself, saying that the taboo was meant for his followers and did not apply to himself. The best example is the **Yamaka-patiharya** or the double miracle of Sravasti.

Having accepted the challenge of the heretics, he promised to show his magical powers near a mango tree before one of the city gates of Sravasti. The heretics to prove him false, cut down every mango tree within a couple of square miles of the city. Buddha obtained a mangoo seed from Ganda or inmate of the Palace of Sravasti, and planted it near one of the city gates. It

sprouted immediately, with branches and fruits. Hence it is called the Miracle near the Gandamba tree. This event took place in the 6th year after enlightenment. **Dhammapadatthakatha**. P. T. Series, Vol. III, pp. 199ff ; 199-230).

At first he created a jewelled path in the air by the side of Gandamba, and took his stand on the path. There he performed the twin miracle (Yamaka-patiharya), so called, because, of performance of two contradictory phenomena by producing flames from the upper body and streams of water from lower portion. Finally, alternatively from right and left sides of his body, from pores of his body, rays of six colours darted forth upwards and downwards. Secondly, he caused a large lotus with a golden stem sprout forth from the earth, held on either side by Nagas on which he seated himself. This is not the only instance, but, while he was visiting Kapilavastu first time after **sambodhi** he performed Magic to convince his relatives of the powers of a Buddha. Historically interpreted it means that, Magic was known in his day. That Pindola Bhardvaja and Gautama were not the only persons is evident from the fact on hearing of his promise to perform Magic several of his pupils, most prominent saints of early Buddhism, like Gharani, Chulla Anathapinda, Chira, Chunda, Moggallana and Uppalavanna (Sanskrit. Utpalavarna) volunteered to take his place. It showed that they at least did not consider them less proficient than Gautama, if not equal.

In the beginning of the Christian era, two revolutionary incidents overtook Buddhism and its plastic activity. The first was advent of Mahayana with its new theories of Bodhisattva ideal and speculation about Nibbana and Sunyata, mixed up with Karuna. The second and decidedly more significant was the introduction of the image of Buddha, replacing the traditional symbolism of

Buddhist art as far as incidents of Gautama's life were concerned. It changed the history of Buddhist iconography and also the course of international Buddhist art. That there was a violent or non-violent controversy between the traditionalists and the new school, between the orthodox and the progressives, is more than evident from the mention of the images as 'Bodhisattvas' while they are shown wearing **tri-chivaras**, the regulation monastic uniform designed by Buddha, from fields of Magadha. But what objectivity forces us to accept is that this great departure, by humanising the coarse heaviness of Yaksha forms significantly brutal in their form, paved the way not merely for the tantrik art of a far later date, but the human form now playing a significant role in Indian art.

The Mathura art was admittedly syncretic. Nevertheless, that Nudism or Magic seems to have played a significant role is clear. While sufficient data must still be garnered for establishing the existence of Magic, Nudism is undeniable. While the nude females in Bacchalian scenes is pardonable, the prominent vulva of the Yakshi on Bhutesvara pillars is definitely suggestive. The present writer has already drawn attention to the tradition of naked Yakshi at Mathura from **Majjhima Nikaya** (PTS), Vol. II, p. 83) in his **Origins of the Buddhist Church Art**. (Calcutta. 1967 ; p. 44). Even then it is difficult to explain the evident nakedness of the body of the various **vriksha-bhanjikas** like Asoka pushpa collectors etc., unlike the Prasadhika attendant (V. S. Agrawalla-Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture, Plates VI-IX). The survival of magic however is more proved by the biography of Nagarjuna who learnt Mahayana from Maitreyanath often confused with Maitreya. Having visited the so-called Nagarjuna hills, otherwise known as Barabar hill in Gaya district I have a suspicion that he was an alchemist, because, the

walls of the ancient city of Gorathagiri was made of rocks of iron ore. As late as 7th century Banabhatta in his work credited Nagarjuna with magical powers of creating jewels, gold etc. With the advent of 7th cent we arrive in the period of Buddhist esoterism. It was magic, which according to Suzuki and Kimura were taught by Buddha to some of his trusted followers. Whatever be the truth, we find that supernatural powers or rather development of these powers to attain **Sunyata** being openly preached.

What was the art of this new esoteric Buddhism, which we know as Vajrayana? It is a language between spirit and men, bridging the two worlds of visible and the invisible, made with the help of colours, stone, clay and cloth. This art was indeed grounded in the physical world, but in attaining maturity reached the world of spirits, devotion and mysticism. It is correct to think that in ancient times, the art acted as a vehicle for any sort of theological speculation, every sort of usage, ideas, beliefs, religions, dogmas and even narratives.

After passing the Old and New Stone ages, the agrarian civilisations subordinated exactness of observation to a pre-conceived geometric consistency, ultimately to be governed by a ruler and compass. Classical architecture of every nation within the repertory of forms shared the same fate, generated by lines, curves, circles and rectangles. Their simple objective was to create cult objects with the aid of contrasts of light and shade, which is equally true of sculpture as well as paintings. The fundamental doctrine of Vajrayana was to lead men to **mahasukha** (Light) from the darkness of this impermanent (*anitya*) world with the help of forms. Therefore discovery of grammar of these forms is our primary duty.

Art is the language or intellectuals, defined by forms which are its idioms. It is indeed

the reflection of the intellectual world, though it also helped the backward and semi-literate people, by giving them a visible object of worship and veneration. It never could and never will, lend itself easily to an emotional life, save perhaps indirectly through deformations, disintegration and devolution. It is a clear structure imposed upon the turmoil of sensations, upon their ever changing mirages. To be more precise forms project on to sensation, upon thoughts. In the ancient world the Sumerian and the Assyrian were well aware of this. The ancient Greeks define both the terms 'Forms' and 'Ideas' by the word **EIDOS**. They link with form in common disposition in terms of representations. Forms are the logic which order visual representations, both aiming at liberating knowledge from uncertainties and changes inherent in human experience and to isolate the constants that serve as concrete base for concepts.

Through the centuries the Indians had developed a noble and dignified craftsmanship. Long before the birth of Christ they produced bronze images cast in **cir perdue** process, stone sculptures, terracotta figurines and paintings able to clarify the symbolism, the mysticism of the Brahminical faith. Indian art never permitted complete freedom to their artists except within certain limits. Instead with the help of forms they translated their own experience and visions as represented by the images, figures, the intricate paths through which the **sadhaka** must progress in order to transcend the temporal plane to attain **moksha**, **nirvana** or **mahasukha**. They are like hieroglyphic writings in which the elect may read the intimations of redemption.

At the same time one must not lose sight of the fact that these images are laden with scriptural or and conceptual implications, the cumulative result of mystical experience

of India during the millenia that preceeded. The **mithuna** or **dampatis** were not products of erotic insanity, running rampant over society, as is the case to-day, but symbolises two opposite principles from whose united labour life springs eternally.

Since the Buddhist art is a part of the national aesthetic experience, it was indeed an abstract and religious art. The outstanding fact remains that inspite of the organic art of the Indus valley, when we meet with the stone carvers at the earliest stage we find the absence of anthropomorphic representations of the **Tathagata**. In scenes representing life stories he is indicated by symbols. It is also a fact that simultaneously a folk art was also being practised as proved by the images of **Yakshas**. This state of affairs continued till the commencement of the Christian era, when images of Buddha were introduced in the church art. But inspite of wearing formal monks robes they were mentioned in the votive records as **Bodhisattvas**.

Therefore in assessing the origins and development of Vajrayana art, we must isolate the individual forms and their consorts. The situation, however is complicated by occurrence of typical cult images, earlier than the texts—the difference being of few centuries. The fact that the tradition was carried on orally from the preceptor to pupil does not solve the problem. This puzzle first made its appearance in 1914, by the find of **Lokanatha**, **Nilakantha** and **Bodhisattva** images in the excavations of Sarnath. D. R. Sahni in his **Catalogue** labelled them as Mahayana not being aware of the Yogachara. But collections of about 450 **Dharanis** show that many

Mahayana **sutras** and **stavas** were reduced to **Dharanis**. As Prof. Winternitz has pointed out that the **Manju Sri Mulakalpa**, which claims to be a Maha Vaipulya Sutra, is leaning heavily on Tantrayas. The conceptual transformation is not bridged. But in between comes Yogachara preached by Nagarjuna, Asanga and Vasubandhu and we possess very little knowledge of the contents of their sutras. Some of these have been edited, but without analysis. They are all Greek to even intellectuals, far more so to the public in general. While the typical Vajrayana texts do not go beyond 8th century at the latest. Just like Sarnath, cult images are found in the caves of Pitalkhora, Ellora and Aurangabad in Maharashtra belonging to 7th-8th centuries A. D., that is Chalukya-Rashtrakuta times. There too except the presumptive hypotheses that Hinayana was supplanted by Sarvastivadins and then by Mahasanghikas, again like Sarnath (Banerji—Schism and Sarnath, **Proceedings of the Indian History Congress** 7th Session, Madras, pp. 90-103), they were overtaken by Mahayana and ultimately by Yogachara. The point to remember is, that esoteric Buddhism with fully developed pantheon, reached the rugged valleys of Maharashtra by the 7th or 8th century A. D. Undeniable, as undoubted is the fact that they presuppose its origin and development somewhere else in this sub-continent in some undefined previous ages. Most probably there were two centres: one in the extreme North West in Gandhara and Suvastu (sic. Swat) and other in the extreme east at Karmakhyia etc. But some 'time allowance' must be made for them to migrate to hostile territories.

Current Affairs

All Symptoms and No Results

President Nixon says the world will soon become one and people will in the near future, move freely from one country to another, without any restrictions of any kind. America will become friendly with the rest of the world, including China and (we say) the kingdom of heaven on earth will become firmly established. The great politicians of past ages, some of whom were definitely greater men than President Nixon, harboured and gave expression to similar thoughts; but the world did not respond for the reason that neither America nor any other country agreed to sacrifice any of their interests, advantages or policies of self-aggrandizement. The Chinese emperors wanted to unite the world by conquering all countries and bringing them under a single imperial overlordship. Chengiz Khan, Tamer Lanc, Charlemagne, Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm or Hitler followed similar plans of world conquest; perhaps more for self glorification than for uniting the world. When communism arrived on the scene, the leaders of the workers of the world, expected to unite the world through a general acceptance of their ideology by the peoples of all countries. In Russia, the idea of conquest prevailed where it concerned the vassal soviet states of the erstwhile Czarist imperial territories. Other states which accepted communism of the Russian variety combined in a manner of speaking within the so called iron curtain, but the people of these states did not have the freedom to move about from state to state without let or hindrance. So

that neither imperialism nor communism succeeded in uniting the world in the sense that we understand human unity. President Nixon's "democratic" approach to world unity will be resisted by those who are not democratic in their outlook. If he is hoping to achieve this unity through what is called the spirit of peaceful co-existence, that can work only during the interim period between two wars.

We find Mr. Heath of Britain and M. Pompidou of France having talks of collaboration; but that concerns only the European Common Market and is purely a commercial matter. Such arrangements as may be made will estrange these countries from the world at large. And if a few governments fall in Europe the situation may change radically. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt is also trying for things but not succeeding in achieving whatever he is aiming at. In order to create an atmosphere, he is displaying a modification of Egypt's utterly pro-Russian policy. How far that is genuine and not merely a move which has Russia's approval, will become clearer after sometime. Russia's anti-zionist attitude, which has led to persecution of the Jews in Russia, makes it unlikely for Israel to be friendly with an Egypt which is for all practical purposes a vassal state of Russia. This move has therefore all the appearance of a tempting bait for the Israelis.

The most outrageous and politically dangerous incident that has occurred in recent times in any country is the Bangladesh affair of East Bengal. This fascistic genocide per-

petrated by the military dictators of a member state of the United Nations Organisation, has potentialities which can easily lead to a world war. Yahya Khan, the President of the martial law administration of Pakistan, appears to have made promises of terminating his autocratic rule and of setting up a democratic government. He ordered elections for this purpose and discovered, to his dismay, that his opposers had won an absolute majority in the elections. He therefore reimposed martial law, arrested many political leaders of East Bengal, where 98% of the voters had voted against Yahya Khan's men, and let loose a reign of terror in which hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were shot down by Yahya's soldiers. Rape, arson and loot became the order of the day and abductions of girls and young women were numberless. The powers, viz Britain, America, Russia, China and other states, got full information of these atrocities; but policy induced them to remain inactive. Oppositions in Britain and America, let the cat out of the bag in those countries. China and Russia did not have any opposition parties and, therefore, knew nothing officially about the facts of the 'revolt of East Pakistan.' But being well informed nations, by reason of possessing a very good system of espionage, which keeps the leaders of these dictatorial states properly posted about international matters; China and Russia cannot pretend to be ignorant about all that has happened and are happening in East Bengal. The policy of the powers, so far, has been to declare this hideous episode in Pakistan as an internal administrative matter which does not concern the outside world. If murdering half-a-million men women and children, abducting fifty thousand girls and women, numerous cases of rape, arson and looting; are just internal affairs of Pakistan; then the world should arrange to abolish Pakistan as a state; for humanity

should not tolerate the existence of a political entity which indulges in such awful crimes against humanity in the normal course of managing its internal affairs. The British press has been proclaiming the stoppage of all economic aid to Pakistan. So has the American press, by and large. But strangely enough both these states are trying to sneak in some fresh loans or gift of money to the arch criminals of Islamabad. This utterly sadistic organisation is now existing on help received from China and from the policy makers of Washington. The war crimes for which many top ranking Germans and Japanese were executed after W. W. II fade into insignificance in comparison with the crimes of Yahya Khan. When will he and his assistants climb the scaffold to pay for their inhuman atrocities?

The idea of world unity appears to be an unrealisable ideal. All nations which habitually act contrary to what is preached by them, are the nations that have the resources to break that unity even to the extent of starting world wars. So one has to face the unpleasant fact that the powers are self-seeking and insincere and they do not mean to bring about any international unity.

Jai Prakash Narayan's Visit to Cairo

Sir Jai Prakash Narayan went to Cairo to discuss Bangla Desh affairs with the president of UAR and the Egyptian Press. He could not see the president after waiting for two days and the Egyptian press did not shift from the position they have taken relating to the rebellion in East Bengal. They have chosen to believe that Pakistan administration is blameless in this matter and that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman is responsible for all that has happened. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, according to Pakistani assertions, is in custody at Rawalpindi. The Egyptians know this as they like to listen only to what the Pakistanis say.

If, then the Sheikh has been in custody since the 25th of March, how could he be responsible for anything that has happened since then. He did not even foresee what Yahya Khan had planned otherwise he would not have played into Yahya's hand. The Pakistanis have bombed many places from the air, shelled places by their artillery and bombarded other places from their naval craft. What did Mujibur do to justify such wanton use of force against a civil population? Why have the Pakistan army chased five million men, women and children into Indian territory? The Arab countries are at heart "Pan-Islamists" and they dislike the idea of Pakistan's disintegration. They are therefore ready to ignore facts and support the sadistic orgies that Yahya's soldiers have indulged in. What Mr. Narayan had expected to gain by going to Cairo is not known to us. He thought the President of the UAR would do something to make Pakistan stop this genocide in East Bengal. He should have known better; for people who kill 500000 men, women and children in cold blood are hardly of the type which is amenable to reason and will respond to appeals to the heart. Such types only understand brute force and should be subjected to military attack, conquest and subjugation to make them fit to live in a civilised world. As they are now, they deserve no human consideration.

Pakistan's Cricket

Pakistan has always been quite good at playing Cricket. But now after twenty four years of indulgence in things that are not cricket, Pakistan will miss the spirit of the game. In Britain this year the Pakistan Cricket team has been booed by large crowds which disapprove of Pakistan's actions in East Bengal. We don't think that the members of the cricket team

had any personal connection with the "affaire Yahya" in East Bengal; but national infamy is just as contagious as national glory, and that being so, the poor fellows would be affected by the mass criminality of their national army, navy and air force. In other words the Pakistani Cricket team would be suffering from some sort of an inferiority complex and that would interfere with their free self expression through proper bowling, batting and fielding in cricket. Of course if that happened and the Pakistanis did not do so well in their matches, Yahya Khan would say, India had put a spell on the cricket team of Pakistan by use of black magic. A stupid criminal who could say that the six million refugees from East Bengal who had entered India recently and among whom were 150000 babies, 200000 girls, 200000 boys, 500000 women of all ages, 300000 old men, were all Indian infiltrators going back to India; can fudge up any lie to satisfy his pathological outlook against India. This affaire Yahya is going to affect all human relations of Pakistan in all spheres of Pakistani life quite soon and the only way to save whatever semblance of good reputation Pakistan has as a nation, is by removing from power the criminals who now dominate the so-called Islamic Republic.

Arabs and Jews

There are vague talks about reopening the Suez Canal through friendly collaboration of Arabs and Jews; but no one knows precisely what actually is being aimed at. President Sadat is appearing to be assuming full powers and is trying to get rid of Russians as far as possible. That is, the Russians are now anti-Jewish and their presence in Egypt makes it difficult for President Sadat to establish friendly relations with Israel. At the same time, people are saying that the Russians are supplying the MIG 23, (Fox Bat) fighters to

Egypt ; which would be unlikely if Egypt did not have whole hearted friendly relations with the Kremlin. It is therefore thought that the real position is not what might appear on the surface. If the Suez Canal is opened, it would be advantageous for the Russians, because they have plans of developing their mercantile and naval connections with the countries which have ports in the Indian Ocean. The Arab-Jew conflict also has stabilized in a manner of speaking, as no further open war is expected in the area with territorial expansion as its purpose. If anything happens, Israel may agree to give up some conquered zones in exchange of a clear recognition by the Arabs of Israel's right over the rest of the area occupied by Israeli troops. Israel armed with American and French planes can meet any attack that the Arabs can make. They have however much to gain, politically if the Arabs recognized Israel as a state with clearly shown geographical boundaries.

China and U. S. A.

China has permitted a table tennis team from America to go to mainland China for participation in competitive games there. This

is indeed a departure from the policy that Mao 'se Tung had been following during recent years. We also hear that Mr. Chu En Lie has welcomed the team on arrival and has expressed hopes of seeing better political relations develop from this very sporting beginning. China appears to have realised that she cannot afford to have the two giants, USA and USSR as her enemies, and she is therefore trying to be friendly with the USA. The USA also considers it wise to keep out of war and to achieve its own objective by encouraging China, so that a Sino-Russian war may weaken both those countries ; leaving the USA as the strongest surviving power on Earth. The Chinese and the Americans can meet on neutral ground as they have no quarrels relating to ideological interpretations. Russia and China cannot come to any settlement as they differ on interpretations of Marxist doctrines. Thus similarities in faith and belief make differences insurmountable. Where there are basic and fundamental differences in beliefs, clashes donot occur for the reason that the two parties can not come close enough ideologically to fight over interpretations of dogma.



INDEPENDENT M. P.—A VICTIM OF IDEOLOGICAL INDECISION

PROF. C. R. RATHEE

Lord Asquith, the late Prime Minister of Great Britain once remarked while addressing an Independent member of the House of Commons, "either you are a Conservative or a Labour or a Liberal ; if you are neither you are a victim of ideological indecision." Most scientists and artists of politics have held almost an identical opinion about the place of Independent M.P.'s (un-attached, as they are known in Great Britain). One of the most successful Independent members of the First Lok Sabha, Dr. Lanka Sundaram said that "if in France, the difficulty is about a multitude of parties and groups in the Chamber of Deputies, the difficulty in India is about a multitude of individuals who seek to enter the nation's legislative bodies."

A comparative study of the composition of the legislative bodies all over the world would show that nowhere there are so many Independent legislators as in India. (It is another question that most Independents here are not genuinely so). The first Lok Sabha had as many as 38 Independent M.P.'s while in the fourth general elections, 43 members were elected as Independent.¹ Their number is manifold in the case of various State Legislative Assemblies. But more alarming than this is the number of persons who contest the election to the Lok Sabha in the capacity as Independents. From 529 such contestants in 1952, their number rose to 829 in 1967 and as

the press reports reveal nearly 1435 persons have filed Nominations Papers to contest the snap poll to the Lok Sabha scheduled to be held in the First week of March 1971. They may not fare well in view of the de-linked nature of the poll, as also in view of the alliances and adjustments among various political parties, but their re-entry to the Lok Sabha in a big way can not be altogether ruled out.

What is the role of an independent (genuinely unattached) M.P. in a political system like ours ? Is he of a likeable political species ? What is the record of parliamentary performance of the Independents during the last two decades of Lok Sabha ? And what are the practical disabilities of a genuinely unattached M.P. caused by the Parliamentary procedure ? A reply to these and allied questions should make an interesting, informative and highly valuable reading for anyone interested in the working of parliamentary government, not only in India but in any country of the world.

In a two party system like the one they have in Great Britain, candidates of minor parties have only a small chance of election and Independents virtually none. The five Labour Members who had been expelled from their party and stood as Independents at 1950—General Election were all heavily defeated. Independent candidates, generally

except in unusual circumstances, forfeit their deposits. It is the party label which counts and the general body of electors do not concern themselves much with the manner in which it is fixed, or on whom.³ In 1959 one Independent (Sir David Roberston) was elected but this was rather a special case in that Sir David had been previously elected as a Conservative, had resigned from the party on one specific issue and was not opposed by an official Conservative candidate. At the 1964 and 1966 elections, no Independents were elected in that country.² In fact with the abolition of the special constituencies for the British Universities, Independents as members of the House of Commons have become a thing of the past. The fact that every Member of the House of Commons has a party label has been lamented by some writers. For example, Dr. Ross wrote of the House of Commons elected in 1950 that it was something quite new in the history of this country in that (apart from the Speaker) every member was elected as a nominee or protégé of a major political party, and all but nine Liberals were tied to either the Conservative party or the Labour party. It had less variety of membership, was more purely a major-party House and had less freedom of opinion, than any of its predecessors down the centuries.¹

The present situation in England is that the entry to the House of Commons is controlled by parties. Without party-support, the prospects of election are negligible. "However desirable a sprinkling of Independent Members may be, it is very hard to think of any electoral system which would allow their election and yet still preserve the strength of two major parties which is essential for the British system of government. In theory, eminent persons of no-party can make a useful contribution to Parliament in the House of Lords. In practice, however, although some appointments of this kind are

made, the majority of peerages are awarded to party supporters".⁴ Even the House of Lords which is not taken seriously by the people, allows too few opportunities to men and women of no particular party to play their part in parliamentary life. In Britain an Independent M. P. is defined as the one who could not be depended upon.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram said "let there be no mistake that the Independents would be totally lost in even such huge houses as the Lok Sabha".⁵ His only regret is that the Independents are not unattached by conviction. Once they enter the portals of a legislature, they become or permit themselves to become waifs and strays. This fact has been amply borne out by a recent treatise on defection by Dr. Subhash C. Kashyap who has concluded that the Independents are the greatest danger to the fabric of parliamentary democracy. "Not being Independents on any principle, they were prepared to trade their labels and offer their vote to the highest bidder. The largest number of defectors to various political parties—most of them being to the Congress—were contributed by the Independents. Of the 174 Independents elected to the Assemblies in Bihar, Haryana, M.P., Manipur, Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P. and West Bengal, as many as 90 joined various parties after election. It was perhaps natural that under conditions of general instability and marginal majority governments, Independent legislators should be in a position to tilt the balance and often play the decisive role in toppling the existing governments and installing new ones."⁶ After the historic congress-split, the government at the Centre was also reduced to 'marginal-majority' and as things stand today, the mid-term poll may not be of much help in improving the numerical position of the ruling group. This naturally implies that if Independents continue to exist

in their present numerical strength, the game of defection we witness in states, may afflict the government at the centre also.

This, however, is not to decry the "Independent" as a totally useless political specimen. The Independents can enrich Parliamentary life with robust contributions; they can act as shock absorbers between the political parties perpetually-at-war and can ensure policy-making on consideration of merit. The proud parliamentary record of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Dr. Lanka Sundaram as Independents (to name only a couple of them) is a proof of the fact that they can play the role referred to above. But the tragedy is that genuine Independents like Dr. Kunzru and Dr. Lanka Sundaram are very rare.

The rules of procedure of the Lok Sabha are such that members belonging to 'recognised' political parties and groups get more opportunity to influence legislative business, which is the principal duty of a legislator in a democracy. The Independents are generally ignored. This explains the formation of 'Independents' Parliamentary Group in the fourth Lok Sabha.⁷ An independent member of Indian Parliament questioned as to the way he worked in the House of People, replied without hesitation, 'The first thing you have to understand is that a number of us Independents have formed a group'.⁸

The speaking time in Lok Sabha is allocated on the basis of party strength. Thus if $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours are allotted to the discussion of a bill (as was the case with Nath Pai's Bill in 1968 winter session) the Independents' share will be 29 minutes (taking into account the fact that in 1968 the Lok Sabha had sixty unattached M.P.'s).⁹ Whereas the parties give their allotted time to one or two of their spokesmen, frequently the party leaders, the Independents have to share their "29 minutes" among them is of no consequence. The Inde-

pendents are left to the attention of the Speaker. They may "catch the Speaker's eye" (only the prominent ones like Acharya J. B. Kriplani do) or they may fail to do so. Thus the opportunity to participate in the parliamentary life by an Independent M.P. depends on mere chance.

Once an Independent breaks through in debate, his next problem is one concerning the manner in which the House would listen to him. Normally, all the leaders of parties and groups, which are recognised as such, obtain a hearing which is dignified and respectful. In cases like those of the late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the attention bestowed on his intervention by the House was comparable to that which was available to the then Leader of the House itself, viz Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, this privilege is denied to most Independents who are perforce reduced to worse than nothingness.

Another disadvantage of an Independent M.P. is that he has neither the prestige of a party or group, nor the merit of their ideology or policy in general to back him up, and almost alone, unfriended, melancholy and slow, he has to fend for himself. Only men of recognised merit can ever hope to function as Independents, and as the process of survival is indeed a tremendous struggle, each minute, each day, and each month of their existence in Parliament counts. They have to break through the barricades of Parliamentary procedure—whether it be through submission of amendments, through resolutions, through special motions of privilege, or through points of order—to be able to get a hearing let alone a respectable hearing.

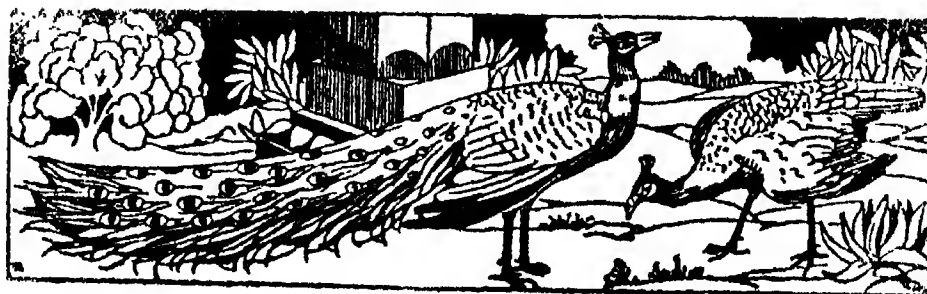
The work of the Lok Sabha is not confined only to the Question Hour and debates which come in a series phalanx, session after session. Equally significant is the committee work, without which any discussion of parlia-

mentary life remains incomplete. Dr. Lanka Sundaram very aptly says, "I consider that committee work is not only co-equal with work in the House itself, but is in some cases important. In fact the real test of a Parliamentarian is in committee, though this is an aspect of his career which is least publicised and is more or less completely hidden from the gaze of the public. I find that committee is most exhilarating though the dividends in terms of public recognition are extremely small. "It is very rare that the Independents find place on any of the important committees of the Parliament. And if at all some are associated with the committee work, they are not much bothered about.

The unattached M.P. is thus written off from Parliamentary pattern of Polity.

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$$\frac{\text{(total time allotted)}}{\text{Total Opposition strength}} \times \text{Party Strength}$$
 Half of total time goes to majority party.



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Khowja Faizullah

Khowja Faizullah was a young man of 25 to 30 years at the time of the Russian Revolution in Nov. 1917, and being impressionable was much moved by the communists and their program specially by land being confiscated from the land lords and distributed to the landless. He was not a communist theoretically but he organised a band of young people, mostly poor peasants and tried to overthrow the rule of the oppressive Ameer. It was primarily a peasant revolt and the Ameer was besieged in the Fort by the liberation army. Russia was herself attacked from all sides and had no spare forces to be sent to Bokhara, but due to the urgent appeal of Khowja Faizulla, sent a few guns & gunners, which completely turned the tide and the Ameer had to run away to Kabul. Khowja Faizulla was working in close relation with the Soviet Govt. in Moscow.

In fact, when we were in Bokhara, Khowja Faizullah was in Moscow for negotiating a treaty of friendship between the Soviet Govt. in Moscow and the National Soviet at Bokhara. He came back, when we were still in Bokhara, and we had the good luck of seeing the big and enthusiastic demonstration, that greeted him on his return from Moscow, after signing the treaty which was very favourable to Bokhara. We watched the huge procession with Khowja Faizulla at the head, which passed through the main market and important roads of the city. At the end there was a huge meeting where Faizulla explained the terms of the

treaty signed by him at Moscow on behalf of the Revolutionary Govt. of Bokhara. I attended the meeting with some of my colleagues. Maulana did not think it proper to attend the meeting though he watched the procession with keen interest. Khowja Sahib spoke in a dialect of Persian and I could follow only a little but I could hear his eloquent and forceful speech, punctuated by clappings and slogans very often and very vigorously. My colleagues explained the gist of the speech to me. I thought and Maulana Obeidulla, agreed, why not a National Soviet in India. But that was a long, long way off. Under the National Soviet, people were making much progress, in the short time of a few months, after the Ameer had fled away.

One of the eye witnesses of the Revolution was Comrade M. N. Roy, who had been sent to Bokhara by the Communist International with a watching brief. In his memoirs, he has graphically described, how the Army of Liberation, tackled the problems of the revolution and particularly of the big harem of the Ameer. It was much more crude than what Amanulla had done with the equally big harem of Ameer Habibulla, after Amanullah ascended the throne. In the former case, all Begums who had no issues were allowed to marry again, whomever they wanted. Those who had children, were given stipends or state help to rehabilitate themselves. In the case of Bokhara, the soldiers simply entered the harem and took any Begum, one liked and often

there were quarrels between the soldiers themselves for the possession of any beautiful Begum and the superior officers had to arbitrate in the process of peaceful distribution, the choice of the Begum herself being the deciding factor. The Begums were taken along with their earthly possessions, clothes, ornaments etc.

Attitude to Soviet Russia

My attitude to Soviet Russia, had a thorough change in her favour, after watching the situation in Bokhara. Formerly, I was thinking that Communism was another method of exploiting the non-white Asian people by the white people. Formerly, it was in the name of Christianity that the white exploited the non-white. This idea of mine got very much modified by what I saw and learnt in Bokhara. Moulana himself was also much moved but he was rather a hard nut to crack, specially because his whole training and thinking was on the basis of religion, but even he modified his non-communist attitude very considerably. Being a convinced atheist, it was much more easy for me to take an objective view. Maulana had a short and formal interview with Khawja Faizullah, where only mutual appreciation was expressed.

To Tashkent

From Bokhara, arrangements were made for our trip to Tashkent. This time the arrangements were made by the Govt. of Bokhara. Some of us including the Moulana, were keen to reach Moscow soon, but that could not be arranged easily from Bokhara, the communications being not very quick. However, when it was decided to go to Tashkent, it was in a way happy to be able to spend a few days in a real Soviet state (not National Soviet as in Bokhara) of backward and non-white Asians.

The journey to Tashkent was eventless, only the carriage was better and also the speed

of the train. The Railways had been repaired properly up to Bokhara and the railway journey was as in India. Only it was winter and the trees were leafless and there was snow on the fields and on the leafless trees.

Uzbek Soviet

The people of Tashkent are called Uzbeks and the similarity between the Bengali word *ujbuck* (a fool) and the word *uzbek*, was made occasion for humorous references. At Tashkent we were lodged in a hotel like establishment. It was no more of the feudal type as in Bokhara. We had good rooms and beds. We had food served in the European style on tables with chairs to sit and not squatting on blankets and taking meals collectively. We were approaching Europe, and adopting European style, step by step. Now Tashkent has become an important Geographical name for Indians, as the treaty between India and Pakistan was negotiated and settled there after 18 days of war between the two countries. The good offices of Soviet Russia was welcomed by both India and Pakistan and the negotiations were direct between the two countries. Soviet Russia, being the host country, with a watching brief only. Late Lal Bahadur Shastri was the then Prime Minister of India, who had conducted the war with great grit and skill and showed that the might of India had to be reckoned with by the sabre-rattling Pak Army, in contrast with the gentle attitude and talk of late Lal Bahadur. His death soon after the conclusion of the talks at Tashkent itself, has left a poignant memory, associated with the name of Tashkent for all Indians. India was deprived of the opportunity of honouring and giving a hero's welcome to late Lal Bahadur after the successful talks. This is recent history.

But Tashkent was famous from the days of Taimur Lung. His Capital at Samarkand.

has still the blue domed tomb of the great warrior with insatiable lust for conquest which Delhi and Northern India had to suffer from by his invasion. The Capital was shifted from Samarkand to Tashkent many centuries back. Now Samarkand is an abandoned city whereas Tashkent is flourishing more and more. When we reached Tashkent, we found there were two Tashkents, as we had two Delhis and two Calcuttas during the British Rule.

Two Tashkents

There was one Tashkent, with wide clean streets, better houses, streets better lighted. Where the Russian Rulers mainly used to stay and the other was dirty and congested with narrow roads and poor houses or huts. In Delhi, the new Delhi and old Delhi may be contrasted and similarly in Calcutta, Chourin-ghce may be contrasted with Shambazar or Kidderpur.

But after the Revolution, the former rulers the Russians were no longer there, except a small garrison. All ministers were Uzbeks but still the age old difference of the two sections remained, not as Russians and Uzbeks, but at the rich and the poor sections of the town. After the Revolution, no such wide differences remained between Uzbeks and Uzbeks. Though difference of income were brought down to only 1 to 10, but some people had still some wealth accumulated in the past and not completely confiscated and so they managed to have a little higher standard of living than the other wage-earners or peasants. There was attempt to improve the 'poor' Tashkent and bring it nearer to the standard of the rich Tashkent.

N. E. P.

In Bokhara, Russians were very scarce, but in Tashkent there were many shops and business establishments, which were run by

Russians. With the introduction of New Economic Policy or NEP, many Russians restarted their shops and businesses, in the fashionable quarters. In the old or 'native' part of the city however, the old order of buying and selling, weekly markets and haggling continued unchallenged.

In the barbers shops young and attractive assistants, mostly Jewish, were engaged not for hair cuts or shaves, but to attract customers, as is the custom in Europe and specially in Japan.

There was the weekly and also daily market in the old city, where one could buy vegetables, meat and fish rather cheap and we used to frequent those markets for our special menu. There were tea shops where people used to assemble and use them as clubs. People used to take tea in rounds and rounds, eat some snacks and play chess and spend the time in gossiping. On Fridays or other holidays or leave days, the tea shops were full to the brim. They were mostly in their native dresses.

1922 and 1963

It was in 1922, but when I was returning from Moscow after three weeks tour as head of May Day delegation of Hind Mazdur Sabha in May 1963, I had to stay in Tashkent for 24 hours due to inclement weather. I made it a point to see not only the big wide roads and big houses being built in both the Tashkents (old and new or poor and rich) but made it a point to go to the old market and take tea and snacks in one of the tea shops or tea clubs there. The main difference I could see, was that many of them had European style of dress. Seeing a foreigner, they got interested and offered me a cup of tea free from their tea pot. When the tea pot was exhausted I ordered one tea pot and we all shared the tea in a leisurely manner. When I told them that I was there 41 years back, frequenting those very tea shops almost in the same conditions

they become naturally more interested. The language used for talks was Persian mixed with Russian and I could follow them, though they had some difficulty in understanding me. Maulana also used to go with us to the same market place and sit with us in the tea shops. Long 41 years had passed and there were many new and fashionable Hotels and Restaurants had been started, but my attraction was for the old tea shops, frequented by us 41 years back. I knew much of their present day conditions of life and they freely spoke to me about themselves and they also put many intelligent questions to me about conditions in Independent India.

After a stay of about a week, arrangements for our journey to Moscow were completed and one fine morning, we went to the station and boarded the train. It was a passenger train and nine of us were put in one compartment. It was congested no doubt for a long journey of three thousand miles from Tashkent to Moscow.

One dropped in Tashkent

During these days, from crossing the river Oxus, upto our stay in Tashkent, we found out, that we were not getting the V.I.P. treatment as Maulana Obeidulla and ourselves had expected from the talks in superlatives by Ahmad Hossain. He was disappointed too, but things had changed specially due to the NEP or New Economic Policy. Moreover, Soviet Russia had the worst famine year in 1921, when millions had died of famine, for peasants refused to grow food as a protest against heavy levy by Government. By 1922, things had improved as a result of mass transportation of peasants to Siberia to starve or do slave labour. But still in December 1922, Soviet Russia was not out of the woods and almost famine conditions prevailed. Hence the treatment given to us, was far short of expectations. We, rather the Maulana, decided that we should reduce our number as much as possible. The advance party should proceed to Moscow as quickly as possible and the rest would be sent for from Moscow, if the conditions were favourable. Maulana's idea was that out of ten of us

five should start first and the other five should wait at Tashkent, till he sent for them. But it did not work. Ahmad Hossain had to go to make arrangements and Abdul Aziz was his Ward. The Maulana was the most important person and his trusted lieutenant Jaffar Hossain and his nephew, his personal attendant could not be left back. Iqbal Sadai and his ward Quader also could not be left out. Dr. Noor Md., the only one who had ample resources of his own could not be left out. I volunteered to stay back, but being the only man from Bengal and incidentally, the only Hindu could not be allowed to remain behind—that was the firm opinion of Maulana. The only one who could be left behind was Abdul Rashid, the teacher and he arranged to do so voluntarily. It was thought that he could stay at Bokhara or even go back to Kabul and be a teacher once more and thus keep the line of communication between India and the Maulana, wherever he might be.

Ultimately Abdul Rashid, the school master was left behind. There was not much money to spare for him, but all the surplus articles which were bought in Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif and brought by individuals with them for fear of not getting them in Russia viz extra suits, shirts, under wear, boots, slippers, boot polish, tooth pastes etc were left behind with Abdul Rashid. The NEP allowed us to buy them and there was no necessity to carry them. This reduced our luggage to one-third only. I had not much to spare, but I left my bed sized, Persian carpet which I had bought at Mazar-e Shareef and also my pashin or sheep skin which smelt sheeplike, as the fleece was not properly treated. The last one was almost a good riddance, as the others in the team had been objecting to it. Abdul Rashid was to dispose of them as best as he could. The total value was about Rs. 2000/- in all. Even if he could dispose of them at half the price, it would be neat little sum to last him some 6 months at least. It was not an ideal arrangement. But there was no other alternative.

So, from Tashkent 9 of us sped towards Moscow in December 1922, in a passenger train.

PARKINSON'S LAWS

JATINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE

Professor C. Northcote Parkinson, once a professor of History in Malaya, has become law-giver to all who sit at a desk. His principle of work dilatation and staff expansion is, in its own sphere, as perturbing as Darwin's theory of natural selection and Freud's theories of sex and the unconscious.

Before he put forward his now well-known Parkinson's Law, the name Parkinson was in vogue only in the medical world in connection with Parkinson's disease or shivering palsy. Now it is associated with diseases of bureaucracy and business administration,

While a professor of History in Malaya, he wrote an article in 1931, entitled "The Educationists and the Pyramid", as a rejoinder to a politician, who had reportedly assured a conference on adult education that governments in Malaya were over-worked and understaffed. He questioned whether over-working was a symptom of under staffing. According to him "A large staff creates work for itself by a law of its own nature which has yet to be plotted on a graph, and it grows still larger by a progression best shown as oversteepening course". The rule is that to raise the summit of your pyramid you must widen the base. This is Parkinson's law in embryo. He little dreamt then that he would one day rock the foundations of bureaucracy and big business.

It was only in 1955 that he gave the final shape to the idea by writing an article published in the London "Economist" and in 1957, the essay was published in book form, along with other perceptive studies, under the title

"Parkinson's Law." According to him, "Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion". Even the bureaucrats now acknowledge the truth of Parkinson's Law after they have put in their pension papers.

The Law is in the form of a Syllogism. The major premise is that officials want to multiply their subordinates, not their rivals. The minor premise is officials make work for one another. The conclusion is, work is in no way related to staff expansion. By inference, it is related only to the time factor.

The working of Parkinson's Law is best seen in large organisations with a strongly hierarchical structure and large quantities of paper work, to which every employee contributes his mite. Instead of searching for post-cards and addresses etc. by an elderly lady wishing to write a post-card to her niece and requiring an hour in finding the post-card, another hour in hunting for spectacles, another half an hour in search of the address etc., a paragraph is struck out out from a draft by an employee in a large organisation and another of identical import substituted or a file is passed on from desk to desk till it reaches an employee, who can not claim that it is not his baby.

Parkinson propped up his Law with statistics from the British Navy Estimates and the Cabinet Office. He demonstrated how, in one case, the clerical staff has increased by leaps and bounds with the decline in the number of capital ships in commission, and, how, in the other, it has gone from strength to strength as the number of Britain's colonies decreased.

'The Law and the Profits' exposes the twin themes of Parkinson, viz., waste in administration and excessive taxation. In it he enunciated his Second Law, namely, 'expenditure rises to meet income'. It is a serious work with under-lying humour. If Kinsey fathered applying statistics to sex, Parkinson pioneered in showing that figures can be tinged with fun. According to him, excessive taxation is like killing the goose that lays golden eggs. It (excessive taxation) has played a great part in the gradual dwindling of many States, both ancient and modern, and was an upshot of extravagance and waste. It often became a cause for revolt and rebellion. In modern times, the tax-payer seems to be helpless about high taxation. He does in fact evade the tax when the cost of evasion becomes less than the cost of paying up. Alternatively there might be flight of capital. The mortal limit of taxation, in times of peace, is 36 per cent of the national income.

Parkinson's researches on Comitology have demonstrated that committee has an optimum size, beyond which it ceases to be effective, as conversations develop in eddies and pools in different parts of the table. Experiments have confirmed his observations about the behaviour of groups. One person (the ideas specialist) does most of the talking, while another (the most-liked man) does most of the dittoing, and the rest are the 'don't know' types, which constitute the 'centre block'.

In the working of a finance committee, the critical point at which the members lose interest in the items on the agenda, is when the sum involved passes beyond their comprehension, for example, £ 100 million, what is beneath their notice, for example £ 50. This is the Law of Triviality.

Parkinson has great in-sights into the organic nature of human organisations, be they committees, industrial empires or depart-

ments of government. Like living beings, these are subject to the biological law of birth, growth and death. His Third Law avers "Expansion means complexity, and complexity leads to decay. Perfection of planning is achieved only by institutions on the point of collapse". A magnificent edifice generally houses a moribund organisation. The great days of the Papacy were no more when Basilica and the Vatican were even planned. New Delhi was constructed when the British Empire was already on the wane.

The diseases of organisations are similar to those of the human beings. The symptoms of the disease are inefficiency, stagnancy and finally decay. Cure in the primary stage consists in the injection of drugs, Intolerance, Ridicule and Castigation. In the Secondary stage, blood transfusion is required. In the third stage, there is no known recipe for the malaise, and the building should be destroyed to prevent further infection, after heavily insuring it.

Parkinson discovered sex in the Limited Liability Company. A male organisation has a rough exterior and is inclined to be extravagant and aggressive in its methods. The female organisation has neat, tidy offices, and is likely to be cautious and fussy over details. The sexuality of firms became manifest during the Great Depression, when they embraced with one another, and underwent mergers.


Parkinson's literary ancestors are John Mansfield, Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton. He resembles Chesterton in his frequent use of paradox to startle the reader, but unlike G. K. Chesterton, who often sells the reader a dummy, Parkinson gives facts and figures to buttress an apparently absurd statement. As a humorist he belongs to the down-roarious school, which employs under-statement and is more subtle than the humour of exaggeration. A favourite device of his is to introduce an air of absurdity with that of solemnity.

In common with other humorists, he is not fortunate with his serious writings. He recently complained that his wrong book, namely, Parkinson's Law, has attracted the greatest attention, where as his most important book "East and West" almost goes unnoticed. It is just like Lewis Carroll, who has become immortal for 'Alice in Wonderland', while his mathematical books have sunk into oblivion.

Parkinson's Laws have spread their tentacles in administration and big business in India as well. The personnel of the bureaucracy is

getting more inflated day by day. Nearly two-third of the entire revenue goes to meet the expenses of the public servants, as in the case of Kerala and other States. Public Sector undertakings share the same fate. Yet there are frequent strikes, hunds etc. to enhance the wages of the public servants, though there is no machinery to enforce the corresponding duty of full work to inculcate efficiency and to increase production to ensure economic prosperity among the members from the highest to the lowest cadre of the bureaucracy.

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Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Industrial Disputes Act Outdated

The following extract is from the *Coal Field Tribune*.

Asansol, April 23. West Bengal Labour Minister Dr. Gopal Das Nag told the reporters here to day that the Industrial Disputes Act was out-dated and it should be amended to suit the time. In regard to police intervention in labour disputes, Dr. Nag said that "under normal case, police will not interfere into democratic trade union movement nor police will be utilised to curb trade union rights of workers. Police, he said, however, would interfere in case of breach of peace in industry. He also stated that the casual and the temporary workers engaged in industries would be brought into permanent basis. In regard to re-opening of closed mines, Dr. Nag stated that Govt. was alive to the situation and very soon it would take the matter with the Centre because, coal was Centre's jurisdiction.

In a sense all legislation becomes obsolete as changes occur in the social, industrial, political and other fields of life. But legislations continue to function until suitable amendments are clearly and precisely worked out by constructive thinkers. Mere criticism does not achieve anything useful.

Brahmo Movement of Orissa

Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen has written an interesting account of the growth of the Brahmo Samaj in Orissa in the *Indian Messenger*. The Brahmo Samaj changed and developed the nation's social and moral ideals and attitude very profoundly and the history of the Brahmo Samaj is an integral part of the history of modern India and of the change over from

mediaevalism to a progressive outlook. We are giving certain excerpts from Prof. Sen's article.

A branch of the Adi Brahmo Samaj was established in Cuttuck by Maharshi Devendra-nath Tagore when he came to visit his zamindari in 1861. Babus Jagamohun Ray, Gourisankar Ray, Trailokyanath Mukherjee and others were associated with the Samaj. Weekly Divine Service according to the ritual of the Adi Brahmo Samaj was held every Wednesday at a Mandir constructed through the efforts of Babu Jagamohun Ray. In 1869 Babu Haranath Bhattacharyya came to Cuttuck as a Professor in the college classes attached to the Cuttuck Zilla School. Educated in the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, he, very early in life, came under the influence of Keshub Chandra Sen and, though not formally initiated into Brahmoism, led his life according to its principles. Some worked with him and accepted the Brahmo religion. Among them Pyarimohun Acharyya, Madhusudan Rao and Chaturbhuj Pattnaik were the leaders.

Madhusudan was the centre of the entire group. During his career in the education department he, through his poems and essays prescribed as text-books for young students, through journals that he edited, through the sermons he preached, spread the ideals of the Samaj among the people of Orissa. He established the Town School for placing high and liberal ideals before young students. On his initiative eminent Brahmos came to Orissa as teachers and strengthened the influence of the Brahmo Samaj.

Pearymohun, a serious and meditative young man, was enthusiastic about all progre-

ative movements. Even when he was a student he started in 1871 a journal, *Utkal Putra*, where he and his associates fearlessly criticised the actions of the authorities. For one of its articles he was expelled from the school. Convinced of the necessity of another school in the town he, along with Pandit Govinda Rath, developed an existing pathshala into a school. For defraying its expenses he led a very frugal life and utilised all that he could thus save. He afterwards became the Manager of Dompura state and spent all his income for meeting the deficit of the school. He wrote a learned History of Orissa which was for some time used as a text-book. He was a speaker of no mean order and used to spread liberal ideas on educational and social reform through his speeches. His was a very short life of usefulness and he died in 1881.

Haranath Bhattacharyya established the Utkal Brahmo Samaj in 1869. It used to hold its sittings every Saturday evening, in the Adi Brahmo Samaj building with the permission of the Managing Committee.

Meantime a group of youngmen attracted by the sermons of Madhusudan joined the Brahmo Samaj. Viswanath Kar was going away from Cuttuck to join his appointment as a teacher in Nirole. He accidentally attended the maghotsab at the Mandir. Madhusudan's fervent prayer and sermon delivered on that occasion changed his entire outlook on life. He joined the Brahmo Samaj and, boldly confronting the oppressions of orthodoxy, continued to serve it till the end of his life. He edited *Utkal Sahitya* for long thirty eight years and made it a power in Orissa. By his lifelong endeavours he established a high standard of literature, which strongly influenced modern writers. His strong personality left its stamp in all the different spheres of activities, social literary and political in which he participated.

Sadhucharan Ray joined the Brahmo Samaj inspite of the oppressions of his relatives. He showed great moral courage and faced all critical situations fairly and squarely. As a teacher of Pyarimohan Academy and the Cuttuck Town School he tried to instill into his pupils higher ideals both social and religious. He was a noted man of letters. He was one of the principal contributors to *Utkal Sahitya*, edited *Nabasambad* and wrote several books of poetry. He was an active worker of the Utkal Brahmo Samaj.

World Bank and Pakistan

Patrick Keathy writing in *Guardian Weekly* says:

"The World Bank is believed to have completed its report on the debt crisis of President Yahya Khan and his Administration in Pakistan and is forwarding copies to Britain and the seven other Western Governments in the Aid Consortium.

"The document has been prepared by a senior official of the bank, Mr. I Cargill, who spent the first part of last week (week ending May 8th 1971) in Rawalpindi collecting information and interviewing senior officials of the Pakistan Government. Mr. Cargill acts as chairman of the consortium meetings.

"Member-Governments of the consortium can act individually if they decide, and the United States has already told President Yahya that American military and economic aid has ceased and will not resume until certain conditions are accepted by his Government. This was conveyed by Washington about a fortnight ago and clearly involved conditions bearing on the actions of the Pakistan troops in East Bengal, where the nationalist movement under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been banned.

"The U. S. has also turned down an emergency mission sent to Washington recently

by President Yahya with a request for £ 40 millions in economic aid.

"On April 30 a Pakistan was forced to announce postponement of interest and other servicing payments on her existing foreign aid programme. It is believed that these payments, amounting to about £ 80 millions, were due in the period beginning May 1. President Yahya's Government now says that it will attempt to resume payments on November 1.

"The report...will...guide...the Governments of the Aid Consortium in deciding on a joint strategy over Pakistan...experts...feel...Yahya's problems are insoluble as long as he continues.....military repression."

Phenomenal Growth of State Expenditure

We are reproducing below the Rajasthan letter published in *Swarajya* weekly of May 8, 1971. The statement showing the states financial condition as compared to what it was like about twenty years ago is interesting in so far as it is typical of what has happened in the other states of India. The central government too falls in line with the states in matters financial.

Jaipur, April 22: Since Rajasthan came into being the *per capita* tax burden has been on the increase—going up to Rs. 37.99 during 1971-72. In 1950-51 the tax burden was only Rs. 6.99, both direct and indirect. In other words, the *per capita* tax burden has increased by Rs 31 in the last 20 years.

According to the Finance Minister, Mr Mathura Das Mathur, the Rajasthan budget in 1950-51 had shown a surplus of Rs 1.15 crores as against the staggering deficit of Rs 25.51 crores registered during 1971-72. On March 31, 1951, the Government's total debts were to the tune of Rs 9.57 crores, compared to Rs. 674.14 crores at the close of 1970-71. No doubt, the value of the assets has

correspondingly gone up from Rs 24.56 crores then to Rs 588.95 crores now.

Talking about the *per capita* income, Mr Mathur said that it was only Rs 233 in 1954-55. According to the revised estimates of 1969-70, the *per capita* income of Rajasthan has gone up to Rs 496. He also said that during 1971-72 the State's administrative expenditure would be 56.37 per cent of the total revenue expenditure.

The Government came under heavy fire in the State Assembly during the five-day general discussion on the budget for 1971-72. Not without surprise some Congress members also criticized the Government for increasing its administrative expenditure by resorting to overdrafts. The members pointed out that the fiscal position of the Government had become extremely critical and urged that immediate remedial measures be taken. They also asked the Government to effect economy in its administrative expenditure.

Mr Sukhadia intervening in the debate, justified the heavy loans the Government had taken in order to build up the infrastructure of the State's economy. He assured the members that the Government was in a position to repay the loan besides meeting its interest liability. The Chief Minister said that acute famine conditions in a major part of Rajasthan during the last ten years had shattered the economy in the countryside.

The Finance Minister said that it might not be possible to find out productive and non-productive investments made by the last 20 years. He however admitted that the interest liability of the Government had increased to Rs 35 crores.

Moshe Dayan Speaks

There is much talk about Arab Israeli settlement now. It does not appear that either side will agree to any substantive compromise. The Defence Minister of Israel,

Mr. Moshe Dayan says, "we want security, not documents" and sums up his statement in the following manner.

"Finally, a few words on our army. I want to state just one thing, a very general formula—namely, that it is our belief that, should the Egyptians decide to resume the war, the Israel Defence Force will not be routed. All of us—soldiers and civilians alike—wish for the cease-fire to turn into permanent peace. But in addition to its wish for peace, the Israel Defence Force is also equipped, drawn up and prepared for war. I trust that not only we, but also our neighbours and their advisors, are aware of this. And this will perhaps decide their considerations and pave the way for serious peace negotiations."

News From Holland

We reproduce the following from *The Netherlands*:

State of the Netherlands increases its interest in KLM to 70%

The holding of the State of the Netherlands in Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM) is to be raised from something over 50% to about 70%. To this end the net worth of the company will be increased by f200 million to f 510.54 million. This f 200 million will be issued exclusively to the State of the Netherlands in the form of 5% preference shares.

All the same time the Government credit guarantees granted to KLM will be prolonged and raised from f 100 million to f 200 million. The law which enabled the Government to grant guarantees up to f 100 million to KLM expired on 1st January, 1971.

You can have an Electro Cardiogram made by Telephone in the Netherlands ?

The Dutch Postal Service has developed equipment making it possible to transmit an electro-cardiogram by telephone, using the ordinary cables. This new technique, described as "telecardiography", enables economy

doctors of the postal service to pass an electrocardiogram by telephone to the headquarters of their organisation's central medical service, located in The Hague. An electrocardiogram is a graph of the changes of electric current occurring during the action of the heart muscle and it is one of the most important aids to the study of normal and abnormal heart conditions.

A rather similar transmission technique is already in use in other parts of the world. But this technique is unsuitable for the Dutch telephone cable network, and furthermore works well on short distance only. The techniques developed by the Dutch postal service is geared to the properties of the telephone system in Holland and can be used for long-distance transmission, as well.

The development may be seen as a continuation of a Dutch tradition, for cardiography was, in fact, developed in this country. The basis for it was laid by Holland's Nobel-Prize winning physiologist Professor Willem Einthoven, who died in 1927.

State and Private Enterprise

J. B. Kripalani has contributed a very interesting article on the above subject in the *Swarajya* of May 29, 1971. We reproduce below his major contentions :

In politics one can use words that are undefined and lack content. One can indulge in double talk and half-truths and slogans. One can say one thing and mean another and do something quite different. For instance, a dictatorship may be called a democracy—people's democracy, grass-root democracy, guided democracy, etc. One can talk of peace between nations, produce armaments and supply them to other countries who want to use them for aggressive purposes and even to suppress legitimate and peaceful freedom movements, within their own borders. A nation can talk of peaceful co-existence and yet

enslave weaker neighbours and tell them that this is being done for their own good, to civilize them or to change their social order for the better. A nation can call aggression self-defence. Politicians can acquire dictatorial powers maintaining the form of democracy. There is nothing in politics which cannot be made to appear what it is not by the manipulation of words and phrases.

This manipulation through words is not possible in economics ; at least it is much less possible. Anyway, it can soon be found out. This is because economics has less to do with words and more to do with the hard facts of life. For instance, it deals with the creation of wealth, its exchange and distribution. These processes cannot be done by the manipulation of words and phrases or by indulging in slogans. One cannot create wealth by misguiding people through words as one can acquire power in the political field. A government can be changed by a military or a political coup, but economic power cannot be created through a coup. It requires hard labour ; it requires capital, which can come only from previous savings ; it requires knowhow ; it requires an established and functioning social order.

In India, we have been trying to establish socialism merely by repeating the word, by striking attitudes or by trying to divide existing wealth, which may or may not be used for future production. Such short-cuts to increased production may help win political elections, but they cannot create wealth. They cannot provide employment or reduce poverty.

For many years now, we have been arguing about the respective merits of the private and State undertakings. We have been conditioned to think that wealth is best created and fairly distributed through State and not through private enterprise. We seem to think that wealth is created without previous savings but through taxation, or through foreign borrowings or, worse still, through inflation. We

also seem to believe that the wealth of the capitalists is the result of the exploitation of labour, as the capitalists work for private profit. It is forgotten that if a capitalist did not use his savings for expanding industry, it will soon disappear. It will yield no profit to the capitalist. The capitalist can enjoy his ill-begotten wealth only for a time. For the continued enjoyment of his savings he must reinvest his savings.

In India, the fact is conveniently ignored that all enterprise, whether in the so-called State or so-called private sector, is national. State enterprise may not be properly run. In that case, it will work against the best interests of the nation and even of labour, for whose benefit it is supposed to have been undertaken. On the other hand, private enterprise working for private profit may be so well conducted as to benefit labour, the consumer and the nation and also make some savings for future production. If these conditions are fulfilled by State enterprise, it will also be equally beneficial to all the parties concerned. The conflict is not and should not be between State and private enterprise but between enterprise well and efficiently run against enterprise inefficiently and wastefully managed.

The affluent nations in the West as well as Japan and Formosa, have all prospered through so-called private enterprise, well-organized and well conducted. Labour in these countries enjoys facilities not available even to the middle class people in the developing countries. In affluent societies, a labourer working in the private sector owns a neat little house, his own private car, a telephone, a refrigerator, a radio and television set in his house. His children have a fair amount of basic education which they can increase so as to be able to occupy the highest positions in a democracy. The labourer in these countries enjoys more comforts than the labourer in

communist countries where all economic activity is in State hands.

In addition, the former enjoys democratic freedom. He values this freedom. He controls to a great extent the government, through his vote. He could clothe the State if he so desired with power to manage the entire economic life of his country ; but he is zealous of his rights as a free citizen.

Man may make a machine and be enslaved by his own creation. The common people in affluent societies seem to have learnt the dictum of Lord Atkin that, 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. They, therefore, do not want to arm the State both with political and with economic power. They do not want the State to force them to be happy. They want to enjoy the fruits of their labour in the way they think best, while not interfering with the similar liberty of others. They have realized that they can do this only in a climate of freedom of the individual, guaranteed by democracy. Labour in affluent countries is against communism, because it believes that under democracy with all its shortcomings, the members of its class are the masters in their homes, which they consider their castle.

I am afraid that some intellectuals and politicians in India are so enamoured of the word 'socialism' that they refuse to think in practical economic terms. They believe that private enterprise is capitalism. It is, therefore imperialism. This may have been true in the days of Marx. There were empires before the rise of capitalism. They forget that despite private enterprise, small European countries like the Baltic States, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and several others have not become imperialists. They find that private enterprise, under democratic discipline, gives them all the economic advantages, promised but not achieved under communism. In affluent societies, there are,

of course, people who possess great wealth. But the labourer is not jealous of this wealth because he enjoys the basic necessities of life, which keep on increasing with enhanced economic production and general prosperity. The Labour Party in Britain has tried to establish social justice without claiming to have established 'socialism' which word is vague and undefined.

The question then arises : "Why do some of our intellectuals and politicians fail to see that the economic problem in India, as elsewhere in democratic countries, is not whether private or State enterprise works for the public good ? Both can work for the good of the nation as we have said before, if they are run properly. Both can harm the nation if defectively run. Rather, an improperly run State enterprise may prove to be worse as, both its capital and losses are borne by the helpless tax-payer who is generally poor.

If some intelligent people in India are against private enterprise and in favour of State enterprise even when they criticize its working, they are so, may I submit, because they feel that the advocacy of State enterprise is radical, leftist and socialist politics. Their preference has little to do with economic considerations. This is the politicalization of economics, which should stand on its own feet and be judged by its own laws and standards.

Politics and economics will prosper when each observes its own laws, so to say, its own 'Dharma'. Maybe the *Dharma* of Economics is inferior to that of politics. But, inferior though it be, it will benefit the country if it follows its own laws. In an organized society no department of life works in isolation. There are predominantly political, economic, social, moral and religious departments of life, each controlled and governed by its own laws and formulations.

In what I have written, it must not be

thought that I am in favour of private as against State enterprise. I am in favour of neither, nor against either. My submission is, let both systems be judged on their merits and not on grounds of political ideas, ideologies and slogans. Each must be judged by the advantage accruing therefrom in terms of public good or the good of all.

Robbery with Violence to Secure arms and explosives

The police in India do not feel ashamed of their own ineffectiveness, nor are they considered to be useless by our top ranking politicians by reason of their failure to protect the lives and properties of the citizens of India. So India continues to maintain a large and expensive police force, while thieves, robbers, wagon breakers, murderers, bomb throwers and all other varieties of criminals move about freely and indulge in their evil practices without much inconvenience. No one has made a statistical study of crimes in India and worked out the percentages of detections, prosecutions and convictions. But the general impression is that of the numerous crimes committed very few are detected and sent up for trial.

The police have recently been faced with a very large number of robberies for obtaining arms and explosives. The following extract from the *Coal Field Tribune* gives a typical example.

"Asansol, May, 5. About 42,000 high explosive detonators were said to have been stolen at the small hours on May 3 from the magazine of Sripur Group of Collieries."

"The miscreants overpowered the magazine guards and made good their escape with the booty. This is the second big theft of detonators from colliery magazine in about one month's time. It may be recalled that 31,000 high explosive detonators, and 17,000 ft. safety fuse were stolen from the New Satgram Colliery magazine on April, 5."

The police have not been able to do anything remarkable in stopping this type of crime either. The only thing they have been able to suggest is that people should not keep any fire arms, but deposit the same with the police. But arms are also stolen from police armouries. Some cases are recorded where armed policemen have been overpowered by miscreants who have snatched away the arms in the possession of the armed policemen. In the circumstances arms kept in the custody of the police are no more safe than if they were kept by their owners. The only thing that will help will be legislation permitting the use of fire arms against persons who try to steal or rob the same. Handing over fire arms to the police will be of no use; for the police will never be able to give protection to the life and property of the people who now hold licences for fire arms. The police will then perhaps suggest that people should deposit their cash ornaments and other valuables with the police too. Looting does not end with gold or silver either. In Birbhum and Burdwan, for instance, cutting off other people's crops, removing paddy from granaries by force and chasing out the rightful owners by setting fire to their huts have been fairly common. The Police could not prevent these acts of lawlessness. They even did not suggest that the crops and the grain should be deposited with the police for safe custody.

In short the Police cannot grant safe custody to anything. The entire police organisation has become ineffective and should be replaced by a more reliable and efficient organisation. No legislation can do any good to society if the enforcement of such laws rests in the hands of untrustworthy sympathisers of the criminals. The public should insist on setting up their own organisation for protecting their life and property. They must force the government to agree to this.

Corpses in the Sun

The *New Statesman* in its editorial says :

Starvation has been a weapon of war since the first siege and starvation's grim companion has always been disease. But what was previously left to history to unfold is now exposed to the world's gaze even as it happens. No one can claim not to know what is going on in East Bengal. The corpses rot in the sun on colour television. Six months ago, the world's reaction was automatic and easy. As the flood waters surged across land the desire, even if ineffective, was to give. But armies are not floods. In six short months, the politics of charity have become much more complex. Only the naive - or the self-interested—will respond to the West Pakistanis' present claim for aid without considering General Yahya Khan's motives, and the likely results of giving him what he wants. For two weeks, the General's closest adviser, Mr. M. M. Ahmed, has been trying to bring pressure on the American Government and the International Monetary Fund, for a handout now and a big future commitment. He has been telling them, in effect, that his country is bankrupt. The civil war is costing some \$2m. a day. It has swallowed up Pakistan's foreign exchange resources—more than half of which originated in the east wing. It has been estimated that Mr. Ahmed and his master require \$500m. to save only the western half of Pakistan alone—not to mention the amount needed to repair the appalling damage which natural and man-made disasters have inflicted upon the east. The built-in reaction is to give Yahya the money. The Islamabad government has long links with the West, not least through the army officer caste which provided its last two Presidents. Capitalist governments in general have an interest in preserving the status quo. There are rules in the book about non-interference in the affairs of sovereign states and

these tend to be applied in an especially cynical way to breakaway movements in the Third World. We patronisingly agree that it would be wrong to hurt their feeling by taking sides, when in truth we *are* intervening, on behalf of the powers that be. However, this time the built in mechanism has not operated quite so smartly as Mr. Ahmed hoped. Public feeling in the US appear to have been unexpectedly hostile. The message had got through that this was not a little local difficulty, but a brutal attempt to crush a democratically elected majority party. Unless West Pakistan can produce some sort of political solution, it may be difficult to persuade the senate to pay up.

For Yahya, promises of aid would be a certificate of respectability. There are various gestures he is ready to make to procure it. One is the prospect of a return to civilian rule, including negotiations with the Awami League. But 'truck with secessionists' is out; and although the phrase may have a responsible ring in European ears, it is political nonsense. Ninety percent of the East Bengalis, at a conservative estimate, are secessionists now.

A team from the World Bank is about to arrive in Bangla Desh to study the situation there, and a lot will depend on their report back at the end of the month. It will matter a good deal, for instance, how far they are convinced that the present Pakistan government intends to keep even the promises it has so far made. To put it bluntly, any aid given to Yahya, if it is in cash, could simply be used to prolong the war. If it consists of sacks of food, the East Bengalis assume it will be given first to the army, and that what is left over will be used as an instrument of coercion.

The problem from Britain is how to combine humanitarian commitment with expedient politics. On an elementary level, these converge in the question of getting food and

medical supplies through to the people most in need. There are two options. First, we should insist that the relief be internationally administered. There is, however, evidence that the West Pakistanis are determined to resist any such terms. In which case, there is a short-term alternative. The rich countries could take on—via government grants, UN agencies, and charities—the job of feeding the five or six million people now in refugee camps. India cannot cope alone. It might also be possible, at the same time, to allow some supplies to be taken across the frontier by supporters of—let us stress it once more—the *democratically* elected Bengali government.

Two things become very clear from the above excerpts. One is that Yahya Khan's

lies are not convincing even his best friends. He has committed barbarous atrocities, murdered a million men, women and children, chased out of hearth and home five million innocent members of his own country and exposed the rest of the people of East Bengal to terrifying prospects of famine and pestilence, wantonly out of a criminal lust for power. The peoples of the world are not going to trust him even with relief material, leave alone cash. The British have doubts about America's eventual policy relating to Pakistan; but they feel sure that many countries like "France, Italy, Holland, Canada and West Germany will refuse to buy guns for Yahya's army, or butter for his troops." That will reduce the chances of a war between India and Pakistan too.





RAINY SEASON IN BENGAL

Sailen Raha

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CONTENTS FOR JULY 1971

WHOLE No. 775

| | | |
|--|-----|----|
| Notes | ... | 1 |
| Edmond Privat, A forgotten friend of India—P. C. Roy Chaudhury | ... | 9 |
| Dhalbhum—Prabuddha N. Chatterjee | ... | 13 |
| A Muslim looks at the wild beast of Pakistan—A. C. | ... | 25 |
| Dr. Satish Chandra Vidya Bhusan—Anil Kumar Acharya | ... | 28 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | 31 |
| The Nanjilnad—A Yesuratnam | ... | 42 |
| Palitics of Jayaprakash Narayan—Subhash Sarker | ... | 45 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | 51 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | 55 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | 58 |
| Teaching English in engineering colleges—Ravi S. Varma | ... | 65 |
| Book Review— | ... | 72 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | 73 |



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NOTES

Indian Olympic Association Affairs

A general meeting of the Indian Olympic Association was called recently at Dehra Dun. Some critics of Raja Bhalindar Singh, the President of the IOA began behaving in a rowdy manner even before the meeting began to take up the business on the agenda and the President had to adjourn the meeting. Ever since the Asian Games at Bangkok and the death of Mr. Pankaj Gupta who had been Hony. Secretary of the IOA for several decades, the IOA had been facing difficulties arising out of intrigues, false propaganda, partisan activities and other unsportsmanly behaviour of some of the members of this great sports organisation. Raja Bhalindar Singh had called this meeting in order to explain to the members why he took certain steps at Bangkok and after that but a group of members led by aspirants to ruling power in the IOA, created a furore in the meeting by attempting to table a motion of no confidence in the President without allowing the members

to discuss the affairs of the IOA. Some of these blitzkrieg tacticians were frequenters of certain offices of the Government of India and knowledgeable people said that a minister of Government had inspired these hooliganish activities in order to discredit the Raja and the members of his present Committee of management. The Government of India, of course had been trying to get fuller control of games and sports in India for several years, ignoring the fact that International Olympic Association Rules do not permit any Governmental control over the national sports organisations affiliated to the International body. This was brought to the notice of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, at a joint conference between the Ministry of Education and the Indian Olympic Association held more than a year ago at New Delhi. But apparently, the Government of India thinks that if the members of the IOA were all yes men of the Government, control over games and sports would be achieved without viola-

ting the rules of the International Olympic Association. So a certain minister began to mobilise forces with a view to bring the Indian Olympic Association under a sort of one party rule—the partymen being the henchmen of that minister. This attempt no doubt is reprehensible, but love of power can always tempt ministers and others to indulge in low conspiratorial tactics and very often ministers and their followers submit to such temptations.

The next meeting of the Indian Olympic Association will surely give a clearer outline to this trial of strength between those who desire games and sports to be managed by the sportsmen themselves and the others who want to place the sportsmen under the Departments of the Government of India. The Governmental nominees will be considerably fewer in number compared to the freedom lovers and there is little chance of the former coming out victorious. But, this split in the IOA has been highly undesirable and will do great harm to games and sports in India. For the next move of the Government officials will be to engage in bestowing favours on their own followers and to deprive those sports bodies which do not agree to garland themselves with the chains of state control.

Recognition of Bangladesh

What is an act of war? What again is an invasion of a country by foreign people. What are infiltrators, fifth columnists and such other non-nationals whose actions or presence in the country is or can be a source of danger to the safety of the invaded or infiltrated country? All these questions are relevant when one tries to analyse and give a suitable name to Pakistan's actions in Bangladesh and their effect on India. Must an act of war be necessarily violent? If large numbers of foreigners enter another country in order to escape the consequences of a civil war in their

own land, do those foreigners cease to be foreigners and does their frenzied entry into the territory of another state constitute an act of invasion? There are soldiers engaged in battle in that civil war and the foreigners who are seeking refuge in the adjoining state are being driven into that state forcibly by use of grenades, shells and bullets. So, this entry of large numbers of refugees is a direct consequence of the war like action of some other people of the same country to which the refugees belong. The entry of the refugees is therefore an act of invasion as far as the invaded state is concerned. This state can call upon the invading state to stop those violent activities which are causing the influx of millions of their nationals into this state. If they do not do this the invaded state can take such action as it thinks necessary, including a counter invasion of the invaders' territory.

Then, not all the people who are coming into the adjoining state are refugees fleeing from violence. Many are being sent by the armed forces of the other country as infiltrators and fifth columnists. These persons will be a source of danger to the safety of the state into which the refugees have come. If such infiltrators can be definitely located and it can be proved that they have infiltrated into this other state with the knowledge, consent and assistance of the state in which the civil war is raging, then the act of invasion becomes clearly established. India, which is the invaded country can therefore consider seriously whether she should give an ultimatum to Pakistan to stop the activities of Yahya Khan's soldiers in East Bengal. As for recognising the government of the free and independent Bangladesh that is a matter of India's choice. That choice will depend on what India considers would be the natural consequence of such recognition. Mere recognition without granting military aid will not be very useful for the Bangladesh army of liberation. Military

assistance can be secret or by open treaty. If India recognises the Bangladesh government and agrees to give loans, arms and other assistance to that body ; there will be risk of war with Pakistan. One can not say whether Pakistan will start that war or not. That will depend on the attitude of China. Will China egg Pakistan on to attack India with promises of military assistance ? China, has not as yet, sent soldiers to fight for the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. Would China be more interested in giving direct support to a non-communist country like Pakistan. Moreover Pakistan takes aid from the USA and Russia too. China can not be pleased at heart over this. In the circumstances if Pakistan attacked India, China would think many times before she undertook to send soldiers through Tibet to attack India. We would think China will not come directly to Pakistan's support in case of an Indo-Pak war. The recognition of Bangladesh by India therefore would not be such a risk as over cautious people might think.

Enquiry Mission of British Parliamentarians

Three Parliamentarians visited East Pakistan and its West Bengal border very recently. Theirs was an enquiry mission to discover the true state of affairs in East Pakistan with particular reference to possibilities that might exist there for the safe return of the refugees to their homes. They had come because they could not believe the Pakistani propaganda about the revival of normal conditions in East Bengal and, yet, they had been influenced by that propaganda and expected to find the flow of refugees reduced to a much lesser volume than was published in the Indian Press, and also a total or partial cessation of Pakistani army's wanton atrocities committed on the unarmed civilian population of East Bengal. They found that refugees were enter-

ing Indian territory in their tens of thousands with no signs of abatement and the refugees had among them hundreds of men women and children bearing marks of bullet, bayonet or burn injuries. They told the parliamentarians about wholesale destruction of villages that the Pak soldiers were still carrying on and about merciless killings en masse, molestation of women and young girls, killing babies and other inhuman acts which were typical of a barbarous and sadistic frenzy.

The Parliamentarians came, they saw and were convinced that they could not honestly say that the refugees should go back to their abandoned homes. That would neither be safe nor possible with hordes of half civilised soldiers moving about everywhere like beasts of prey utterly dominated by an uncontrollable blood lust. They could not undertake the responsibility of asking the refugees to go back home. What they failed to realise was the psychological impossibility of holding Pakistan together after one section had murdered 500000 persons of the other section in an organised and planned manner, raped and abducted thousands of their women, slaughtered their children and picked out their best educated men and women for merciless liquidation. These parliamentarians thought that Pakistan should not be allowed to break up. The question is how ? Even if the Pakistan army go out of Bangladesh and the country is handed over for administration to a popular civil government, will the people of Bangladesh ever agree to remain a part of Pakistan ? The Army of Liberation of Bangladesh has already announced that they will form an independent state and will have no connection with Pakistan. British opinion may have some influence over the West Pakistanis when the latter find such opinion suitable. But, not so long ago the British were being insulted and attacked in Lahore and Rawalpindi when the

British Press criticised the apathy of the Pakistan government in giving ready assistance to the cyclone stricken people of East Bengal. If the British take so much interest in Pakistan's continued existence, why do they not advise the Yahya regime to call off the army from East Bengal first and then make their negotiations. If they keep Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in prison in West Pakistan and occupy the major cities and towns of East Bengal with the help of their army, navy and air force, nothing on earth or in heaven will prevent the disintegration of the artificially created Islamic Republic.

Foreign Relief Organisations

Although there is no highly mobile, large scale international relief organisation which can take charge of relief operations for feeding, medically treating, housing and providing temporary employment to millions of uprooted persons needing help ; there are a number of organisations which do arrive quite soon among people rendered destitute by war or natural calamities. Some of these foreign organisations which have been formed for service to humanity arrived with relief materials very expeditiously when refugees began to cross the Indo-Pakistan border into Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. These organisations had tents, clothing, food, medicine etc. and workers who were trained doctors, nurses and persons trained to manage the feeding and temporary housing of mixed crowds of people suffering from exhaustion, starvation, epidemic diseases and injuries of various kinds. There are Indian organisations of a similar type which do excellent work ; but we have to record our appreciation of the foreign bodies especially because their workers travelled a long distance to come to this area which was quite strange to them in every way. But to these dedicated men and women, unfamiliar environment presented no formidable barrier to

carrying out their mission. Language difficulty, heat, mosquitos, unknown ailments—even venomous snakes, could not frighten them away. Their spirit of service enabled them to overcome all unfavourable circumstances and they did what had come to do unhesitatingly, precisely and fully. The size of the job undertaken by these organisations was substantial, and their arrival in time saved numerous lives and gave comfort to thousands who suffered extreme misery for long weeks in order to escape death and dishonour at the hands of the soldiers of Pakistan. The merciful men and women who have been cleaning and treating cholera patients fearlessly and with a smile on their face, not only saved the sufferers from death ; but also gave back to them their faith in human beings which they had lost in their encounters with the lustful and blood-thirsty killers engaged by the military rulers of Pakistan. One realises from these facts that just as there are darkness and light in nature, there are also sinfulness and virtue in human nature.

America sends Arms to Pakistan

George Washington fought the American War of Independence to overthrow the imperialistic overlordship of Britain. The American subjects of Britain had to pay taxes to their rulers without having any voice in the government of the country. The war of Independence was therefore a fight for the liberation of the American colonies of Britain. The People of Bangladesh are fighting for their liberation from the overlordship of West Pakistan which controls the army, navy and air force of the state and uses the same for dominating over the peace loving Bengalis of East Pakistan, which is now called Bangladesh. The exploitation of Bangladesh has been unfeelingly unjust and it sucked the life blood of the Bengalis of the region in the name of advancing the well being of a non-existent

Muslim nation described by the founder of Pakistan, Mahammad Ali Jinnah. In fact the Bengalis had to contribute heavily for the development of West Pakistan and for maintaining a highly paid hierarchy of state employees 90% of whom were non-Bengalis. East Bengal had been allowed to suffer from tidal bores and cyclonic flood waters because all funds went to build roads, railways and palaces in West Pakistan while essential dykes and break water walls were not built in Bengal for lack of money. During the recent disastrous floods in East Bengal, even funds sent by foreign sympathisers for relief were utilised by Islamabad for purposes which had nothing to do with relief work in East Bengal. All this mounted up and brought about and intensified the estrangement between West and East Pakistan. Even to the last the Awami League tried their level best for a peaceful solution of this fundamental problem of unjust exploitation of co-citizens by an immoral military clique. But the head of the army, who had established himself as the autocratic President of the state of Pakistan threw all considerations of morality or justice overboard and went all out for suppressing all rightful demands by force of arms.

All this has been known to Richard Nixon, the President of the United States of America. Other states had been refusing to give any assistance to Pakistan while they carried on this vicious and genocidal war of repression. It appeared for a while as if the USA would do the same and stop all money or arms aid to Pakistan. But Richard Nixon's "policy" or "political considerations" were more important than his human and moral obligations. He knew that each bullet supplied by him to Pakistan would be lodged in the heart of an innocent man, woman or child of East Bengal. But that did not deter him from giving money and arms to Pakistan. Ships were loaded with arms and they sailed out to

carry the same to the arsenals of Pakistan. George Washington was disgraced by Richard Nixon and bullets were cast in the land of freedom with the purpose of destroying freedom in far away lands. One had to think of the sinners of the United States, Al Capone and the gangsters who fought and killed for money gain. But how would the USA gain by assisting some bankrupt war mongers and merciless killers? Nixon's actions are as senseless as they are sinful. Is it a move to placate China? Or is it a desperate attempt to save Pakistan from breaking up? Whatever it is it will not succeed in achieving its purpose. It will merely besmirch the good name of the USA for ever.

O powerful, western, fallen star !

O shades of night ! O moody tearful night !

O great star disappear'd ! O the black mark that hides the star !

Walt Whitman.

Death of Three Russian Cosmonauts

After being in space for a record period of 23 days, after linking up with an orbiting space station and detaching from it at the end of work period and after returning to Earth in a precise and clock work fashion ; the three Soviet cosmonauts who performed this great feat of space flying were all found dead inside their landing craft. The landing was perfect and the cosmonauts had no marks of injury on their bodies nor were there any signs of great heat or burning. The cosmonauts had not struggled to free themselves as they would have done had they died of suffocation due to lack of oxygen. No one could say why they died and how. It was one of the worst tragedies of space flying and it was all the more tragic because of the great achievement of the three conquerors of space just before their death. The first speculations regarding the cause of their death were not of any value. No one could give any convincing explanation

of their death after they had entered the Earth's atmosphere and operated successfully the rockets and parachutes or whatever slowing down mechanism they used. One suggestion which has so far been accepted as the most likely explanation of their mysterious death, has been that the cosmonauts died because they developed air bubbles in their blood stream due to sudden depressurisation. Experts will argue over this and decide whether this embolism caused their death and what steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of such fatalities in the future. What the world can now do is to acknowledge the greatness of the achievements of Georgy Dobrovolsky, Vladislav Volkov and Viktor Patsayev whose names will go down in the history of man's struggle to control the forces of nature for the continued progress of human science and civilisation.

King Mahendra's Demands

King Mahendra of Nepal occasionally visits India and mentions with every sign of innocence that he wants this or that. He also appears to believe that the world owes (especially India) the hill kingdom a great debt of gratitude for being there, high in the Himalayas, as a disturbing political factor complicating Indo-Chinese and Indo-Pakistani relations, not to mention the active international significance of a miniature monarchical autocracy playing a diplomatic game with the big powers. This time King Mahendra has asked for freedom to make use of Indian ports for his exports and imports. He has not taken into account the rights that Switzerland possesses to make use of Italian, French, German and Austrian ports. Nor has he thought out good enough reasons for demanding such freedom of access to our ports. What does Nepal do for India that King Mahendra should demand rights from India. He may say, he can harm India by siding with China and Pakistan when these powers act in an anti-Indian fashion. But then, does not King Mahendra already play

about with China and Pakistan? He has received the greatest amount of economic aid from India; but has shown no gratitude for that. If India gives Nepal any rights in the matter of using Indian ports, it will merely be accepted as a matter of what is due to Nepal, and not as a favour. Why does not Nepal use Chinese ports? She has allowed the Chinese to build a fine road linking Nepal up with Tibet which is militarily a part of China. If Nepal wants closer economic bonds with India, which, by the way, would be natural and advantageous to her, she should stop playing with China and Pakistan and develop the psychological basis for such close relations. If she does not do that, India should consider Nepal to be a foreign state and deal with her as she deals with any other foreign country.

Fall of West Bengal Government

Shri Ajoy Mukherjee, Chief Minister Of West Bengal's last Coalition Government, resigned after advising the Governor to dissolve the West Bengal Assembly. He did this as he found it rather a matter of strain to carry on the work of administration with a mini-majority which had the usual quota of uncertain and probable floor crossers in it. The opposition had not moved a motion of no confidence, but it had been marking time in a bellicose manner. After the resignation of Sri Mukherjee, Shri Jyoti Basu the C. P. M. leader made a radio announcement in which he said Shri Mukherjee had lost his majority. Shri Basu made this statement with an air of certainty which he had no right to do, but that might be taken as a political gesture typical of Shri Jyoti Basu.

After this resignation, President's rule became inevitable, though Shri Jyoti Basu thought he should have been called to form a government. But he had not proved that he had a majority in Assembly, nor had he displayed

his leadership of any proposed coalition of parties precisely and in a convincing manner. We may take it that had Shri Bosu been called to form an alternative government, that government too would have fallen in a matter of weeks. So that the imposition of President's rule was a surer way to get a stable Government in West Bengal, when things are rather shaky due to the trouble in Bangladesh, the flow of refugees, the anti-national activities of Pro-Chinese elements in West Bengal (among whom are some political party men) and the rampage of dacoits, ornament snatchers,, smash and grab looters, wagon breakers and other criminals. An innovation has been made in the manning of President's "Cabinet" of persons in charge of administration. Shri Siddhartha Sankar Roy has come as a Central Minister in charge of the West Bengal Government. Whether this will create any difficulties is a matter of conjecture as yet. We are awaiting developments now.

"Guardian" Comments on Bangladesh Situation

The *Guardian Weekly* of June 19, 1971 writes about the atrocities committed by Pakistani Soldiers in East Bengal under the caption "Cost of failure to help Bengal" as quoted below. "Murder, shelling and fear have driven five or six million refugees from East Pakistan to India. There they are an extreme burden on health, shelter and food, and they threaten India's precarious economy and political democracy. The world is beginning to give generously in emergency medical supplies with Britain a strong contributor but the hazard to life, health and peace is huge. The Naxalites with destructive intent will find ready recruits in the refugee camps and in the aggravated crowding of Calcutta. In addition, left behind in East Pakistan at the mercy of Yahya's bayonets there are further millions of whom at least

many thousands must be in terror, misery and near starvation. The event is a human outrage that, by any reckoning, is as monstrous as the whole war in Vietnam; and it is happening in an area of chronic poverty, sickness and national disaster. Must the world mutely accept what Yahya's Government is doing? Is India to be left in desperate difficulty? Is there no further remedy and redress?

... ..

"Yahya must be persuaded to stop his army's butchery, to release Sheikh Mujib and the imprisoned Bengali leaders, and to create conditions in which the refugees can return. These are the minimum demands. The chief weapon in the international community's hands is economic -- not the discredited threat of sanctions, but rather the threat that credit will be withheld and Pakistan's means of exchange dry up....."

Similar comments have become quite common in Western journals. This inspite of all false propaganda carried on by the agents of Pakistan.

Admirers of Yahya Khan

There are many people in Western countries who try to exonerate Yahya Khan from all guilt of atrocities in East Bengal. Some of them say he knows little about the shooting of innocent men, women and children, the attacks on intellectuals, priests of religion and women, and of the burning of villages and driving out six million persons from that part of Pakistan. Others say Yahya Khan is merely a figure head and there are some evil men who surround him and make him do things or commit crimes for which Yahya is blamed. But is Yahya Khan such an innocent that he can be made use of by these bad men in this manner? Is he not the man who ousted Ayub Khan from power and took his place of military dictator? Did he not come personally

to Dacca to supervise the elections in which the Awami League swept the board and, then, did he not continue talks and conferences with Sheikh Mujibur Rehman which culminated in the Sheikhs sudden arrest and swift removal to Rawalpindi by plane ; all of which were carried out under the personal supervision of General Yahya Khan ? It was Yahya Khan again who sat in Dacca during the aforementioned conferences and arranged the concentration of Punjabi, Baluchi and Pathan soldiers in East Bengal for his undeclared plans of destroying the Bengali majority of Pakistan and Bengali influence in East Bengal. If Yahya Khan was not personally managing all this, why did he come to Dacca ? He left Dacca with his prisoner Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and thereafter stayed on in West Pakistan. The atrocities began on March 25, 1971 at 11 p.m. Yahya Khan must have issued all orders upto that moment and he cannot pretend that he did not order the attacks on the Dacca University academicians, men and women students and the Bangali intellectuals. When the world said Sheikh Mujibur Rehman should be released and civil government reintroduced in East Bengal, it was General Yahya Khan who negated such possibilities by his recent pronouncement about the future government of Pakistan. Yahya Khan cannot be innocent.

Yahya's Intentions are not Honourable

Pakistan's military dictator Yahya Khan is neither ashamed nor deflated. He thinks and behaves as if he and his generals have not committed all possible crimes against humanity and as if he is greater than God in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. His pronouncements of the 28th June 1971 are a reiteration of his inhuman, anti-social and politically worthless policy of military domination of a whole nation. The so-called Muslim nation of

Pakistan was created by the British Parliament and political power was granted to the people of the new State, *and not to an authoritarian clique of generals.* If the generals had to assume political power for some temporary reason, that assumption of power could only be temporary and neither permanent nor for any anti-democratic denial of human rights to the peoples of Pakistan. Yahya's above declaration was also a slap in the face for the U. K. the USA and the USSR. For they had advised Yahya Khan to make a political settlement with the people of Bangladesh. Yahya clearly indicated that he meant to liquidate the Awami League, outlaw its elected representatives and make his own selections of civilian members according to the provisions of a "Constitution" that his own advisers will fudge up. One cannot think of a more sinister and blatant avowal of a base anti-human policy of repression of one's own countrymen, than this declaration that Yahya Khan has made.

The World Press has condemned Yahya's idea of framing a constitution and forming a government. But that has not affected the self-satisfaction of this unholy (na-Pak) agent of Satan who has foisted his military junta on the peoples of the "holi (Pak)" land of the Muslims that the British created in the name of giving rights of self-government to the minority community (Mohammedan) of the Indian subcontinent. The USA can maintain an army of occupation in Bangladesh for sometime with the help of their almighty dollar and the barbarian mercenaries of West Pakistan ; but that cannot last for long. The World Bank has more or less declared Pakistan bankrupt and the aid-Pakistan countries have refused to help the Yahya regime. What happens now will be an attempt by the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. to reintegrate Pakistan, which they will find impossible.

EDMOND PRIVAT, A FORGOTTEN FRIEND OF INDIA

P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY

Dr. Edmond Privat a Swiss national was born in 1889 and after a chequered career passed away in 1962. A scholar, an esperentist, a writer and a Quaker Dr. Edmond Privat was well-known in scholastic circles of Europe and the States in his life-time. Dr. Privat rendered very great service in a silent but determined manner for winning India's Independence. He was the President of the European Committee for India's Independence from 1932 to 1939 and in this capacity he was Gandhi's link with Europe and the States.

A Journalist

He started his career as a journalist but early came to grief because of his independent views. While based at Paris he wrote in journals fearlessly for Polish Independence and was literally bundled out of France because of this activity. He wrote some books also on the subject. His early education was in Cambridge University where he obtained his degree in English language and literature. It was not difficult for him to find a job as a professor of English in Geneva University. He continued in this capacity for a number of years and later joined Neuchattel University in Switzerland. It is at Neuchattel that he passed away.

Met Tagore

A great friend and admirer of the French savant Romain Rolland, he often visited Villeneuve where Romain Rolland lived. Beautiful Villeneuve on the lake was a centre of cultural activities because practically all the leading men of Humanities in Europe used to visit Romain Rolland from time to time. It was at Romain Rolland's place that Dr. Privat met Rabindranath Tagore for the first time

in 1921 during Tagore's first visit to Switzerland. Tagore had visited Switzerland twice subsequently in 1926 and 1932. Edmond Privat had met him on both the occasions. Later Tagore had invited Privat to Shantiniketan.

With Gandhi

After the failure of the Second Round Table Conference in London in 1931 Gandhi visited Switzerland at the end of December. He went to Villeneuve and stayed with Romain Rolland for a few days. Edmond Privat had gone to Villeneuve to meet Gandhi. Both were attracted to each other at the very first meeting. Privat and Romain Rolland arranged Gandhi's tours and lectures in Switzerland. Privat offered to act as Gandhi's interpreter in all the meetings. Gandhi addressed several meetings in different parts of Switzerland and Dr. Privat worked as the interpreter. As a Quaker and a worker for Freedom for Poland there was a great common area of thought between him and Gandhi. Gandhi's creed was particularly acceptable to Dr. Privat because of his earlier career. He was an admirable agent for propagating Gandhi's ideas to Europe and the States.

Privat accompanied Gandhi to Rome where a meeting between Gandhi and Mussolini was fixed. Privat had to do a lot of silent home work to bring the two with opposing views on life and the world together. In the interview Privat worked as the interpreter.

Visits India

The original idea was that Dr. Privat and his wife Yvonne would return to Geneva from Rome. But Gandhi was quite taken up with the Privats and asked them to accompany him



Glen Eden
Dagwooding
May 15, 1933

Dear Dr Privat,

Thank you for your very kind letter which has given me great delight.

It is not possible for you to realize in details the sufferings which India is made to undergo. It gives us painful shock to feel how the European mentality is rapidly lapsing into an unscrupulous and ruthless barbarism. Moral appeals remain without response not merely because of the universal callousness which seems to prevail in all the countries contaminated with an insatiable greed of imperialism but because of the scientific thoroughness practised by government organisations in throttling

the voice of truth. It is no consolation for the victim to be sure that this sorry state of things is fast dragging into degeneracy those people who are dreaming of imperialism because of the terrible physical forces that are in their hands.

I have a suggestion to offer you on behalf of Visva Shiksha which will make us glad if it is acceptable to yourself. If you find a time to write a few lines on the subject of Islamic invasion and influence in Europe we shall be in a position to invite you to our institution with the help of a special fund we have in our disposal. As for my own chance of visiting Europe it is growing less and less

certain every day owing to responsibilities that cannot be heeded even for a short while and also my physical infirmity. With kindest regards to you and your wife

I am yours sincerely

Behanurath Tyore

to India. Dr. Privat told Gandhi that as a professor in ordinary circumstances it was difficult for him to undertake the expenditure for going to India. He also said that he had to take the permission of the Home Government before he could do so. Gandhi laughed at this idea and said that a trip by the deck along with him would not be very costly and his Home Government was with him (pointing to Yvonne Privat). Having lost the argument Dr. Privat had to rush about in Rome arranging for passport and money. He joined Gandhi and came to Bombay by S. S. Pilsna. The Privats had a very enjoyable time on boat with Gandhi and his party. One day Gandhi suddenly remembered about the rag dolls that some children at the East End of London had presented him. Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's Secretary, assured Gandhi that the dolls were being taken in the baggage and would be taken out in Bombay. Gandhi briefed the Privats regarding their stay in India. He drew up a list of **dos** and **do nots** for them. He told them that there was every likelihood of arrest soon after his landing in Bombay but Dr. Privat should continue his sojourn and visit the different cities of India and study the Independence movement launched by him. He wrote out the following letter as a sort of passport for the Privats to all Congressmen in India: -

"To whom it may concern

Mons. Privat and Madame Privat are friends of India living in Switzerland. They have purposely come to India to study the country and the modern movement. I expect all Congress men who may come in contact with them to assist them and render to them whatever service it is possible to render to them. (1-1-1932). There was a huge crowd of people to meet Gandhi at Bombay and he was whisked away. The Privats were left in the lurch and typical of a professor he had

even forgotten to make an inquiry where Gandhi was being taken. They were fumbling at the port when a kindly gentleman asked them if they wanted any help. The Privats told him that they had come with Gandhi but had lost him. The gentleman smiled and took them in his vehicle and dropped them at **Mani Bhawan** where Gandhi was staying. When the Privats arrived there was a big crowd surrounding Gandhi at the terrace of the house. Gandhi laughed and asked them where the Babes in the Wood had strayed into. Since that day Gandhi often addressed Dr. Privat's wife in his letters as the Babe in the Wood.

Soon after Gandhi was arrested and taken away by the Police. Before Gandhi's arrest he had extracted a promise from Dr. Privat that he would form an European Committee for India's Independence and act as its Chairman.

The Privats fulfilled the programme of visiting particular places and contacting particular men as drawn up by Gandhi. They went to Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmadabad and stayed there for about a week. They came in close contact with a number of men and women at the Ashram and were much impressed by their dedication to the cause and particularly by the way they carried on during Gandhi's arrest as a matter of routine. They visited a number of other places, namely, Calcutta, Agra, Mathura, Delhi, Banaras, Madras and Mahabali Puram. Apart from seeing the sites they particularly studied the Congress movement at these places. They visited Shantiniketan. Their conversation with Rabindranath Tagore left a deep impression on both the parties.

Dr. Privat went back to Switzerland and organised the European Committee for India's Independence and worked faithfully as the Chairman for seven years in this capacity. He carried on correspondence with notable

personalities in different parts of the world advocating India's cause. Lectures and meetings were frequently organised which were addressed by Dr. Privat and others. He worked in collaboration with the Indian Independence League which was nursed by Mr. Krishna Menon in London and there were some joint conferences. He was considerably helped in this work by the Friends' Society in London and a few other missionaries and politicians in England and in the States. He kept Gandhi informed of the work done and Gandhi also had frequent correspondence with the Privats. Dr. Privat was very ably helped by his wife Yvonne who was a student of Psychology before she married and kept on her interest in the subject after marriage too.

Dr. Privat wrote a number of books in French to propagate Gandhi's ideas. His book, **Aux Indes Avec Gandhi** about his journey in India had a good sale. He sponsored a series of books in French on the Indian Independence Movement some of which were written by Camille Drevet, Marc Semenoff and others. Some books on Gandhism by K. Mashr and Kumarappa were translated in this series. Dr. Privat also had Nehru's *Discovery of India* translated in French and published. Another book of Privats on Gandhi, **Vie de Gandhi** projected Gandhi to the French knowing public very well. It became a standard book for all who wanted to know India in recent years. This book was published after Gandhi's death. A mass of documents including correspondence of extreme importance to India were left by Dr. Edmond Privat when he passed away in 1962. His wife has willed away all these documents to a Bibliotheque near Neuchattel. She assured me when I saw her at Neuchattel recently that some of the documents are very important and India should be interested in them.

Gandhi carried on correspondence with the Privats till his death. Before Gandhi undertook the Epic Fast in 1933 he had written the following to the Privats :—

“My dear Anand and Bhakti,

I had your letter on the eve of the step I am about to take, this is just to send you both my love.

Yours
Bapu.”

16-9-32.

Gandhi's last letter to Privats written shortly before his death suggests the cross currents in Gandhi's mind at that particular time. In this letter Gandhi conceded that he had made some mistakes. An extract of his letter is as follows : —

“.....
Coming to my own personal experience, whilst we undoubtedly got through passive resistance our political freedom, over which lovers of peace like you and your good husband of the West are enthusiastic, we are daily paying the heavy price for the unconscious mistake we made or better still, I made in mistaking passive resistance for nonviolent resistance. Had I not made the mistake, we would have been spared the humiliating spectacle of weak brother killing his weak brother thoughtlessly and inhumanly.
.....”

The news of Gandhi's death was brought to the Privats in a pointed manner. It so happened that a public meeting had been organised at Neuchattel where Dr. Privat was to speak on Gandhi and Non-violence. A

few hours before the meeting Dr. Privat received a cable from Washington in which the sender expressed his greatest sympathy with the Privats in their loss. The Privats could make nothing of that cable. They were thinking of wiring back to find out the meaning when on the wireless they heard about Gandhi's death from bullets. I learnt from Mrs. Privat, that Dr. Privat sat still in his small study room for a considerable time. The telephone tinkled and there was an anxious enquiry from the organisers if the meeting would be abandoned. They knew Dr. Privat's relationship with Gandhi and thought that Dr. Privat would not be able to address the meeting under such tragic circumstances. Dr. Privat replied back that he was fully prepared for the meeting which must not be cancelled. His wife told me that he spoke most feelingly for about an hour and there was hardly a single person in the crowded hall that was not moved to tears. Many ladies had fainted away in the meeting and had to be carried out. Dr. Privat spoke as an inspired man and mentioned that Gandhi had served the world through a martyr's death.

Dr. Privat's interest in India did not abate with India's Independence. He kept himself extremely well posted with India as I found many post-independence books in his personal library at Neuchattel. For thirty long years he had faithfully served India in many ways. He was one of the true foreign friends of India.



DHALBHUM

PRABUDDHA N. CHATTERJEE

Dhalbhum is a subdivision in the district of Singbhum in Bihar. Its area is about 1160 square miles. Chaibasa and Seriakella are the two other subdivisions of the district. Dhalbhum is connected with other parts of Bihar through Seraikella on the north and on the west and through Chaibasa on the west.

Singbhum District belongs to the Chhotonagpur Division of Bihar. Chhotonagpur was not always a division of Bihar in the past. Before 1912—when a separate province was created as “Bihar, Chhotonagpur and Orissa”—the entire area of present Bihar was in a state of amalgamation with Bengal. In that vast amalgamated heterogeneous province of those times, Bihar did not have a demarcated existence to justify any impression that Chhotonagpur was a part of it. Rather, the entire big province was taken to be the province of Bengal—its Chief Executive was called the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal without any mention of Bihar at all. From this point of view, Chhotonagpur could then be more properly called a Division of Bengal rather than of Bihar.

Even after, as mentioned above, the constitution of the new province in 1912, and all along during British times territories of present Bihar bore the appellation of “Bihar and Chhotonagpur” thus recognising the separate entity of the latter. Thus Chhotonagpur is not inherently a part of Bihar,—it is not Bihar proper, not real Bihar.

Dhalbhum lying in the east of Chhotonagpur Division has even more slender historical relationship with Bihar and among other things, upto 1910 the courts of Dhalbhum were subordinate to Bankura District Court.

Again, as Chhotonagpur does not properly form a part of Bihar, it will be seen that Dhalbhum in its turn does not properly belong to even Chhotonagpur either. Actually it is only a projection of Bengal.

Dhalbhum is the plateau of Subarnarekha river. On its north are mountain ranges, in the south are the uplands consisting of a rough and hilly terrain—in between these, the plains of Bengal have extended themselves to form the plains of Dhalbhum. In a slightly rising gradient the plains have gradually vanished into the Chhotonagpur hill tracts on the west. From Chaibasa, the gradient has taken an increasingly sharp rise—it is not possible to identify the land there with the plains of Bengal.

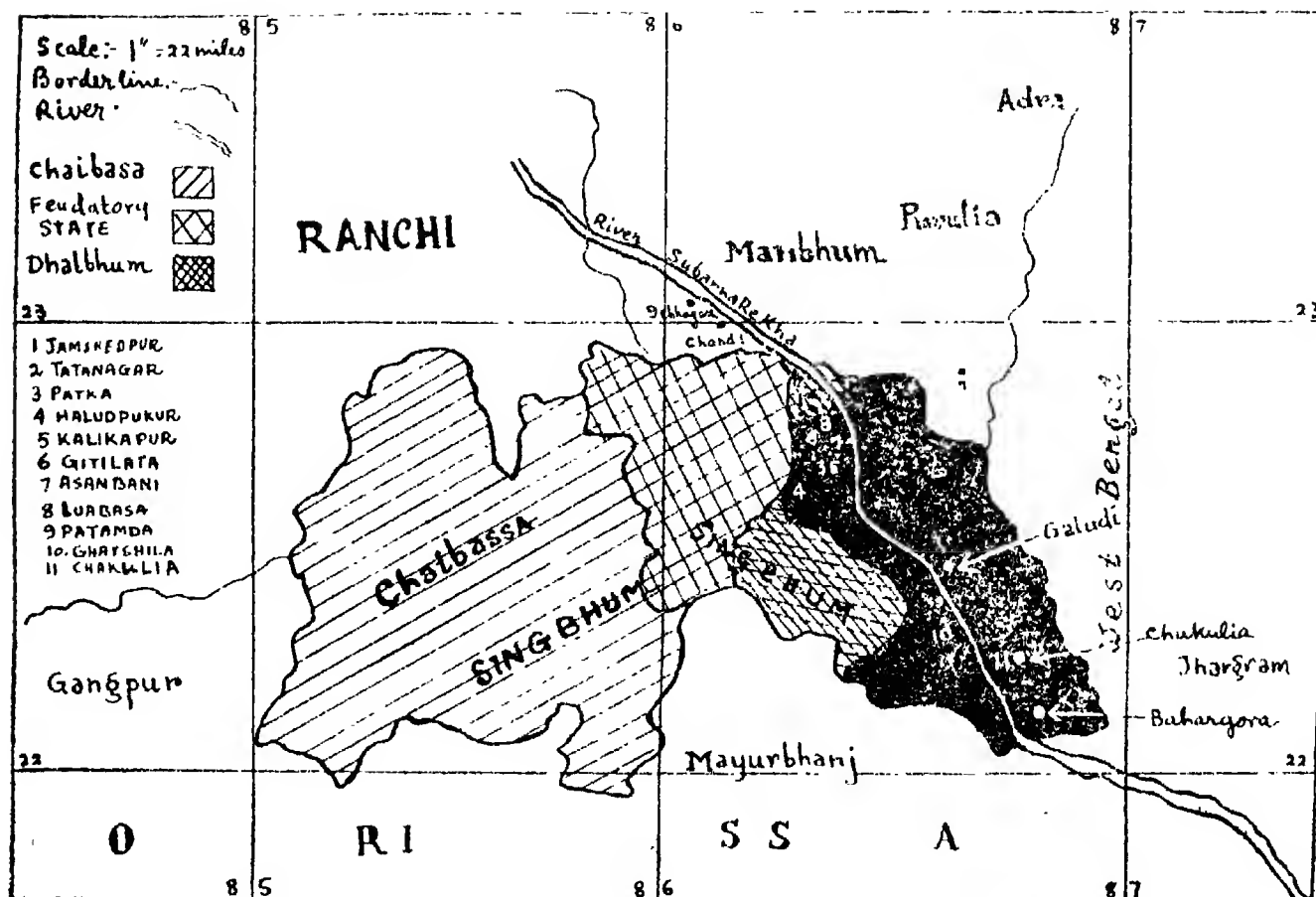
It is for this reason that the Dhalbhum plains on both banks of Subarnarekha, even a large part of Seriakella beyond Jamshedpur—are shown in the Oxford Physical Atlas in the same colour as neighbouring Midnapur.

Hence, the present Chhotonagpur Division including the Dhalbhum region among others, is artificial as an entity, different from the natural Chhotonagpur terrain with its typically indigenous regions of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau. It is only from considerations of passing expediency that Dhalbhum has been tagged on to Chhotonagpur lands.

Dhalbhum is enormously wealthy in minerals and forests. Also, it has vast areas of cultivable land including tens of thousands of acres of such land lying fallow. The climate is very healthy.

The village economy of Dhalbhum is deeply dependent on agriculture and the possibilities of agrarian prosperity there are

DHALBHUM
inside the
DISTRICT OF
SINGHBHUM



N. B. The Dark portion indicate the area where Bengalees are in absolute majority.

(Drawn by MAYA BERA, M.A.)

closely connected with those of Midnapur and Purulia districts. Bihar Government has not made much efforts for the economic progress of the eastern border regions of Bihar,—specially the village areas of Dhanbad and Dhalbhum are lying in an undeveloped condition. There is a reason for this—these areas are mainly river valleys and for development of these places river valley projects are necessary on an extensive scale including embankments and barrages. Now, control of river flow is not only expensive, calling for the background of a heavy structural industry but

there is also the consideration that excepting for a few border areas on its eastern side, Bihar as a whole does not stand to gain much from this. Incidentally which state will be the principal beneficiary from the river valley projects? West Bengal ;—because the source of majority of rivers in West Bengal is in Bihar and if waterflow in the rivers are controlled at the source, West Bengal is saved to a great extent from two types of disasters at the same time—from floods as well as from temporary scarcity of water. But it seems to be beyond the power of any counsel of good

sense and reason to make the Bihar Government adopt any expensive scheme where West Bengal will be a principal beneficiary. Thus due to the apathy of the Government of Bihar, rural Dhalbhum—Dhalbhum of Subarnarekha valley is left in a neglected and undeveloped state.

Inhabitants of Dhalbhum speak in the same dialect as is used by the common people of north-west Midnapur, West Burdwan and Birbhum.

The Bengali calendar or almanac is in use in Dhalbhum. The ceremonies and festivals there are prototypes of those in Midnapur and Purulia. There is no semblance of festivities like "Chhat", "Phagua", "Ramnavami", "Mahabir Jhanda" etc, in this area; instead, Durga Puja, Kali Puja, Mousa Puja, song recitals of the name of Hari ("Harinam Sankirtan"), the festivity in the month of Poush ("Poush Parvan") give testimony of Bengali culture. The folk songs and dances, theatrical representations ("Yatras"), Bengali Doggerels ("Panchali") song recitals of mythological stories ("Kathakatha"), love songs relating to Krishna and Radha—all these are faithful pictures of life in Bengal. From whatever aspect it is viewed—whether from that of custom and tradition or that of social behaviour and general living standards—Bengali atmosphere pervades Dhalbhum in an unmistakable manner. Marriage ceremonies are exactly as in Bengal—the same jubilant scenes in the courtyard resounding with "ulu" calls accompanied by blowing of conches, the same picturesque ceremonies conducted by ladies ("Stri-achar") the same invoking of the ancestors,—there is not much of beating drums as among the upcountry people.

The people of Dhalbhum have special affinity with the people of Purulia and of Jhargram subdivision of Midnapur.

In food and clothing as in concepts of

culture the Bengali character of the inhabitants of Dhalbhum is manifest. Their culinary art, the method of wearing dhoties among their men and saris among their women, the hairdo among their women, their way of mutual greeting—all these bear a peculiar Bengali trait. The spectacle of a housewife making her obeisance before the Tulsi plant illuminated by a candle lighted with resin is a feature of Dhalbhum in common with Bengal. Instead of Tulsidas' Ramayana, Krittibas' Ramayana and Kashiramdas' Mahabharat are read there. In race and lineage, in custom and traditions, in language and civilization, in day-to-day living methods, Dhalbhum people have no similarity with the inhabitants of Bihar proper—even from Chibasa subdivision Dhalbhum is poles apart in these respects as has been officially acknowledged all along (vide Note on languages by Census Superintendent, Census of India 1931 Volume VII on Bihar and Orissa, P-240).

The Adibasis in Dhalbhum are much more attached to the Bengalee than to the up-country Biharee and it is easier for them to learn Bengali than Hindi. Men and women, they are accustomed to speak in Bengali with others outside their immediate language group; Bengali Language is their principal second language. When the representatives of Dhalbhum met the State Reorganisation Commission in an interview, these facts among others were pressed by the Santali members of the delegation. They produced books in Santali language to show that these were written not only in Bengali script but contained comments in Bengali language.

It was stated in the Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission from the representatives of Dhalbhum that the Adibasis of Dhalbhum had also adopted in a major part the customs and practices, rules of conduct and of general deportment as well as

religious rites and festivals found among the Hindus of Bengal. What was more, many among the Adibasis had accepted withal the Dayabhaga system of Bengal in matters of inheritance and succession.

As the position stands now, specially the Santals and Bhumijs in particular, among Adibasis have to a great extent made the Bengali language as well as the Bengali way of life their own. If this state of things continue, there will be scarcely any difference after some years between these people and the average Bengalee.

Many non-Bengalees have a mistaken idea about Kurmi Kshatriyas—another class of inhabitants in Dhalbhum—which arises out of the surname “Mahato” of the latter. It is thought that because the Kurmis are “Mahatos”, they must be basically upcountry people—they can never be Bengalees. This idea is completely wrong. The Kurmi community is scattered all over India—Dhalbhum and Purulia is not the only place of their habitat. They number at least five crores of people. As the Brahmin and the Kayastha communities inhabit the different states of India, so also do the Kurmis, be they Bengalees, Beharis or Marathis. There is no dearth of Kurmi Kshatriyas in Birbhum, Midnapore or even in the most interior districts of Bengal. The Kurmis of Dhalbhum are not Bihari Kurmis. There are Kurmi Mahatos in places like Patna and Gaya—these are really Bihari Kurmis. Dhalbhum Kurmis are manifestly different—vastly different from the Kurmis of even places like Ranchi and Hazaribag—in the same way as Bengali Kayasthas, Punjabi Kayasthas, and the Lala Kayasthas of Bihar though belonging to the same caste, are different from one another.

However, in the census of 1951 in Bihar, Dhalbhum Kurmis were listed among Hindi speakers on the false supposition that they

speak “Kurmali” language. The name Kurmali was thought to possess a Hindi flavour and it became a dogma that Kurmali resembled Hindi and as such Kurmali speakers were keen to be counted as Hindi speakers. The extent of fallacy in these ideas and in those about Dhalbhum Kurmis was apparent without entering into polemics from the election of Shri Bhajahari Mahato, a Kurmi gentleman belonging to the ‘Loka sevak’ party to the Parliament in Delhi. Shri Mahato was elected with a huge majority from south Manbhum (now after the realignment as a result of Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Act, 1956, a part of Purulia) and Dhalbhum constituency in 1952, i. e. after the census of 1951. His mother tongue is Bengali and his suffering from persecution and his sacrifices for inspiring among the Bengalees in Dhalbhum and Purulia (the latter then under the Bihar Government) the desire for self-realisation through Bengali Tusu songs and for defending their right to preserve their language, are well known.

As in other places in Bengal, the system of permanent settlement in land revenue was prevalent in Dhalbhum as well. This was not the only likeness of Dhalbhum with districts of Bengal in matters of land regulations. From 1934 to 1937, Bihar Government conducted a wide survey of land and preparation of cadastral records in order to collect various informations about the extent of lands, their ownership, land revenue and rents payable to the superior interests. In carrying out this programme, Bengali language and script were used in all written matters including categories, schedules and maps. Upto 1956, the cadastral record or records of rights were written in Bengali in Dhalbhum. Documents including Deeds and Recitals which are kept preserved in the official record rooms in Dhalbhum were all in Bengali. Deeds and documents are

usually written there in Bengali ; grants of title or of leases etc., are all in the Bengali language. Upto 1948, the notices or announcements under forest preservation laws of Bihar had also been in the Bengali language. Lately, the Bihar Government grew rather careful in these matters and in various ways began to try to put a stop to the currency of Bengali. In the Dhalbhum courts, Bengali was the court language. Upto 1934, Bengali was unrivalled and no other language found any place there. In 1934, Hindi was introduced as an additional or alternative court language, but its use as such was rare. It was in 1948 that the Bihar Government abruptly displaced Bengali from its status as court language and even forbade use of Bengali in court work.

The ground-work for retaining non-Bihari regions in Bihar was prepared by an unfair, even fraudulent, reduction of the number of non-Biharis in the Southern and eastern borders of Bihar in 1951 census.

It is well known that relevant figures given in the census for 1951 were prepared under the surveillance of Bihar Government and it has been widely recognised that frequently these had been made up for political considerations without regard to actual facts. Large numbers of slips pertaining to the census were contrived to be "lost" in the Patna Secretariat. What was depended upon by the Bihar Government in lieu of the "lost" slips was mainly imagination and wishful thinking and this distorted census was produced before the States Re-organisation Commission and determined the decision of that body.

Therefore, in order to ascertain the correct particulars during the 5th decade of this century, 1951 census is not enough,—it must be checked and verified by materials drawn from census statistics prepared in other decades. Of these again, 1941 census does not contain any information about population according to language.

According to 1931 census, total population of Dhalbhum in 1931 was 3,94,595, the number of persons with Bengali as mother tongue 1,41,105 (i. e. 35.7% of the total population), Hindi speakers numbered 49,624 (i. e. 12.7% of the total population) and the Adibasis numbered in all 1,41,010 (i. e. 95 less than Bengalees. Of the Adibasis again 64010 persons i. e. 46% of them) had besides their respective mother tongues used Bengali as their chief subsidiary language: among Oriahs 40% or 17477 persons used Bengali as their second language and among Hindi-speakers also of Dhalbhum, 2694 persons acknowledged Bengali to be their second language. Adding the total of the numbers of persons thus using Bengali as their second language to the total number of Bengalees in Dhalbhum the sum total of people able to speak Bengali, i. e. in effect the sum total of Bengali-speakers in 1931 numbered 225690 or in other words 57% of the total number of inhabitants in Dhalbhum.

Despite plenty of tricky manipulation in figures, census of 1951 showed the number of Bengalees as 187989 or in other words, 31.4% of the total population (6,10,504). (The corresponding figures in 1961 census are 267247, 31.8% and 853825 respectively). The number of Hindi-speakers was greatly inflated and shown as 119,978 in the census (110638 in 1961 census) but even then its percentage was at the most 20.1. The number of Oriahs had been counted at 63692, (10.7%) (72653 and 8.5% in 1961 census). Almost all the Santalis could speak in Bengali—their number was 1,19,235, (19.9%) (147285 and 17.2% in 1961 census). All the adibasis including Santals total 176982 (28.8%) 2,55,183 and 29.887% in 1961 census). For 1951 figures vide PP. 116-7 of the Census of India 1951-Language Hand book Singhbhum district published by the Government of India

under the management of the Bihar Government).

It is clear that in Dhalbhum speakers of no other single language have ever exceeded or equalled the number of those with Bengali as their mother tongue.

In the north-western borders of Dhalbhum lies the famous town of Jamshedpur. The 1951 census figures prepared by the Bihar Government on Jamshedpur were so mutually inconsistent that it is impossible to rely upon them. The numerical particulars of population of Jamshedpur were given in two books of statistics. In one, with the title "Census of India, 1951 Language Hand book, Singhbhum District" the total number of Hindi speakers was shown as 81,918 ; while in the other, "Census of India 1951, District Hand book, Singhbhum" the same Hindi speakers had been shown merrily as numbering 91782 even after leaving three thanas—Golmuri, Jugsalai and Patkaout of account ! No body knows which, if any, of these two figures is correct.

In these circumstances, we consider that only the report of the town committee of Jamshedpur itself can be relied upon. This has also been accepted as a part of the 1951 census.

The Jamshedpur Town Committee Report gives the total population of Jamshedpur as 194990 of which, persons who are purely Bengalees number 54762.

Among the Hindi speakers, a great many were only temporary residents of Jamshedpur ; besides, they were not all Biharees, a majority of them had come from Uttar Pradesh or Madhya Pradesh or other States. Now, the total number of Hindi-speakers in Jamshedpur would be 42420,—not more, and if from among the Hindi-speakers only pure Biharees were picked out, the number of the latter would come to 13240 or in other words, the latter would constitute only 8% of the total population of Jamshedpur (Vide Jamshedpur Town Committee Report in 1951 Census).

Excluding Jamshedpur, Dhalbhum's position appears as below :—

| | Total population | Hindi Speaking | Bengalees | Santals | Oriahs |
|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1931 Census | 310857 | 12902(4.2%) | 123337 (39.7%) | 96555 (31.6%) | 35849 (11.5%) |
| 1951 Census | 392342 | 38060(9.7%) | 136393 (34.8%) | 117674 (30%) | 44287 (11.3%) |
| 1961 Census | 525780 | 14776(2.8%) | 182128 (34.6%) | 145522 (27.7%) | 42247 (8%) |

In 1951 Census of Bihar the language figures were manipulated with a view just to defeat the claims of non-Biharees. This matter was extensively dealt with in the memorandum to the States Re-organisation Commission by the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

Between 1931 and 1951

| | |
|---|---------|
| the Hindi speakers in Singhbhum increased from 91273 to 215788, i.e. by | 124515 |
| Total Population in Singhbhum in 1951 | 1480816 |
| Of these born in Singhbhum | 1288403 |
| Balance, immigrants in Singhbhum | 192143 |
| Deduct | |
| aliens coming from outside India | 26159 |
| those with Bengali as mother tongue | 37024 |
| those with Oriah as mother tongue | 31083 |
| those with coming from the Deccan | 13798 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 108064 |
| Balance | 84349 |

If these 84349 immigrants are taken to be Hindi-speakers then the number of Hindi-speakers who were all along natives in Singhbhum or in other words, the increase in the number of non-immigrant Hindi-speakers appears as follows :—

Hindi speakers in Singhbhum

| | |
|---|--------|
| The increase in number as stated above | 124515 |
| Less immigrants | 84349 |
| Balance, increase in the number of non-immigrants ... | 37047 |

Thus it was made to appear that the Hindi-speakers who numbered 91273 in Singhbhum in 1931, increased by 40.9% in 20 years simply by procreation ! It must be remembered that during this period the increase of population of entire Bihar was not more than 29%.

There is another aspect of the matter.

Vast numbers of Hindi speakers though deemed “non-immigrants” live without their family or without any permanent domicile,—being in Singhbhum only for purposes of business or occupation : they go back to their respective places of birth every year. In these circumstances, and specially when females

were and are comparatively very few among the Hindi-speakers in Singhbhum, how could they multiply at such a rapid rate as 40.9% in 20 years ? Excepting manipulation in papers this was “demographically impossible. The number of Hindi-speakers in Singhbhum was unbelievably inflated—perhaps large number of Adibasis were falsely enumerated as Hindi speakers because significantly again, in the aggregated Singhbhum, the number of Adibasis went down abnormally.

The alleged increase in the number of Bengalees in Chaihasa subdivision is another feature worth noticing in 1951 Census. As

Bengal never claimed Chaibasa subdivision to be Bengali-speaking it was not inconvenient for Bihar to falsely multiply the number of Bengalee inhabitants there by about five times and show the same as having increased from 6412 to 30270—but Dhalbhum's case was different. Did not Bengal claim Dhalbhum as its own—did not these two have a common cultural background?

Hence, special caution was taken to ensure that the number of Bengalees did not appear to be large in Dhalbhum. At the same time, inflation of the number of Bengalees in Chaibasa was not only harmless to Bihar's territorial designs but actually fostered same tending to defeat as it did Orissa's claim to that area; needless to say, the carefully planned census figures had been exhibiting the number of Oriya-speaking population in Chaibasa and Seraikella as steadily on the decrease.

But however designedly the figures in the census of Bihar—and with that the census of Dhalbhum—might have been manipulated these did not succeed in concealing the fact that in the main part of Dhalbhum, Bengalee majority was not merely relative, it was an absolute and independent majority: the said part is also at the same time contiguous to the Midnapur district of West Bengal.

In other words, not only the portion of Dhalbhum immediately to the east of Ghatshila but also all the adjoining areas on the West, contiguous to both banks of Subarnarekha river reaching Patamda in its northern bank and also in the south of Subarnarekha near Jamshedpur, comprising and bordered by villages and town like Luyabasa, Gitilata, Haludpukur, Pateka, Kalikapur and Asanbani are also incontrovertibly Bengali areas. Even the figures in the "Language Hand book, Singhbhum district" a publication prepared under the supervision of none but the Bihar

Government itself and made a part of 1951 census made it clear that in the continuous territories mentioned above the number of Bengali-speakers exceeded twice the sum-total of speakers in all other languages.

If it has been possible in the case between Madras and Kerala to break up a district and to transfer a part to a different state - it should be similarly possible, granted good sense and good will prevailing among the Authorities, to divide Dhalbhum and assign to Bengal at least the portion where Bengalees were and are in absolute majority.

Besides, it should be remembered that the claim of West Bengal to Dhalbhum is not based simply on numerical superiority of Bengali-speakers. Since Independence, a storm is blowing over West Bengal. Two-thirds of original Bengal were partitioned out of India, as a result of the influx of millions of refugees from East Bengal the economy of West Bengal is almost broken down - the density of population in West Bengal having reached the highest limits found in the world, - in these circumstances, is it not required of Bihar as a basic gesture of fellow feeling or of esprit de corps to release spontaneously in favour of West Bengal the sparsely populated Bengali regions on the borders of Bihar with plenty of uncultivated land—if not for anything else, for the very love of India and Indians? Is not West Bengal a part of India? Are not Bengalees Indians? Then why is this aversion, this churlish, squeamish, scurrilous, parsimonious and sordid attitude of the Bihar cum India Governments in helping West Bengal out of distress? How much will it reduce Bihar if Dhalbhum comes to Bengal? Bihar will not lose then even a twenty fifth part of its area.

As stated before, the claim of West Bengal for Dhalbhum rests not only on the touchstone of language but on various other factors as

well ; it finds strength from similarity in culture and civilisation, of customs and character of the peoples concerned, from similarity in food and dress, in art and religion, in the sense of value and proportion commonly found along the entire area. The norms and nomenclature inside Dhalbhum, the appearance of its people, its native calendar—all point to the innate Bengali character of the people of Dhalbhum. The second language of most of the Adibasis in Dhalbhum is Bengali,—the fellow feeling which has easily grown with characteristic spontaneity between the Adibasis and Beharees, finds no parallel as between the Adibasis and Bihars. The representatives of Dhalbhum Santals before the State Reorganisation Commission produced before the latter Santali books (written in Bengali script) which related that the Santals observe the customs and ceremonies of Bengali Hindus and that the Dayabhaga system of inheritance obtains among them.

It is not that the Bengalees are treated well in Bihar. One finds from the Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission from the Bengalees in Dhalbhum that in spite of their domicile in Bihar they are subjected to unjust discrimination by the Bihar Government. Practically, there is a system of domicile certificate in Bihar to prove before the officials that one is a permanent resident of Bihar. Hindi-speakers however, are spared, according to Dalbhum Mukti Parishad, any obligation to prove that they are such permanent residents. In equal circumstances, whatever may be the written laws or rules, the absence of a domicile certificate makes it impossible for a Bengalee of Dhalbhum to get any facility from the Government—such as permits regarding any trade or business or facility in the matter of obtaining Government contracts—not to mention opportunities to enter any Government service in Bihar. This is the plight of even those Bengalees who are living

in Bihar for generations,—all and simply because they are Bengalees.

Next in matters of education there is the everpresent threat from the Bihar Government to stop subsidies to a non-Hindi institution. In many places, the Government have forced night schools for adults to teach through the medium of Hindi.

A typical example of Government discrimination between Hindi-medium schools and Bengali medium schools is found in the case of the two schools in Jamshedpur conducted by Ramkrishna Mission. In one of these the teaching medium is Hindi, in the other it is Bengali. While the former easily obtained affiliation to the Bihar University and recognition from the Government, the latter failed after years of tireless efforts.

Again, there are examples of Bengali medium secondary schools being thwarted from becoming high schools. For Hindi medium schools money is spent lavishly while Bengali medium school buildings go without repairs. Students who win primary scholarships from Bengali medium schools, find their scholarship deliberately withheld. It is further known from the Memorandum to the State Reorganisation Commission from the inhabitants of Dhalbhum that it is difficult for even local Bengalee students to get admission to schools.

Then comes the question of facilities for free expression of public opinion in Dhalbhum.

In 1947, three or four days after the proclamation of Independence of India, the 9th Annual General Session of Bihar-Bengal Conference was held on the 18th and 19th August in Jamshedpur. The tremendous disturbances that some miscreants started in that conference after its adoption of a resolution in favour of joining with Bengal these border areas of Bihar where the Bengalees are in majority, surpasses all description. Armed hooligans attacked indiscriminately the speak-

ers, the invitees and other members of the audience and forced the conference to break up. Two Bengalees were seriously injured. Police remained inactive.

Sometime after this, the Authorities framed rules for meetings and assemblies but nothing could be more dishonest, wicked, infamous and even impossible than the terms and conditions which they imposed. The purpose of the rules was to make sure that no meetings or assemblies could be called excepting those inspired by the Authorities. The conditions for holding meetings or conferences were usually as follows :

- “(1) There should not be any political discussions,
- (2) The names and addresses of persons convening, presiding or taking part in meetings should be sent before-hand to Authorities.
- (3) Copies of resolutions to be made or speeches to be delivered are to be similarly sent in advance,
- (4) The programme for each day must also be sent a day earlier”

There were of course, exceptions to the application of the foregoing rules on certain occasions—it goes without saying, these rules never applied to meetings organised by Hindi-speakers or to speeches made to support the interests of the Hindi speakers.

During the sojourn of the States Re-organisation Commission in Bihar there was nothing lacking on the part of the Bihar Government to organise campaigns to defeat the claims of Bengal. Cars and trucks were commandeered to spread propaganda—the owners having been warned in each case by sending to them police constables in the previous evenings, to keep the vehicles ready and to appear at the appointed place at the proper time and what is more, as security and guarantee for this, the police forcibly took

away the driving licenses from the drivers and kept these in police custody.

There was no end to insults and abuses heaped on the devoted heads of the representatives and spokesmen for Dhalbhum before and after their evidence before the States Re-organisation Commission on the 9th February 1955. When they came out on the streets after their evidence was taken, they were beaten up by several rowdies,—the police of course enjoyed the scene as sightseers. Dr. Smarajit Banerjee, the leader of the representatives from Dhalbhum and the President of Dhalbhum Hitaishini Sabha had to bear quite a large share of the assault and the insults. The vindictiveness persisted even after about a year, when on the 17th January, 1956 some interested parties in Jamshedpur declared a “hartal” in protest against the transfer of parts of Purulia and Kishanganj to Bengal,—because this gentleman was then again beaten up grievously on charges of not toeing up the line with the observers of the “hartal”. He was and is a physician in Jamshedpur with established reputation and it is everywhere acknowledged that in hartals certain urgent activities, specially medical work, are never stopped. The charge against Dr. Banerjee was that he refused to close his dispensary on the day of the hartal.

Curiously, this kind of hooliganism was viewed in another light by the States Reorganisation Commission. They simply connived at the repressive measures of the Bihar Government. Local opinion had been forcibly suppressed, copious amount of monies were being spent for hire of men from outside to proclaim with great gusto and bluster that Dhalbhum belonged to Bihar, it was dangerous for the leading inhabitants of Dhalbhum even to come out in the streets : to the States Re-organisation Commission however, all these appeared to be small matters, unworthy of serious note. Impressed by the vaunting

ostentations and clamour started by vested interests, the Commission commented that there was no sufficient agitation to include Dhalbhum in Bengal.

This Commission was all along easily misled by crafty political propaganda and display of violence,—not only in Bihar but in several other places, also, they were seen to be vastly influenced by false propaganda accompanied by intimidation of local people through rowdism, even by banditry instigated by designing persons and supported from official or non-official funds.

Though the Oriah speakers can claim predominance in Chaibasa and Seraikella subdivisions of Singhbhum District they know they have no claim to its Dhalbhum subdivision. The Oriahs admit that Bengal should get Dhalbhum and they support the movement for its inclusion in Bengal. Many leaders of Orissa—among them the late B. K. Roy, one time Chief Justice of Orissa High Court and later a member of Parliament from Orissa had both inside and outside the Parliament openly characterised this claim of Bengal as very reasonable and just. Disinterested persons in many other places of India have felt that the inclusion of Dhalbhum in Bengal would be fit and proper, the right thing in fact. This was the opinion of Dr. Lankasundaram, and in the All India Linguistic Provinces Conference called by the non-congress political parties in April, 1953, the claim of Bengal for Dhalbhum was acknowledged with emphasis.

It was no small obstacle that the States Re-organisation Commission had to surmount in order to keep Dhalbhum in Bihar. The fact of the matter is that Bihar has kept Dhalbhum within its borders with the blessings of the States Re-organisation Commission only after depriving not only West Bengal but Orissa as well of the rightful dues of the latter.

It is an instance of two sins supporting each other.

This is how it happened.

In British days, Seraikella and Kharswan were two separate Indian self-governing states. Now these have been combined to constitute the Seraikella sub-division of Singhbhum District. Here the Oriahs are the biggest linguistic or subnational group.

When the reluctant States Reorganisation Commission condescended at last to recommend the transfer of Purulia subdivision to West Bengal while advising status quo for Dhalbhum, the question arose about contiguity of Dhalbhum with the rest of Bihar. The only link which remained was Seraikella subdivision of Singhbhum but on this subdivision again, Orissa had irrefutable claim! So the States Reorganisation Commission had to make up their mind to ignore a rightful claim of Orissa also to stick to their perverse decision, in fact, their 'zid' to retain Dhalbhum in Bihar. Seraikella (including Kharswan) was thus sold and sacrificed down the river and made to stay in Bihar. This has been one of the rare examples of cumulative perversity in action in national matters.

In Chaibasa Subdivision of Singhbhum district, the place of Oriahs is just next to the Hos,—an aboriginal tribe. Ninety-per cent of Hos live in the region comprising the present Orissa State and Chaibasa and Seraikella Subdivisions in Bihar. The said Subdivisions are just adjacent to the borders of Orissa. Therefore, if Chaibasa and Seraikella would come under the administration of Orissa then almost all members of the Ho community could live under the territorial jurisdiction of the same state—they would not have been forced to a bifurcated existence as now. The Oriahs are on specially good terms with HOS who on their part do not get on with any other people as well as they do with the Oriahs. In

similarity of language, in political outlook, and in social intercourse the relations between the Hos and Oriahs are of the closest. Naturally therefore, the Hos want to join their entire homeland with Orissa and at least four out of their five representatives elected from Singbhum area in the Bihar Legislative and Seraikella to Orissa administration again and again. All the roadway connections and other arrangements for communication with Orissa are more than sufficiently present in Chaibasa and Seraikella Subdivisions. On the other hand, Bihar proper stands almost separated from these areas by a range of hills.

Bihar Government's reply to all counsels of reason on the question was to redouble their efforts to suppress Oriah language and culture in Seraikella and Chaibasa.

Nothing availed, no amount of reasoning held with the States Reorganisation Commission also. The Commission was aware that if in addition to Purulia, Bihar loses Seraikella and Chaibasa Subdivisions also, then geopolitically there will remain no nexus or link between Bihar and Dhalbhum. Bihar must be kept, so in order to keep Dhalbhum linked with Bihar, the claim of Orissa was rejected outright on lame and false pretexts. Bypassing the question whether Dhalbhum ought at all to be retained in Bihar, it was taken for granted that Dhalbhum must remain in Bihar and for purposes of consolidation Chaibasa and Seraikella also must stay in Bihar. This decision of States Re-organisation Commission, — an arbitrary fiat—thus injured not only Bengal but Orissa also.

So the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Act was passed with no mention of Dhalbhum. The late Atul Chandra Ghose, much venerated leader of Bengal and

President of the Manbhum Lok-Sevak Sangha, rightly said that ignoring the major part of the legitimate claims of Bengal the Act stood as a true picture of the character of those who sitting at the summit of power flout the just aspirations of a people. "We feel in our hearts the sorrows of Bengalees left in Dhalbhum". Bengalees wanted only justice but the contemptuous Authorities did not even make any honest effort to arrive at a just decision. We can never understand why the Biharees opposed so vehemently the fulfilment of a harmless national aspiration of the Bengalees — a very numerous and well specified part of the Indian populace. What cause did they have for enmity towards us? What does it matter, after all, to Bihar with its huge area if a trifling part, not even 2% of the area — is transferred from its borders?

At the time of discussion of the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Bill in Parliament, the Government agreeing to cede only parts of Purulia and Kishanganj to West Bengal, the then Home Minister in the Centre, the late Pandit Gavind Ballabh Pant declared, — "What has been done, cannot be helped any more now—but in future, unless Bihar voluntarily parts with it, whatever may be the claims of West Bengal on any other border areas of Bihar, West Bengal will on no account get it". It was most unfortunate that an assertion like this was made. The sentiments of the late Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, expressed in reply, resounded in Bengali hearts when he said that Bengalees would never submit to any fiat that the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Act was the last word in the construction of the structure of West Bengal.

There can be no last word or act in the recovery of one's inherent and inalienable birth right until that recovery is made.

A MUSLIM LOOKS AT THE WILD BEAST OF PAKISTAN

A. C.

There is no doubt that Yahya Khan is one of the world's most despicable homicidal maniacs. The way he has killed off half-a-million innocent men, women and children ; organised rape, arson and mass persecution of a section of his own countrymen (Pakistanis) leading to the exodus of six million people from East Pakistan as refugees ; and has been planning to exterminate the Bengalis of that area ; is quite unparalleled in its hideous blood thirsty savagery. But certain big powers have been supporting him with money and arms, nevertheless, as a matter of political policy ; proving that man's civilisation is only skin deep and there are men in top positions of powerful nations who think nothing of the slaughter of a million boys, girls, babies and grown up persons. We like to think that modern men are morally superior to the marauding barbarians who killed and destroyed in an orgy of sadistic ferocity ; but are not modern men guilty of worse crimes than those committed by Chengiz Khan, Tamerlane and Nadir Shah ? The over civilized Germans have shot down school children en masse ; starved, poisoned and roasted to death several million Jews. The Russians in their effort to create a new civilisation caused the death of 13 million people by starvation and the Americans killed two hundred thousand persons instantly by exploding two atom bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These are outstanding examples of the genocidal exploits of modern man. That Yahya Khan is obtaining help from the United States of America in carrying on his butchery is therefore just another example of the cold calculating manner in which modern statesmen arrange for the extermination of

entire populations for reasons of international balance of slavery. Pakistan must be kept going even if 60% of the people of the country have to be mercilessly wiped out. For without Pakistan, India will become less slavish to the powers and she may become a power herself. That will not suit Washington, Moscow and Peking. So Yahya Khan must allowed to keep alive Pakistan by crushing the people of Pakistan out of existence.

The world at large is not supporting Yahya Khan. The World Press has condemned his actions in clearly unambiguous terms. Many statesmen and important persons of various communities have expressed their horror at all the gruesome acts that the West Pakistani soldiers have committed in East Bengal. Among them have been outstanding citizens of Great Britain, Germany, Holland, France, Japan and various other countries. There have been many Muslims too who have called Yahya, the beast of prey, by his true name. Certain excerpts from the Beirut paper *Al Shaab* (reproduced by the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA of Calcutta) show what some Muslims think of Yahya Khan. It is published as a front page column in that journal, the writer being Mahammed Nakkash. He says :

"Had the late Mohammed Ali Jinnah come to life and seen what is happening in Pakistan to-day, and, in what way his great dream is coming true, would he be proud and happy or regret what he had done ?"

"Five million Pakistanis from East Bengal have fled from Mohammed Ali Jinnah's heaven after seeing it change into hell for them. . . . They have fled to West Bengal in

India. They preferred the enemy country to their. . . . They preferred displacement, living in tents or in open rather than remain in their homes. They even preferred hunger and cholera to death in the hands of their co-citizens. . . . And the enemy opened its arms to them in spite of the shortage of space for its people."

"This is some of the fruits reaped by the Muslims of the Muslim country improvised for them by Mohammed Ali Jinnah and his supporters. It is the embodiment of evidence that the element of religion cannot be the base for the foundation of a state. It is geography (land and neighbours), language and a suitable regime which are the strongest foundations. The Pakistan Bengalis found refuge and shelter at the Indian Bengalis, while they found fire and gun shots from their co-citizens - the West Punjabis. If Pakistan was not founded, East Bengal and West Bengal would have been one state within the Indian Union, speaking the same language, living in the same natural surroundings and having the same crops. This would have formed a stronger social harmony than the one between East Bengal and West Punjab which are separated by a distance of one thousand miles, within the Pakistan Central Government."

"As for the religious emotions and traditions, they are capable of development. How often dissensions (due to human partiality) have taken place within one religion. There is not one evidence that religion was never a dividing fence between the peoples, such as the existence of two or more religions in one country, region or area. The Indian subcontinent itself is an example to that ever since ancient times."

"The dispute however between the members of two different religions in one surrounding is not always more dangerous and more violent than the disputes which sometimes divide the members of one religion."

"In any case we do not believe (according to our historical knowledge) that the Hindus have killed in a few weeks Muslims (or vice versa) as the Pakistanis have killed their brother Pakistanis in the last few weeks. For according to reports the civil war resulted in the death of 300000 people. This is apart from the damage caused to the foundation of Pakistan which is hard (if not impossible) to repair. What is the fault of the East Pakistan people? The president of Pakistan told them to have elections and they did. He himself was supervising the elections."

"The elections which were extremely honest and democratic resulted in the victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and his party. There were two democratic alternatives to take place, either to transfer Pakistan into a federal union in which its Eastern section will be headed by Sheikh Mujib as the Prime Minister and its Western section by Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who won the elections there, or Pakistan to remain in its former form and the winner of the majority of votes in Parliament (who is Sheikh Mujib) to become the Prime Minister. None of the two alternatives was followed. Those who have power in their grip in West Pakistan have instead resorted to force of arms instead of to the will of the people and thus, there was the catastrophe."

"The pretext was that the army was to crush the secessionists. In fact, East Pakistan did not incline towards secession except when it was proved to her that the regime in the country did not depend on the will of the people but on the will of a domineering group living one thousand miles away. Who approved of living within such a country?"

"Whatever the case may be, it has been certified that Pakistan's entity in the form wanted by its founders and supporters is not fit to remain. It is an artificial construction and any artificial thing is doomed to vanish."

The above is a very able political analysis of the savage deeds of the barbarous government of Pakistan in East Bengal. The writer has proved that a government of this type should not exist. A country like Pakistan too has no justification for existence. But strangely enough China and the United States of America think that the world will suffer a great loss if Pakistan ceased to exist. Everybody knows that Pakistan was created by the British imperialists as a punitive measure against India. A handful of Muslim League agitators aided by the British organised communal riots and carried on propaganda against the formation of a single independent state in India after the abolition of British rule. A separate state for Muslims was required as the Muslims could never live in a single state with the Hindus of India. They would be exploited, persecuted and will find no justice or scope for development in a country with a Hindu majority. So, Pakistan was created to enable the "Muslim Nation" to thrive in their own Islamic state. Very shortly after the birth of Pakistan 10000 Kadiani Muslims (Zafarulla Khan was a Kadiani) were massacred by the Muslims of other sects at Lahore. The Muslim Nation also discovered many communities within itself and amity or solidarity among these various different racial, cultural and linguistic groups did not show any signs of growth after Pakistan was formed. The reason for this was that certain communities tried to lord it over others and exploit them for satisfying their own petty greed and narrow selfish desires. This was seen most blatantly in East Bengal where Urdu speaking Muslims and the Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis put on airs of superiority over the Bengalis and successfully monopolised the administrative and military services. When the Martial Law regime came to be in force in Pakistan in the middle fifties; exploitation of Bengalis become easy and wide spread, for

the reason that a vast majority of the heads of administrative departments were found to be Punjabis, Pathans, Beluchis, Sindhis or Urdu speakers. The Awami League developed as the Bengalis felt that they had to organise themselves so that they could save themselves from exploitation, unfair and iniquitous treatment and the high handed actions of the West Pakistanis.

Yahya Khan is trying to reduce the number of Bengalis in Pakistan by slaughtering and by chasing out the unwanted millions who have made Bengalis the most numerous community in Pakistan. Yahya's victims and all those others who feel that they will also be killed or kicked out sooner or later; donot agree to die or to be driven out of their homeland without hitting back. The fight began when Yahya's men started killing, looting, abducting, raping and pushing out the local people. This filthy racialistic pogrom is going on and Yahya is importing non-Bengalis to replace the Bengalis in large numbers. Yahya is ferocious and has no respect for morality, justice or the finer human considerations. Nothing is too low for him when he feels his way to success lies through the quagmire of criminal bestiality. And he is supported by the successors of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman and Sun Yat Sen! There is nothing surprising in Yahya Khan's imitation of the fiercest marauders of history. He says he is descended from Nadir Sha. But Nixon can not claim any relationship with Cortes and Pizarro; nor can Mao'tse Tung disown his spiritual connections with Confucius, Mencius and Lao Tze. The USA and China are thinking that their touch will purify the sinfulness of the Pakistani soldiers, but chances are that the Chinese and the Americans will be sullied by their contact with General Yahya Khan.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. SATISH CHANDRA VIDYA BHUSAN- CAREER OF A GREAT INDOLOGIST

ANIL KUMAR ACHARYA

The late Dr. Satish Chandra Acharya Vidya Bhusan who made his mark in the contemporary world as one of the most eminent and erudite scholars, enjoyed only a brief life-span of 50 years, but during this short life-span he not only thoroughly mastered various branches of Indology, but also established a high standard of scholarship which has remained and will ever remain an ideal for all time to come. Born in a respectable and scholarly Brahmin Family of Navadwip on 30th July, 1870, he had a distinguished student career right from the Divisional Minor Examination upto the M. A. Examination. He topped the list of successful candidates in the Divisional Minor Examination and won a scholarship. In 1888 he passed the Entrance Examination from the Navadwip Hindu School in the First Division and won a second grade scholarship. He graduated from the Krishnagar Government College with Honours in Sanskrit in 1892 and was awarded the 'Prasanna Kumar Sarbadhikari Gold Medal'. In 1893 he passed the M. A. Examination from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta and was appointed a professor of Sanskrit in the Krishnagar Government College. In the same year he passed the Sanskrit Examination held by 'Bidagdha Janani Sabha, Navadwip' in the First Division and obtained the title of 'Vidya Bhusan' (Ornament of Learning). He married the youngest daughter of Gangadhar Acharya, one of the founders and first Principal of Midnapur College.

But a born scholar as he was, Satish Chandra could not remain satisfied only with his profession of teaching. The course

of studies upto M. A. Examination provided only an outline of studies taught through texts selected from the standard Sanskrit works. Along with his avocation as a teacher, he, therefore, proceeded with a comprehensive study of the standard Sanskrit works on Kavya, Alankara (rhetoric), Nyaya etc. under famous Sanskrit scholars of the time. During this period he showed such untiring zeal and extraordinary ability both as a teacher and student that it attracted in no time the notice of the great scholars of the time, on whose recommendation he was placed by the Government of Bengal in charge of the 'Buddhist Text Society'. While engaged in this work, he edited some valuable Pali books with great ability and prepared some authoritative dissertations which earned him the esteem of Indologists of international fame.

This attracted the notice of the great Tibetologist Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das C. I. E. on whose recommendation his services were utilised by the Government of Bengal in the compilation of a Tibetan—English Dictionary. For facility of work and efficient discharge of the duties entrusted to him, Satish Chandra lived at Darjeeling from 1897 to 1900 and took the opportunity of mastering the Tibetan language under the Great Tibetan scholar Lama Funchuog Wangdan who had been living at Darjeeling at that time. The earnestness of his scholarship in this sphere also soon came to light, as will be evident from the fact that in 1901 he passed the M. A. Examination in Pali (first among the Indians) and earned great commendation of his examiner Dr. Rhys Davis of interna-

tional fame. In 1902 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Calcutta. In 1905 when Tasi Lama of Tibet had been travelling in India, visiting the various Buddhist Shrines, temples and places of artistic and historic interest, the scholarship of Satish Chandra in the Tibetan language and Buddhist philosophy was utilised by the Government of India who appointed him as the Interpreter to the former. On the New Years Day, 1906, he was awarded by the Government of India the honoured title 'Mahamahopadhyaya'—a unique and unsurpassed honour for a scholar of only 36 years of age. In 1907 he was appointed as Fellow of the Calcutta University and Joint Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Later, he became a member of the Executive Committee, the Secretary and a Fellow of that august body. In 1908 he composed a very scholarly dissertation entitled "Mediaeval School of Indian Logic" which won him the Ph. D. Degree. He also wrote on "Grimms Phonetic Law of Indo-European Languages and won the 'Griffith Prize' and great Commendations of Contemporary Scholars.

At that time the question of appointing a suitable Principal for the Sanskrit College, Calcutta gained much importance for various reasons. The matter was under the active consideration of the then Lt. Governor of Bengal and for that matter, the Government of Bengal who sought the opinion of Sir Ashutosh, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Sir Ashutosh suggested the name of Satish Chandra as the fittest incumbent for that great office of honour, combining as he did in him both Eastern and Western systems of education and came to be reckoned as a great and erudite scholar on Indology. The Bengal Government decided to appoint Satish Chandra to this post but

pending his formal appointment sent him in June 1909 to Ceylon where he went through a course of highest studies for six months in Buddhist Philosophy. Thereafter he was deputed by Government for another six months (January to June, 1910) to Benares, where he mastered various branches of Sanskrit literature and Hindu Philosophy under famous scholars of the time. Thereafter he came back to Calcutta and learnt French and German under George Thibaut, the then registrar of the Calcutta University. Thus equipped with an all round education of highest order in various branches of Indology and Indian Philosophy Satish Chandra was appointed the Principal of the Sanskrit College in December, 1910.

But a born scholar as he was, Satish Chandra could not remain satisfied even with this august office of the Principal Sanskrit College. He continued his studies with great zeal as heretofore and appeared in the Examination of Proficiency in Tibetan language sponsored by Government in 1912 and 1916 and came out successful with great distinction, winning all the prizes and scholarships. He was then appointed Professor of Pali and Tibetan language and Literature in the Calcutta University. He also functioned as the Editor of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika from 1913 to 1916. Apart from French, German Pali and Tibetan language, he also mastered Burmese and Sinhalese.

This erudite scholarship combined with an ever insatiable quest for further and further knowledge and above all, his charming personality and highly learned dissertations on various topics of Indology and literature made Satish Chandra an idol of the contemporary learned society of Bengal and for that matter, of India, as will be evident from his selection as the first and Chief president of the Nikhil Bharat Digambar Jain Sabha held at Benares

in 1913, of Nikhil Bhart Swetambar Jain Sabha held at Jodhpur in 1914, of Akhil Bharat Sanskrit Literary Conference held at Hardwar in 1914, of Bengali Literary Conference at its sessions at Jessore and Krishnanagar in 1916, of the First Oriental Conference held in 1919, of Calcutta Literary Conference and Bhagalpur Literary Conference. The addresses delivered by him in these conferences bear eloquent testimony to his great scholarship, deep and original power of thinking as well as his literary penmanship. Besides, he wrote a large number of essays on Philology, alphabets, phonetic law, archaeology different systems and schools of Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Philosophy, various topics of Sanskrit, as well as Bengali literatures and brought out scholarly editions of Bhakti-Kavyam, Ratnavali (with English and Bengali translations and learned notes). He also edited many manuscripts of Jain works on Logic and published them in the Bibliotheca Indica. Infact, he was the pioneer worker on Jainology and rendered yeoman services for the revival of academic interest in Jain Philosophy. He was the author of as many as

22 books (English and Bengali), 100 English Essays and as many Bengali essays, which appeared in various noted Bengali and English journals of the time. His books "Buddhadev" "Bhababhuti and his drama" (উষভূতি ও তাহার কাব্য) earned him the esteem of the contemporary literary world.

But the most monumental work of Acharya Satish Chandra is his "An History of Indian Logic". In this book which was published by the Calcutta University, he arranged in chronological order the history of the old Gautam School, the Buddhist and Jain schools (with their Indian, Chinese and Tibetan variations) and the later Gauges School of Indian Logic. He also gave an exposition in lucid language of the subject matter of each book belonging to each school of logic. The composition of this great work entailed 12 years of inhuman labour which completely shattered his health and he was attacked with Paralysis in 1919. He completed his work in his sick-bed on 21.4.1920 viz. 4 days before his death and breathed his last on 25.4.1920 at the prime age of 50.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

* * *

But things changed entirely when Fatik came to stay in this house. Secretary Naren Chakravarty's son started coming in search of Fatik. They studied in the same class and belonged to the same haunts of idle talkers.

If he was late in coming home from school, Shibani started worrying. Shambhu's mother works in Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai's house. Sweeps the courtyard, goes to the pond to wash the used plates and utensils. Lights the stove. Then goes back home after finishing her work.

In the evening Shibani got up when she heard the lock rings of the door being rattled. She said, while unlocking the door—Fatik, my boy, where have you been so long ?

But no ; it was not Fatik, it was Shambhu's mother.

—Oh ! It is you ? I thought it was my grandson come back. The school was over such a long time back, he has not returned, I am much worried—

Shambhu's mother said—You are talking of your Fatik ? He is going about in a boat in the river near the market place—

—In a boat ? Whose boat ?

Shambhu's mother said—Who knows mother, whose boat it is ?

Shibani was amazed.

She said—Does Fatik know how to manage a boat ?

Shambhu's mother said—That I donot know mother, I saw Naren Babu's son with him—

Shibani said—Just see what goes on ! I am worrying myself to death here and he has gone to the Gunge to amuse himself !

Shibani was very anxious. She said—Would you go again and call Fatik back ? Tell him, how inconsiderate you are Khoka Babu, your grandmother is worrying for you at home and you are playing about here ? Tell him, I shall tell his grand father--

Shambhu's mother had no wish to go. But she had to go nevertheless. She said—Your grandson is becoming more and more unmanageable everyday. You do not chastise him at all—

Bidhu Kayal was working in the wholesale yard near the river landing.

Shambhu's mother went up to him and said—I say, I saw the Pandit Mashai's grandson playing in a boat here ; where has he gone ?

Bidhu was busy with his own work. He was surprised to hear this. Said—I donot know—

Shambhu's mother looked about, this way and that, then went back home.

Said—No, mother, I could not find him.

Shibani said—Could not get him? Then where has he gone?

Shambhu's mother had work. She would have to scrub and wash utensils at the pond steps. The kitchen will have to be washed and mopped up with diluted cow dung. There is no dearth of work in a middle class household. She has to work hard; it is only then that she gets her wages at the end of the month. She picked up the utensils and went towards the tank. Did not wait any longer.

What could Shibani do? What could a respectable housewife do? She could not go round the residential quarters in search of the grandson. She could only sit silently and suffer from her anxious thoughts.

As soon as Shambhu's mother returned with the utensils Shibani said—Listen, why didn't you search for him more carefully? Just see, he went to school such a long time ago, it is so late now and he is loitering about without having any food. You might have looked for him a little more carefully—

Shambhu's mother said—He is a youngster, he is bound to go here and there. He will come back all right you will see, and don't worry so much.

Shibani said—How can I stop worrying?

Shambhu's mother said nothing more. She remained silent.

But in the evening when the door rings were rattled she went up and opened the door. Well, he has come home at last. As she opened the door she said—Fatik, my dear boy, should you come home so late...

But no. This was someone else. A total stranger.

—Is Pandit Mashai at home?

Shibani said—Who are you? Pandit Mashai is at school—

The man said—You see, mother, I am coming from Birgunge.

—Birgunge? Is it not quite far away?

—Yes, my mother, I am coming from a far. Your grandson Fatik, he has eaten at our shop, but is not paying for what he has eaten.

Shibani said—Fatik? Where is he?

The man said—He has run away—

Shibani was astounded. Said—Has eaten and has run away without paying up? What did he eat?

The man said—Chops, cutlets, egg curry. Whatever he asked for, we gave him. Then, having eaten, said he had not any money. He had Naren Babu's son Sushil with him, he also had no money.

Shibani did not know what to do.

Suddenly Rani arrived there.

—What has happened grandma? Who is this?

Shibani told her fully all that she had heard. Rani asked the man—How many rupee worth have they eaten?

The man said—Well, they have eaten between them three rupees seven annas worth—

Rani said—Well, you saw they were boys, why did you not see whether they had money before you fed them? It is your fault—

The man said—You see, Didi, one was the grandson of Pandit Mashai and the other Naren Babu's son. They are highly respectable persons of Balarampur, tell me how we could refuse to give them food, knowing all that?

Rani said—Well, why did you not hand them over to the police?

The man exclaimed—Oh, but how can you say that? One does not hand over such gentle-folk to the police.

Shibani said—Oh Rani, why do you say all that, my little mother? Do not talk any more, I am giving the money, for there may be trouble if all this became known to people—

Rani said—What trouble will there be if people heard about this? Why did they not put the cheats in jail?

Shibani said—Do you realise what will happen if your grandfather came to know of this?

Rani said—What more will happen than Fatik will get his back broken by a terrible beating. Let Sushil come; I shall tell father and have a cane broken on his back—

Then she looked at the man and said—You come with me, come along, I shall give you your money—

So saying Rani started homeward. The man began to follow her.

Shibani said—Oh, listen Rani, listen, I am giving the money, take it—

Rani shouted back—No, grandma, do not worry at all, I have got money of my own, I shall give my own money—

She went into her own room and brought out her box in which she kept her hair ribbons and other things. There was another smaller tin box in it. She opened that and carefully counted out three rupees and seven annas in small change. Then she closed the box and put it back in its place.

Basanti had seen all that. Said—What are you doing there?

Rani said—No, Ma, nothing—

—Then what are you doing with that trinket box?

Rani said—I had gone to Grandmother to get my hair done, I am putting things back—

So saying she went out again through the back door.

The man was standing in the grey of the evening under the dark shadow of the big Aswaththa tree. Rani went up and said—Here is your money. Count it well and take it. Is it all right?

The man counted the coins carefully and put them in his pocket.

Rani said—I warn you. Do not let them enter your shop ever again. If you let them

in and feed them again, I shall not pay you. Remember this well, now go—

The man nodded his head and left. He had come all the way from Birgunge. Now he would trudge back to Birgunge. The road got narrower beyond the tank. There are house compounds and gardens enclosed by wire fencing. A very large Neem tree. As he came under that tree Fatik got hold of him.

—Well, shopkeeper, have you got your money?

The man said—Yes, I have been paid in full—

Sushil was also standing beside him. Fatik said—Then? Then why were you blustering like that? Didn't I tell you, you would get your money?

Sushil said—Which house did you go to?

The man said—Pandit Mashai's house—

Fatik asked—Was Pandit Mashai at home?

The man said—No—

The man looked at Sushil and said—Your elder sister—Your elder sister called me to your house and paid me the money. But if you ever again come to the shop, I shall teach you a lesson—You will see then—

Fatik said—Oh, go, I have seen many shopkeepers like you. We shall go again if we like, we shall see what you can do—

The man said—All right, come to Birgunge again and see—

Fatik said—Is Birgunge your paternal holding? We shall most certainly go! Do not talk big—

The man turned round angrily and said—What will you do, let me hear—

Fatik said—You want to know what I shall do? I shall set fire to your shop if you threaten, then you will see some fun—

The man could not stand it any more. He advanced on them shouting—You ruffians, you just wait, I shall teach you what fun you can show me—

And as he was about to pounce upon the two, Sushil and Fatik turned tail and ran. Fatik shouted as he ran—I shall bomb your shop, burst soda water bottles in it—you do not know me, you cannot behave like a lord in Balarampur—

Saying all that in an angry scream they ran on quickly and disappeared. The man stood surprised and as if struck dumb for a while. Then when he saw nobody was there he went on his way to Birgunge.

All this would not have come to the Pandit Mashai's ear. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai could not usually come back home immediately after finishing his classes. The boys who were given home work brought their exercise books daily to school. He used to tie those up in a bundle and bring them to his room. A pile of copy books belonging to the boys of all classes. From classes one and two to class eleven. He would untie the bundles and start putting numbers on the pages.

Previously when the school was small he was the Headmaster. Then it became a High School one day. The former names have been changed and the classes are named class one, class two, class three and so on. Then that High School has now changed to Higher Secondary. Formerly Sanskrit was compulsory, now it is optional. Additional. Now there is a large school committee. President, Secretary and many more have been installed.

But though he was not the Head Master now, Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had to do many things that Head Masters did. Was there drinking water, were the boys and the teachers coming punctually to school; all that should really be looked after by a Head Master. But Gour Bhattacharjee could not

trust any one to do these things, so he did all that himself.

Janardan would come and stand before him.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai notices his presence and says immediately—What is it Janardan, you wish to say something?

Janardan also, like the Pandit Mashai, has become old. He lives in a tile-roof hut in one corner of the garden. Cooks and sleeps there. And when on duty comes from that hut to carry out his work schedule.

—Have you anything to say Janardan?

—It is quite late in the night, won't you go home?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—Well, just a moment, wait till I finish my work. I shall go home when I finish my work.

At times Gour Bhattacharjee confides his inner thoughts to Janardan. After his day's routine work Bhattacharjee Mashai concentrates on other undertakings as the evening hours extend into the night, and Janardan squats on the floor in front and talks.

Gour Bhattacharjee says—What, Janardan, you still there? Have you had your meal?

Janardan says—You are sitting there Pandit Mashai, how can I eat?

Gour Bhattacharjee says—Why do you wait for me? If you do that Janardan you will never have any food. I have so much to do.

Janardan says—But you must look after your own health too; there is my mother waiting for you at home. She has not eaten either—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Forget it! One cannot work if one thinks of one's health. First work, then health. I tell your mother too. Let the school develop properly, then I shall think of my health—

Then after a slight pause—Just look at these

class six boys, they cannot do the noun declensions, but have got their promotion all right—

Janardan says—Yes sir, our mathematics teacher Sashadhar Babu, he has started a coaching school in his house, they pay him fifteen rupees a month for coaching—

Gour Bhattacharjee says—I know, I know everything. I shall break up everything some day. The other day I found him coming late to school—

Janardan said—Sasadhar Babu comes late everyday Pandit Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai knows everything. Which teacher runs a coaching class, who comes late and goes to his classes late, whose standard of teaching is upto the mark ; Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai knows everything. But he keeps quiet. What is the good of making accusations, when the school has a President and a Secretary. There is a Committee and the Head Master Bhabaranjan. Let them look after things now. He is advanced in years.

—The times have changed Pandit Mashai !

Gour Bhattacharjee questions him—Do you remember M—R—Mashai Janardan ?

Then forgotten tales are recounted by the two ancients. One talks as he works and the other talks for the sake of talking. No question of solving any problems, nor criticising anybody. The two move up or down to each other's level and merge their personalities. They both enjoy this. No bells to ring, gates to close or boys to teach. Gour Bhattacharjee likes these interludes very much. A gentle breeze blows over the tank behind the school and the leaves of the mango and coconut trees shiver and tremble softly. He continues to examine the home work books one by one. Inspects the names of the boys carefully. Their faces take shape before his mind's eye.

He says—You know Janardan, the boys

now-a-days are being educated in a faulty manner—

Janardan says—Naturally, the education cannot be good Pandit Mashai, all the teachers go to Sasadhar Babu's house to hold coaching classes—all the boys go there to study—

—You have seen that too ?

—Yes sir, with my own eyes.

While conversing, Gour Bhattacharjee would say—You better go to sleep now, my work will be finished with these few books. I shall lock up the room and go home—you go, how late will you keep up ! Go—

Janardan leaves after a time. Then he gets up after examining some more books of home exercises. Puts out the light. Electric light. Previously he had spent years lighting hurricane lanterns. It is so very convenient now. Yet there is a general atmosphere of shirking work everywhere. All these mechanical aids are for convenience of work. But the machinery have made work difficult. Then he puts his cotton wrap over his shoulder and turns the key in the door lock. Thereafter he steps along homeward through the back gate.

But something strange happened that day.

That night Gour Bhattacharjee went out after finishing his examination of the boys' home work. He suddenly saw that there was a light on in one of the first floor rooms of the school building. Why should there be a light there at this hour of the night ? It looked as if the light was in the science laboratory. Had Janardan then forgotten to switch off the laboratory light ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai started climbing the stairs again. He wished to go up and switch off the light.

But he was astounded when he entered the laboratory. The new science teacher Shibendu appeared to be teaching a few boys something or other—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai stood still a while. A new young teacher. The science department had been started since the Institution became a Higher Secondary School, he was the teacher engaged for the new department.

Shibendu also saw him suddenly and was surprised.

Shibendu came forward towards him and said—Pandit Mashai, you here ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I saw the light from below. I thought Janardan had ignored to switch the light off. What are you doing so late at night ?

Shibendu said—Well, I am just teaching these boys a few things, Pandit Mashai—

—What class do these boys belong to ?

Shibendu said—Sir, they are all class nine beginners, these boys are studious and want to learn, that is why I have made some time to teach them. They may learn something—

Then he said to the boys—You may go now—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, no, I am going, you better continue your teaching—

Shibendu said—No, sir, their lessons were finished and I was going home too—

The boys saluted both of them and left.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, they are very admirable students, aren't they. Do you teach them like this every night ?

Shibendu said—Yes, quite often. And when I see they are eager to learn, I feel they should be taught and helped to learn. That is good for them, as well as good for me. No one taught me properly when I was young. I have suffered. I try to save them from that suffering—

—Did you have to face much trouble ?

Shibendu said—A great deal too much. Had no parents and was brought up in the house of outsiders, could not pay my school fees duly—

Gour Bhattacharjee suddenly saw a piece of paper with pencilled marks on it and asked—What is this ?

Shibendu went up to see.

—Oh this ? This is the drawing of an apparatus. I was explaining to the boys.

Gour Bhattacharjee examined the drawing attentively. Nothing made any sense to him. He had studied Sanskrit Kavya (art of poetry), philosophy and Smriti (holy books which were memorised and were unwritten in the beginning). But he had never seen these, no one had shown him. This was another world. He knew nothing about this world so long. He was deeply pained when the Board abolished compulsory Sanskrit. He was frightened. He thought the boys' mental development would be incomplete if they did not learn literature, philosophy and Smriti. But facing this drawing to-day he thought perhaps he was mistaken. There were many things worth knowing besides literature, philosophy and Smriti about which he was ignorant. Perhaps this drawing contained elements of some such truths.

—Well, Shibendu, is not there another science teacher too like yourself ?

Shibendu said—There is Bhudhar Babu, he teaches Physics, natural science—

—Does he also take all this trouble to teach ? I do not see him here.

Shibendu kept silent. Then said—He has not as much practical work as I have, much less—

Gour Bhattacharjee had discovered a new world as it were. He said—I cannot understand anything of all this Shibendu ; I am thinking that there are perhaps some truths in your Chemistry and natural science too—

Shibendu smiled a little and said—Pandit Mashai, there are truths in all things. Just as you find them in your literature, philosophy and Smriti ; so are they to be found in our

chemistry and physics. All truths move towards a greater truth, that super truth and eternal Reality. We are all trying to reach that innermost truth through the ages and the succeeding centuries.

Gour Bhattacharjee listened on to Shibendu in entranced silence. He began to speculate that what he had put his faith into so far was not perhaps the whole truth. There were many truths somewhere outside his ken which Shibendu and Bhudhar were perhaps cognisant of. This drawing was indicating the existence of such truths and was an attempt at progressing towards them.

—All right, Shibendu, I shall go now. What you have said is very true. There are many paths by which one can arrive at truth. Those paths lie through my literature philosophy and Smriti too. And also through your science.....Then he spoke introspectively —I shall go now, you do your work.....

Shibendu said—I shall also go now, Pandit Mashai—so saying he turned off the gas and went out on the verandah after switching the light off.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai went out on the road. No, there was no cause perhaps for despair. Everyone has not started coaching schools. There were teachers like Shibendu too.

Shibendu was coming with him.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai suddenly asked—Tell me Shibendu, don't you teach at Sasadhar Babu's Coaching School?

Shibendu said—No, Pandit Mashai, I do not.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai asked again—Why don't you?

Shibendu answered—There is no scope for proper teaching there, Pandit Mashai. I donot believe in measuring teaching by the hour and minute and in passing examinations by suggestion of questions and answers. That

brings money but the pupils donot develop in their mind—Sasadhar Babu asked me to join but I refused—

—But then all students go there, don't they?

Shibendu said—I know they go there, but they do not go to learn but to master the tricks of passing examinations without studying genuinely. I have never indulged in trickery and I feel pain when I see anyone indulging in such subterfuge. That is why I call all students who really wish to learn to the laboratory after school hours and teach them—

—Yes, but do these boys pay you anything separately for all this?

Shibendu smiled again. Said—No, Pandit Mashai, I would not accept any money even if they paid. I need money very badly, but I would feel lowered before myself if I accepted money iike that. I somehow manage to get along with what I receive from the school.

—Gour Bhattacharjee could not control himself any longer. He caught hold of Shibendu's hands and exclaimed—Shibendu, I never realised that there was such idealism in your science, I used to think science taught you only gross materialism. I am blessing you Shibendu; may you find your truth in your science!

Shibendu also was overcome by emotion. He bowed low all at once, touched the Pandit Mashai's feet and carried his hands to his forehead.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have felt a great sense of peace in my heart, my boy, may you live long Shibendu. Do you know, my boy, Kirti Kavyalankar of Nadia District is my ancestor. I am of that family. I got the Kavyatirtha degree from Navadwip. When I came here I found everybody was ignorant, no one knew Sanskrit. I used to think that unless one learnt Sanskrit one's human exis-

tence would be fruitless. All that was outside the holy books was gross materialism. I grew up in that tradition. I shall teach, but accept no money, shall write no books of explanatory notes. I shall not touch the sinful things of the times. That is why I have a strong antipathy towards the people who belong to this age. But I have not been able to push back the sins. The peoples of the world are following their own preferences. No one would respond to my wishes. Even my wife is critical of my earning so little money. But you tell me, are humanity, honesty, truthfulness, religion, all these totally false and only money is worth consideration? He who has humanity and honesty but no money, is he to be discarded as unwanted? What does your science tell you Shibendu; does your science support this view of things?

Shibendu said—That's all wrong, Pandit Mashai, utterly wrong. Science is not gross materialism.

—Not gross materialism? You admit then that there is another world besides the material world that you know? You admit that all reason and logical analysis have evolved out of what the ancients thought and reasoned about?

Shibendu said—We donot deny anything that exists, Pandit Mashai. You know what science means, I do not have to explain that to you. Take knowledge, for instance. What is knowledge? Ramakrishnadev belonged to the world of mysticism. He said; he who knows that drinking milk is good for health has knowledge, and he who knowing this has been drinking milk and improving his health is a scientist—

By that time Shibendu had walked a long distance.

He suddenly exclaimed—Aren't you going home, Pandit Mashai? You have come quite a distance away from your house.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—Let it be, let it be; you see Shibendu, what you are saying means that you can only attain the truth by a synthesis of approach through knowledge and approach through emotional attachment, is not that so?

Shibendu said—It is quite late now, let me come with you and reach you home, Pandit Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—No, no, I can go home alone. What I was saying, your science is, therefore, what we call Gnanayoga or approach to truth through knowledge.

—Pandit Mashai we shall discuss this another day—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—Well, all right, it is also getting late for you. Leave my case alone, I have spent all my life in this manner.....

So saying Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai started in the direction of his house. Suddenly Shibendu said from behind—Another thing Pandit Mashai—

—What, what is it? Tell me.

—I required to purchase some apparatus for my laboratory.

—Apparatus? Surely you should buy some, it is necessary. Tell Bhabaranjan. Bhabaranjan is a very good boy—

Shibendu said—I spoke to Bhabaranjan Babu, I have been speaking for the last one year, but nothing is being done—

—Why, why is not anything being done?

—There is shortage of funds, no money.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—What's that? No money? Why? So much money is being collected from fees paid by the boys, the Government is giving money too, why should there be no money? Where has the money gone? Then what are the President, the Secretary, the Committee doing?

Shibendu said—That I do not know. He was saying the teachers' salaries could not be

raised due to lack of money, it has become imperative to increase the school fees.—When the fees are increased then we shall buy things—

—No, no, no.—Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai objected vehemently and said—No, no, no, how can that be? Education cannot suffer for want of money. That is impossible. That cannot be permitted. All right, I shall speak to Bhabaranjan. For shame! The apparatus must be purchased.

Shibendu said—Please do not mention my name, Pandit Mashai, the Head Master will be angry with me then—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—that I shall manage and say whatever is necessary. You don't worry. So saying he went home-ward.

* * * * *

Shibani, as usual, had finished her cooking and other household work, and was sitting at ease. She did not have a lot of daily duties. Rani had gone home quite some time ago. Thereafter Shambhu's mother had finished her work and gone home too. The house assumed a deserted look after that. About this time Shibani always found the house empty. May be she missed her daughter during these idle moments. Such memories swept through her mind like waves of sighs. Abanti occupied much of her life before she was married off. He was busy with his school and his school right from the beginning. Shibani passed her time with Abanti.

She was a cry baby when she was young. Shibani got angry at times and gave her a slap or two. Abanti cried all the more when she was slapped.

The wife of Mr. Mukherjee next door used to say—Why do you beat your daughter so much, tell me Bou, why do you?

So saying she picked up Abanti and took her to her own house to console. But the child howled all the more in that house. In the end the Mukherjee lady brought her back.

She would say—Take your daughter Bou, take her. The mother beats her so much, but she must go back to that mother! Only screams—I want to go to mother—. Ah, such is the attraction of a mother!

That Mukherjee lady is no longer there. She had a pain in her abdomen on the day of the Ashtami Puja and died.

Abanti was very small then. She understood nothing. She would ask—Where is grandma, why does not grandma come?

Shibani could not make her daughter understand that persons went somewhere after death whence they could not ever return.

Suddenly the door rings rattled mildly.

Shibani said—Who is that? Fatik?

Nobody answered. As she hurriedly opened the door she found it was Fatik and none else. Fatik was displaying all his teeth in a broad smile.

—Here, why are you so late? Where have you been so long?

Fatik was still smiling. He asked—Grandpa has not come back yet, has he grandma?

Shibani said—You first tell me where you have been—

Fatik had understood by then. He said—Do you know grandma, I tricked a fellow very badly to-day.

Shibani said—Yes, that shopkeeper came here—

—He came? I hope you did not pay him any money?

—I have not given, but Rani has.

Fatik said—That is very good, I told him to go to Sushil's house and the son of a pig comes along to you. If Didi has lost some money, that is not at all bad. You know grandma, there is a lot of money in Didi's

box, Didi is such a skin flint, she would not give a pice to anyone, just goes on saving—

Shibani by then was flabbergasted by Fatik's recitation of his exploits.

Fatik had gone into the room to deposit his books. He announced from inside the room—I shall not have any food to-day grandma, I have had my belly full—

Shibani said—Come this way and listen to me, come and listen—

Fatik came and faced Shibani. He asked—What is it?

Shibani said in a reprimanding tone—What do you think you are doing? You did not come home from school, why? Where did you go in a boat?

Fatik now began to realise the enormity of his misdeeds.

—Why do you not speak? Answer me!

Fatik said—That is fine! Why are you scolding me? Why don't you scold Sushil? It was Sushil who asked me to get into the boat—

—Sushil told you to climb into a boat and you went into it? And you had no money in your pocket, but you ate up chops and cutlets at Sushil's behest!

Fatik said—I am telling you the truth grandma, in the name of the goddess Kali, it was Sushil who took me to the shop to eat!

Shibani said—Now, if I tell all this to your grandfather, what then?

Fatik entreated—Please grandma, don't tell grandpa, I pray to you with my hands on your feet, I shall never do this sort of thing again!—

Shibani asked him—Why did you not think of all this then, when Sushil called you, why did you not think of your grandfather?

When she looked at Fatik's tearful eyes, Shibani began to visualise her daughter's face. He looked exactly like his mother. Shibani's heart was overburdened with grief and unshed tears. She cried—You ill fated boy! You

have learnt nothing after being so long with your grandfather. Nothing enters your head! When grandfather comes to know of all this, he will just beat you to death and how will I be able to stop it?

She clasped Fatik to her breast and burst into tears.

Shibani thought as if it was Abanti's face that pressed against her bosom. She went on talking while holding Fatik in that sorrowful embrace—Your grandfather wants you to be somebody of importance. He expects you to earn scholarships, and this is what you do!

The whole natural set up of Balarampur commenced to weep in sympathy with Shibani at the moment. The waters of the nearby tank swelled up and the leaves of the Siris tree shivered, as it were, in sorrow and despair.

Sushil was going indoors at that moment silently and on tiptoes.

Who is that?

His father was sitting with his clients in the room adjoining the front door. Sushil avoided that door and went in by the back entrance. Sasadhar Babu was sitting in the study room as was his daily practice. He had come to coach Sushil. But Sushil did not go into that room either. He went to his own room through the corridor which was curtained off.

—Who is that?

Sushil came right in front of Didi (his elder sister)

—Where had you been so long?

Sushil halted in consternation when caught like this. He said—What is that, why do you scold me? What have I done?

—What have I done? You trying to pretend being hurt? Why did you not come back home after school? Tell me where you

had gone! If you don't at once, I shall go and tell father right now—

Sushil stood still undecided. He said—I had gone with Fatik—

—Where have you been?

Sushil said—To the fair at Birgunge.

—Why did you go there, what for?

Sushil said—To eat—

—What do you mean, why to eat?

Sushil said—I did not want to eat, Didi. Fatik said he wanted to eat cutlets. So I also ate.

—Who paid for it?

—I did not pay the full amount. I had only one rupee on me.

Rani said—How did you get money? Who gave you money?

Sushil looked at Rani with fear in his eyes. Then he said—I took the money from your box—

Rani kept silent for a while. She fixed her gaze steadily on Sushil as if to frighten him.

Sushil got frightened and was cowed down as he faced his Didi. He said—Please Didi, do not tell any one. Fatik told me to steal money from your box. It was not my fault, Fatik was really guilty.

—Then, what happened? How many rupee worth did you eat?

—Four rupees seven annas.

—Who gave the balance of three rupees seven annas?

Sushil admitted—Could not give the money. The shopkeeper was handing us over to the police. But we named father and Pandit Mashai so they brought us along here. And then if you had not paid up they would have taken us to the police sure enough.—You have not said anything to father, have you?

Rani did not say anything more. She only said—Go, your teacher is sitting in that room for a long time, go and study—

Sushil felt he was saved. He ran off in one spurt to the other room.

(To be continued)



THE NANJILNAD REBELLION

A. YESURA NAM

Village associations and assemblies existed in Nanjilnad (South Travancore) from very early times and they played a vital role in curbing the despotic tendencies of the rulers. In times of political and social convulsions the village assemblies guided the villagers to pursue the right course of action. Tradition and early records point unmistakably to the fact that the Nanjilnad assemblies checked the despotism of the rulers and preserved the rights and privileges of the people at large. They used every opportunity to assert their rights and to safeguard the interests of the people. The resolutions passed by the Nanjilnad village assemblies at the time of the invasions of the *Madurai* Nayaks reveal the determination of the people to fight tyranny, their love for freedom and their sense of unity.

Nayak Invasions

In the days of Ravi Varma, Nanjilnad was frequently invaded by the forces of Madurai Nayaks. Early records show that a part of Agasteeswaram Taluk, from Kanyakumari to Kottaram, was occupied by Tirumala Nayak's forces. A partition wall separated a large strip of land which including Variyur, Karungulam, Alagappapuram, Mahadonapuram and Agasteeswaram, and this area was known as Purattayanad or Murattanad. It was easy for the Nayak's forces to penetrate deep into Nanjilnad from Purattayanad, which formed a part of the Nayak's domain. The inscriptions of Kudu-raipandivilai and Vayalivilai in Agasteeswaram Taluk show that the forces of Tirumala Nayak made repeated incursions into Nanjilnad. These invasions created much hardship to

the people and a chaotic state of affairs prevailed in South Travancore. Vast areas were ravaged and pillaged, and the fear stricken people had to flee to the woods and mountains. Those marauders were usually called Badagas (Vadukas), and they lifted the cattle, plundered the people and mercilessly butchered the defenders.

It was during the regency of Mangammal (1689-1706) a calamitous invasion of South Travancore took place under Dalawai Narasappayya. The immediate cause of this invasion was the failure of the Venad king to pay his usual tribute to Madurai. The Madura Manual says that Narasappayya "entered Travancore, subdued it after much hard fighting, and returned to Trichinopoly with a very considerable booty consisting of spices, jewels and guns". T. K. Velupillai doubt the success of Narasappayya's invasion; but R. Sathianathier points out in his 'History of the Nayaks of Madurai' that after a hard struggle he came out victorious and dictated his own terms to the Venad ruler. He received all the arrears of tribute and valuable jewellery from the King of Venad.

The whole brunt of these Nayak incursions had to be borne by the people of Nanjilnad. Their crops and property were damaged, their houses were looted and their villages were set on fire. Their agony was further aggravated by the oppression of the unscrupulous officers and agents of the Yogakkara and Pillamars (feudal chieftains of Travancore), who tried to collect the dues from the hapless people by having recourse to force. The king was well aware of the woes of

the people of South Travancore, and with a view to relieving their sufferings he generously granted remission of the arrears of tax for a period of twenty years. This remission of taxes to the people on account of the Nayak's invasion can be seen in the Vadasseri inscription dated 873 Kollam Era (1697 A. D.). But this royal order did not produce the desired effect, since the greedy officers ignored the wishes of the king and went on extracting money and illegal cesses from the people. The overbearing attitude and tyranny of the feudal chieftains made the people rise in rebellion, and they are said to have convened a series of five meetings of their village assembly in different places from 1702 onwards. In these meetings of the Nattar or citizens they passed resolutions protesting against such acts of Government which, in their opinion, subjected them to much hardship and loss. The edicts containing their resolutions are found among the records of Periaivittu Mudaliar and are known as Mudaliar Manuscripts. The importance of these resolutions lies in the fact that they show the key role played by village assemblies in those days. They also reveal that the people of South Travancore were very conscious of their rights and privileges, that they were willing to stand united to face the common disaster and that they were prepared to bear any suffering, undergo any sacrifice for the preservation of their ancient rights and privileges.

The following extract from the resolutions passed by the Nattars on the first of Alpasy 878 M. E. at Vadasseri tells about the miseries experienced by the people due to the arrogance the officers :

"As our land has from the year 852 M. E. been the scene of distress on account of foreign invasions from the east and of troubles from within the State, we having failed owing to lack of union to make a bold stand and to have our grievances heard ; in that our pro-

perty, holdings and services are being usurped by others, the village chieftains oppressing us in doing things not heard of before, the Government listening to tales carried by backbiters from the country and harassing us....."

In another resolution passed as Asramam, near Suchindrum, on 14th Markali 889 M.E. (Dec. 1713 A.D.), the Nattars, in their meeting, asserted their loyalty to the king, but refused to pay additional taxes like kottappanam. The resolution goes on to say, "Hereafter we should not pay any kottappanam and unusual taxes, and should protest against such attempts by unitedly making a bold stand and by emigrating. We should honourably keep up all the privileges or rights which our ancestors enjoyed in olden days". This resolution reveals the determination of the Nanjilnad people to defend their rights and privileges against the unwarranted aggressions of the royal authority. It also contains a call for rebellion, as they have threatened to migrate if the authorities did not take prompt steps to remove their difficulties.

Another meeting of the Nattars, held at Isantimangalam on the 15th Vycausy 801 M.E. (1716 A.D.) passed certain resolutions which give an account of the suffering experienced by the people at the time of the Nayak invasions. ".....as Srinivasa Rao has carried away flocks of sheep and herds of cattle as well as the leaders of the people ; as Reddy cow-herds have been daily lifting herds of cattle from the country ; as Anantoji Nayakkar has, in the southern division of Nanjilnad, deprived women even of their marriage badges which were only cotton threads and ruptured the lobes of their ears, has carried away herds of cattle, paddy and seed-grain from the country....." The royal officers showed complete indifference to the sufferings of the people, and therefore, the Nattars passed another resolution in which

they expressed their decision to abandon cultivation. ".....the Kariakars and Swarupakars (royal officers) have not, under royal command, redressed our grievances and enabled us to live in peace, we should leave uncultivated the whole country between Mangalam and Menakudi from the Kar season of 892 M.E. and if after that the Kariakars and Swarupakars under royal command, redress our grievances and enable us to live in peace, we may then cultivate our lands".

The repressive measures of the Government created widespread dissatisfaction among the people, and Nanjilnad was ablaze with rebellion. In Rome, the plebeians 'seceded' to the Sacred Mount when their demands were turned down by the patrician Government. In the same manner, the people of Nanjilnad abandoned their homes and emigrated to the neighbouring hills. They refused to return to their villages; but later on, like the plebeians, they came back when the king promised redress to their grievances.

The following extract is taken from the proceedings of the fourth meeting held on the 16th of Kartikai 898 M.E. (1722 A.D.) at Kadukkara. "On account of the heavy taxes imposed on us and the cruel treatment which we were subjected to till the Kumbham harvest of 895 M.E. (1720 A.D.), we were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during the whole of the year 896 M.E. (1721 A.D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains. The sovereign, together with the Pottimars, Pandals, and the members of the Swarupam, encamped at Bhutapandi and summoning the people of both the divisions of Nanjilnad before him, redressed all their grievances till the Kumbham crop of 896 M.E. (1721 A.D.)".

After this settlement with the king, the assembly began to exercise its own powers and prerogatives. This was not liked by the king. It is recorded in the proceedings of their Assembly (Nattars): "But when the assembly exercised these privileges by instituting a

regular enquiry against these that infringed its law, the sovereign came down upon the association and demolished the houses of two chiefs in each division." This act roused feelings of horror and indignation among the people. Once again Nanjilnad burst into open revolt. The Government also let loose a reign of tyranny. Officers like Sivassila Mudaliar, Muthu Pillai and Chittambalam Pandaram resorted to inhuman and barbarous methods to suppress the rebellion. When the atrocities of the authorities became unbearable the people of Nanjilnad gave up the vow of non-violence and decided to meet violence with violence itself. Another resolution was passed which declared, "That we will be prepared to make a bold stand and resist by force, if any measures be taken to enforce the unjust imposts, and even be willing to migrate into another country leaving our Kumbham crop behind". They also stressed the need of unity in the hour of crisis and made a bold declaration that they would not hesitate to punish traitors. The decision of the majority in the assembly was declared binding on every individual and even service under the king was made an unpatriotic act. As Nagam Aiya says, "The spirit of lawless defiance to the king's authority engendered by this state of affairs reached its climax when the people openly met and resolved to take the life of any man who acted against the interests of the public therein assembled". The people of Nanjilnad had to carry on a long and protracted agitation. They had to bear much hardship whenever they emigrated; but every time they went, they were called back to their homes by the ancient kings who cajoled them with sweet promises of sympathy and better protection". One outstanding feature of their struggle is that it was a non-violent, preconcerted resistance. Their methods were not those of random agitation or mob violence, but of collective bargaining and passive resistance. As S. Desigavinayagam Pillay has correctly put it, "It was perhaps in these meetings of the early Nanjilnadians that the political weapon of non-co-operation was forged for the first time in the annals of our country".

POLITICS OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN*

SUBHASHI CHANDRA SARKAR

Jayaprakash Narayan has shunned party politics and has been talking of village reconstruction and panchayati raj. He has even earned the opprobrious nickname of being a Sarvodaya leader. To talk of his politics may appear irrelevant if not actually sacrilegious. Yet it is possible, nay necessary, to understand the politics of Jayaprakash Narayan if one has to understand the man and his views. The publication together of his articles and speeches on the subject of panchayati provides an opportunity for such an examination. Some may wonder if the political ideas of a person are capable of being derived from his articles and speeches on panchayati raj. But it is very much possible to do so, since the objective of political action in this country as in any other country, is to reorganize the economic and the social structures no less than the political structure. And panchayati raj not only involves the economic and social aspects of Indian society but the political aspect as well. Indeed there may be no better way of knowing the real character of the political views of Jayaprakash Narayan than by referring to his articles and speeches on the subject of the much publicized but little understood (or realized) panchayati raj. The reason is simple. Since four-fifths of the people of the country live in the villages and since it is again in the villages that both the core and the bulk of Indian poverty are to be found, it is only with reference to a person's views on the detailed problems of the villages in the country, and the means of their solution, that one can hope to gain an insight into his political mind. Such an examination of a person's views would enable

one to know whether his views are worthwhile in the context of the nation's striving to lift itself out of the morass in which it finds itself today. What do we find Jayaprakash wants through his talks and articles on panchayati raj and gram swaraj?

Village Isolation Undesirable

Let us first examine his views on the villages. Does he wish to leave them as they are? The answer is clearly in the negative. Jayaprakash wants the villages of India to be liberated from their cloistered existence. He writes, "Among our national leaders there are not a few who look back upon the largely vanished village self-sufficiency as an ideal to go back to. I find myself in opposition to such a view. I believe that if free Indian society and the Indian people are to prosper, are to develop a sense of common and co-operative life, if national unity is to become real; if the divorce from national politics of the mass of the people—which was such a glaring aspect of past Indian society—is to be removed; if parochialism and clannishness are to be banished; if rigours of the iniquitous caste system which flourished on the fertile soil of village self-sufficiency and family specialisation of labour are to be destroyed; if democracy and self-government

* *Communitarian Society and Panchayati Raj* by Jayaprakash Narayan. Navachetna Prakashan, Post Box 115, Varanasi (U.P.). 1970 Pp 155 Rs.18-00.

Face to Face by Jayaprakash Narayan. Navachetna Prakashan. 1970. Pp 28 Rupee one. (All page references in the text are from the first mentioned volume.)

are to be made effectual ; if all these objectives are to be achieved ; the free Indian State will have consciously to endeavour to break up the remaining self-sufficiency and isolation of the villages and make them 'coherent economic units' in united and interdependent national economy." (p 46)

It is clear that when Jayaprakash talks of village selfgovernment he does not speak of keeping the villages away from the mainstream of national life but rather of establishing an integral and mutually beneficial relationship between the villages, and between the villages and the national industrial economy. To quote Jayaprakash, "It is necessary to add that the break-up of self-sufficiency that is emphasised here does not mean that the village would be placed at the mercy of international markets and the city capitalists. Far from it. What I am suggesting is the village as a fully protected economic unit (protected both by the state and cooperation in the village itself), not independent or self-sufficient but interconnected, not according to the blind laws of capitalist competition and exploitation, but to a national and regional plan." pP 46-47

Democracy's Narrow Base

This would invariably involve the modernization of village economy and reorganization of the social life in villages. In other words the villages would have to undergo a radical transformation which has been part of the national objective for years. Indeed this would mean the extension of democracy to the villages and to the masses of the people. Writing ten years ago Jayaprakash made an incisive appraisal of the weakness of the base of democracy in India. "The most striking fact that has emerged from the working of ten years of our Constitution," Jayaprakash wrote in 1961, "is that the people of the country, that is to say, the twenty crores of

voters, have felt rather left out of it all. They have no doubt had the opportunity of participating in two General Elections, but beyond that transient contact with the working of democracy, they have had nothing further to do with it. It is very common to hear the remark made by common people even in the country-side that though *Swaraj* came, it had not come to them. They complain that they are ruled much in the same manner and by the same kind of people as during the British rule. They find that not even in local affairs have they a hand or that even the humblest civil servant is in any manner accountable to them ; on the contrary, they find that he lords it over them and even exacts illegal gratification as much as in the old days. The truth must be faced that the people have not been able to experience the sensation of *Swaraj*. It is only the very thin layer of the educated middle class, and even of them only those directly engaged in political activity, who are involved in the working of our democracy. The result of this state of affairs is that our democracy is found to be resting on a very narrow base." (p 70)

Village isolation has been broken during the quarter of a century from the time when Jayaprakash first gave the call for the breaking down of the static isolationism of the villages. The tragedy is that this breakdown has not taken place in the manner in which Jayaprakash envisaged it to take place but in just the contrary manner. The breakdown of the village autonomy has not strengthened the villages by integrating them with the national economy. On the other hand, without education and organization, the greater exposure of the villages to the forces of the highly centralist industrial economic forces has rendered them weaker and more helpless, causing the further destitution of the vast masses of the rural people as can be

seen in the rising number of the landless agricultural labourers. Therefore the problem of rural poverty remains as baffling as ever. If it is not fashionable even in the circle of socialists (a seminar on socialist thought organized at Patna was inaugurated by a retired ICS officer who, besides enjoying an attractive pension which is higher than the salary of most working Indians, also occupies an important place in the ruling bureaucracy notwithstanding his formal retirement :) to discuss rural destitution and backwardness, Jayaprakash Narayan, despite his giving up active politics, has not forgotten the central problem of Indian economics, politics and sociology—rural poverty and backwardness :

Jayaprakash is a democrat, a believer in the need for peaceful change. Therefore he has settled in the Musahari block in Muzaffarpur district since 9 June 1970 to lend the force of his personality for the introduction of necessary social and economic changes. What he wants, what all the political parties of the country also want, is the extension of democracy to the rural masses. Yet nothing much has happened to reduce the helplessness of the rural poor before the oppressors and the exploiters. The continuation of such a system is clearly against the national interest. Already violence has raised its head in many parts of the country and the main difficulty faced by the authorities is the lack of feeling of many of any stake in the preservation of the system. The need, if democracy is to be saved and made real for the common man in India, is to make it of use to the people (and not only to the few educated and the affluent) and create a popular stake in its survival. Unless that is done "at the slightest push the pyramid of democracy standing on its head would topple down and the millions of particles of sand, viz., the disorganized voters,

would look on as helpless spectators." (p 71) Thus whether one is a votary of democracy or a votary of the revolution (essentially there is no contradiction between the genuine believers in democracy which rests on equality and the genuine believers of social and political revolution which is the means of bringing about that equality) Jayaprakash Narayan's analysis retains equal relevance.

Centre-State Relations

The fundamental point of distinction in Jayaprakash Narayan's stand is that he wants the recognition of the role of the millions living in villages in the running of the country. So far the practice has been to hand down a decision from New Delhi or the State Capitals to the people. There is no doubt that the national and the State Governments will have to play a positive role of providing leadership and that many of the decisions of the Central and the State Government have been inspired by a genuine desire to do good to the people. Equally undoubted is the fact, however, that these measures have signally failed to bring about any improvement in the life of the vast masses, the majority of whom are living below the subsistence level, according to a study of the Reserve Bank of India. Jayaprakash Narayan is perturbed by this failure and sees a way out in activating the rural masses in taking a positive role. An example can illustrate the point: The Bihar Government headed by Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahay had passed a good law on bataidari. It was a decision handed by the State Government. But it has remained unimplemented. Herein is to be seen the utter limitation of an initiative from the top for which there is no sustenance at the base. In making a fervent plea for village self-government, Jayaprakash wants these good Central and State measures to be fully implemented for popular welfare. Jayaprakash effectively

rebutts the theory that extension of democracy to the base will lead to the weakening of unity. He says that the result will be to the contrary. Jayaprakash says, "political and economic decentralization and strengthening of the lower organs of government might make it appear as if that process would weaken the fabric of the nation and impair the strength and unity of the Centre. The fact that fissiparous tendencies do exist in the country, and there are local and linguistic patriotism and tensions, lends force to this view. But a closer examination of the matter would show that we would be far more cohesive and strong as a nation, and the diverse groups making up India would live together far more happily, if they had as much freedom and opportunity as possible to manage their affairs and preserve and develop their uniqueness." (p 74)

Unfortunately not many in this country realize the need for the devolution of authority from the Centre to the States and from the States to the panchayats and villages. Jayaprakash warned as early as in 1961, "It is not without reason that those in India who advocate a unitary form of government have marked fascistic tendencies." (P 74). The decade that has passed since he had uttered the warning against centralization has not seen any relaxation in that trend of usurping authority but has been marked by a further accentuation of the process of centralization of authority and functions. The past quinquennium was marked by a complete rereading of the meaning of the constitution to deprive the States of their autonomy particularly through the creation of various central police forces despite the fact that the Constitution made the State Government responsible for the maintenance of law and order. This was made possible by the spinelessness of the Congress leaders in the States, the weakness

of the non-Congress governments formed in the wake of the fourth general election in 1957, and the supine subservience of the press in general to the Central Government whose words were accepted as gospel truth by the metropolitan newspapers to run down the State Governments. Whether it was the State's desire to be consulted over the appointment of the Governor or it was the State government's desire to be consulted before the deployment of the Central police force, the Central Government, with the active support of the press, trampled upon those desires with ruthless firmness which could have been better employed in arresting disruption and punishing dishonest politicians and civil servants. Despite the assumption of greater powers and the acquisition of additional organizational strength it is not certain that the Central government has gained any greater effectiveness than it had say in 1961 when Jayaprakash Narayan uttered his warning against centralization. On the other hand there are unmistakable signs of decreasing effectiveness of the Central government's actions. Why? Ten years ago Jayaprakash had clearly foreseen the answer to this question. He wrote, "Devolution of power, so that the Centre has only as much of it as required to discharge its *Central* functions, and all the rest is exercised by the lower organs, need not necessarily imply a weak Centre. It is all a matter of competence; at each level the elected authority does all that it is competent to do. And, because at each level the authority concerned finds that there are tasks that lie beyond its competence, it has to federate with other authorities at the same level so as to create a higher level of authority." It is this factor of competence that is a guarantee of the strength of the Centre in this system, because it is in the interest of the lower authorities to give all power and opportunity to the Centre to do efficiently and expeditiously all that they them-

selves cannot do. Defence, foreign affairs, inter-State relations, currency, regulation of imports and exports, preservation of national unity are, for instance, tasks that fall within the competence only of the Centre. A central government that is armed with these powers cannot by any stretch of imagination be described as weak, just because the range of subjects in its charge is not so wide. Indeed, such a government would be bound to be strong, powerful, streamlined and effective. On the other hand, a top-heavy sprawling Centre, poking its finger into every pie, might have the appearance of strength and power but in actual fact, it would be weak, flabby, slow-moving, and ineffective." (PP 74-75)

It is not only the politician in power or the bureaucracy, but a considerable section of the intelligentsia also, that fails to realise the truth that, to quote Jayaprakash Narayan, "National unity or strength does not depend upon the list of subjects that a Central government deals with, but on such intangible factors as emotional integration, common experiences and aspirations, National ethos, mutual goodwill and the spirit of accommodation, and above all upon large-hearted wisdom on the part of national leaders." (P 75).

Jayaprakash realises the fact that the improvement of the lot of the villagers has to be made the task of villagers themselves. The village people have to give a thought to their problems to find out a solution. Undoubtedly the strength of the national industrial economy would be there for the villagers to fall back upon ; but without local initiative the villagers would not be able to derive the fullest advantage of the benefits of the infrastructure i. e., electricity, supply of steel and machinery—created by largescale and heavy industries. The level of awareness which alone can enable a social group to act so wisely, villagers cannot imbibe themselves—

at any rate in the short run. There lies the need for leadership. Who can provide that leadership? Jayaprakash says, "In order that this task is successfully tackled there must be a large band of selfless workers to inspire, arouse, help and guide the people." (p 103). Very true, indeed. But is this concept of "a large band of selfless workers" compatible with distrust of the political parties which is to be met with in Jayaprakash's writings? For example Jayaprakash writes that "it is well worth emphasizing that the success of panchayati raj would depend upon the extent to which organized political parties refrained from interfering with it trying to convert it into their hand-maiden, and using it as a jumping ground to climb power ." (p 77). Then from where will the leadership come? The villagers are illiterate, ignorant and unable to provide the leadership. Jayaprakash thinks that it can be expected of the panchayat parishad. He writes, "It should be the job of the panchayat parishad to instil in the minds of the members and office-bearers of the panchayats the requisite spirit of service and sacrifice. The spirit of self-seeking and power-grabbing, that is often noticed, would more effectively destroy panchayati raj than anything else." (p 103) While Jayaprakash's warning that power politics would destroy panchayati raj has come true, his hope that the panchayati raj institutions would succeed in throwing up the requisite leadership has not been realized why has it been so?

An analysis of the situation discloses the fact that the panchayati raj institutions could not become effective organs of popular power because, in the peculiar power structure existing in the country, the panchayati raj institutions have been seized by the rural vested interests. The dread of the mukhiya in many place symbolizes the failure of the

system to work for the purpose for which it was thought of. In political terms the panchayati raj institutions became the haunting ground of the rural rich enjoying the patronage of the Congress Party. The natural corollary of the situation is that without the greater politicization of the masses in the rural areas it is impossible to generate dynamism which can bring about the desired changes in the rural society. In many places the panchayati raj institutions carry the authority of being part of the governmental machinery. The preponderance of the rural rich and upper caste men in these organizations has meant the strengthening of the forces of the *status quo* by imparting upon their actions in many places a legal sanction. It is a most undesirable political situation from which there is no release except through political action. Perhaps it is necessary to reexamine Jayaprakash's opposition to the introduction of party politics in the rural areas and his emphasis on avoiding contests in the election to the panchayati raj organs. (p 80) Perhaps it is the introduction of partisan politics alone that can create some dynamism in the basically static situation of the Indian countryside. Perhaps it is through contests again that the weaker sections of the rural community may come to acquire the self-confidence on which alone depends the regeneration of village life in India. Perhaps Jayaprakash would find some time to review the events of the decade that has passed since he had put forward his views, and restate his thesis in the light of the changed circumstances.

It is as much a duty of the political parties and the intelligentsia, though. For the basic task of improving India consists in improving the villages. So long the parties have considered their task done by shouting about the supremacy of agriculture. The consequence of this unthinking slogan-mongering has been the further reinforcement of the rural inequality through governmental subsidy to the landed gentry in the villages, in the form of subsidizing electricity connections and the supply of agricultural pumps etc. There is a very real danger of a retrogression in the countryside. Unfortunately no party has got any organization in the rural areas. The Congress weakness was so long disguised by the identification in the public mind of government and the Congress. Now that the Congress is no longer in power in several States that identification has broken down. In any case if the Congress party was capable of bringing about rural regeneration it had an ample opportunity to do so during the past two decades. If it could not do so during the heyday of its power it is not reasonable to place much reliance on its ability and willingness to do so in the future. Therefore the other parties are all the more under a great obligation to give an active consideration to the matter. On the degree of conscientiousness with which the political parties address themselves to this task would depend the fulfilment of the hope of the elimination of rural poverty and backwardness.

IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

On the evening of May 16, 1918, we were told of Bela Devi's death. She died early that morning. Father had gone to Jorasanko and heard the sad news there. We were all deeply upset—it was like the passing away of someone very close to us. We thought it proper to call on the poet and his family, but the mind shrank from the idea. Overcoming this feeling we left for Jorasanko. As the car stopped before the house, we saw Rabindranath sitting in the first-floor verandah. Sri Pramatha Chaudhuri and Rathindranath were sitting beside him. It was probably Pramathababu who informed him about our coming. The poet left the verandah to enter the sitting-room. We walked in and bowed down to touch his feet—he turned his face away and asked us to be seated. His pale face showed his anguish—as if he had been suffering from a severe illness. After sometime he spoke a few words with mother. He spoke to father also, but every now and then he would become absolutely silent. He even smiled once, but the pathos in the smile—I still remember it after all these years.

About this time, a rumour seems to have been spread from certain quarters that his trip to America had some secret links with Germany. He discussed this matter for some-time. He said to father, "I don't think I should say anything more about it here—whatever I have to say, I will when I reach that place. I am trying for a ship that sails in August."

We sat there quietly and finally left the room to visit Meera Devi and Pratima Devi. Pratima Devi stayed in an upstairs-room in Bichitra-Bhavan and she was not feeling too

well that day. She rose from her bed seeing us. She talked a bit about the late Bela Devi. Rabindranath had heard the terrible news when he had gone to visit his daughter and had come back home immediately. He remained alone in the upstairs terrace till 1 o'clock in the afternoon—no one had dared to call him down.

Bela Devi was very fond of flowers and her body was decorated with flower-ornaments when she was carried in a car to the cremation ground. Pratima Devi said that she was looking even more beautiful then.

When we went to meet Meera Devi, a few more ladies of the neighbourhood dropped in. Meera Devi did not speak much. When her bedroom became rather crowded, all of us went to the upstairs hall at Bichitra. Rabindranath came in there also, with a few gentlemen. We noticed that he was talking, but his face remained impassive. It was quite clear that most of the visitors were afraid of silence and were forcing themselves to carry on a conversation. When the car came to pick us up we came back home. His still face, brooding and dark, haunted us for a long time.

For a few days we could not see him after this. Father would visit Jorasanko every day and we got news of the poet from him. We heard that he was soon going away to Shelaidah. He would not talk at all of the terrible sorrow he had suffered.

Once we were told that Rabindranath would spend the summer in the hills of Tindharia. Finally he changed his mind again and went away to Santiniketan.

We returned to Santiniketan also around the 15th or 16th of June. Mother and Ashoke

came along with us, but they went back to Calcutta after a couple of days, as Ashoke was summoned for the 'route march' of the Bengal Light Horse. It was raining heavily that day—typical of the first days of Asarh. There were no signs of its abating just for our convenience. There were a few more ladies travelling in the same train to Santiniketan. The sky kept weeping and sighing all along the route and when we got off at Bolpur there was only a bullock-cart to carry us to the Ashram. Thoroughly drenched we reached home at last. We noticed a few youngmen sitting together and listening to someone, in the small upstairs-room at Dehali. We could, even from a distance, recognise Sukumar babu, Kalidas babu and some others. They had come the day before, to spend 'the first day of Asarh' with the poet. We with our baggages were then in such a sorry mess that we were in no mood to meet anyone. We spent the whole day drying our clothes and beddings and trying to bring back normalcy. Eventually we rushed to bed with splitting headaches.

The next day we met Rabindranath at Dinubabu's place. The anguish on his face was still there. He spoke a few words and left soon after.

Professor Phanibhushan Adhikari had then come away from Benares and settled with his family in the Ashram. Rabindranath was very fond of his third daughter Ranu. We got acquainted with all of them. Andrews Sahib was also in Santiniketan then.

Those cloud-covered days passed pleasantly enough. One afternoon we were tempted out of the house and into a drizzle. We gave up hopes of a thorough drenching when a few elderly ladies gathered around us. We were walking past the poet's place and towards the guest-house when he came out hearing our chatter. "What is the conspiracy about?" he asked. We stood there and talked with him until he went into his room again. Time

slipped by as we wandered about the wet fields and across the red-soil paths. Dropping in at Phanibhushan babu's place, we also renewed our acquaintance with them. The poet dropped in for a visit while we were still there but we came away soon after.

Sukumarbabu and his group stayed on for about four days. Songs, story and poetry-reading sessions continued for all those days and even a game or two of charades was played. Finally, after a couple of pre-planned late trips to the station, they left for the city.

Rabindranath started taking regular classes with the boys around this time. But outsiders like us gradually began to outnumber his pupils. Other teachers started to drop in also for his lectures, even Andrews-Sahib would often sit there although he could hardly follow his Bengali. It was quite something, watching those ten-year-olds reading Shelly and Browning with the poet, in detail. He also taught them other subjects, of course. Rabindranath was never in favour of considering children unduly childish and therefore, was never unwilling to place before them objects of genuine beauty, as he respected their natural intelligence.

We returned on a Sunday and the prayer-meeting was held on Wednesday as usual. The school had reopened after summer—the boys were rushing back in hordes everyday. How many cottages were there in the Ashram of those days? All around us were open fields and brick-red dunes. How utterly lovely was Santiniketan in the rains! Thousands of rivulets pouring down before our eyes seemed like swaying, shining curtains of water encircling us. Flashes of lightning, like innumerable snakes, twisted across the sky—and what a tremendous noise of thunder! The rain wished to fall straight on the ground but a fierce wind would chase it, and lift it off the earth. Again, when the rain stopped, the

fields and the woods would become a smiling, dazzling green. Hundreds of baby-rivers would start prattling and flowing down the roads or rush dancing across the red earth. And a huge rainbow, like a gigantic and colourful arch, would drench the entire field with colour.

Probably on the 13th of July, the poet sat out on the Dehali terrace and read for us many of his earlier poems. Some of them were also explained to us. We heard him recite "Swarga hoitay biday" and "Sindhur proti". The other poems were read out earlier but we missed them as we went for a walk to Surul, with Pratima Devi and could not return in time.

A few days earlier the ladies' literary association had celebrated its foundation day. It was a fairly elaborate affair. Each member brought some home-cooked snacks and this made the meal part of it quite interesting. The venue was Neechu Bangla, where we decorated Boro Ma's bedroom with flowers and the meeting was held there. The songs, the readings, the conversation and the eating were all very enjoyable.

A minor earthquake upset us a bit. The cot on which I sat, heaved up like a rocking chair. Looking around we noticed the doors and windows rattling and shaking. We rushed out of the room and found all the boys in a great excitement. Anyway, it was all over soon and brought no harm to anyone.

Rabindranath immersed himself in work during these months. Throughout the day he was busy composing songs, teaching class, giving music-lessons and reading out his work before an audience. We never found out when he had a chance to rest. He would visit us every now and then, but would not stay long; converse with father for a while, ask us a few questions and return home soon after. He would sit on his tiny terrace in the evening and draw a large gathering of listeners around

him and soon the place would overflow with people and transform itself into a literary meeting.

Every Wednesday he would conduct the prayer at the Mandir. We would wait eagerly for that one day in a week.

My first book of short stories, "Bajramani" was published around that time. The moment I received my first copy, Sri Nagendranath Ganguli borrowed it from me. I asked him not to show it to anybody else. When he returned the book, he informed me that the only other person who had looked it over was Rabindranath. "Why was the book named 'Bajramani'?", he had asked.

I met him the next day. He was sitting on his terrace, as usual, that evening. After bowing down to touch his feet, I sat down near him. He smiled and said, "Tell me—why did you give your book the name 'Bajramani'?" I was discussing this with Nagen. I had first thought your subject-matter might be of 'sterner stuff,' but then I saw that it was not so." As I could not give him a proper explanation for the title, he answered, "Of course, the subject does not have to match the title necessarily. The names of human beings do not work out that way either. A name is merely a name—it does not have to be a definition."

We talked on for quite some time and father too joined the discussion. This was the hour when the singing lessons began, so the poet called the pupils upstairs. Sudhakanto babu informed him that the class could not be held that evening. Almost all the cooks in the kitchen were ill and only one was trying to manage the cooking somehow—but he would not be able to wait for the boys too long. So the music lessons were cancelled and we returned home.

I had presented him with a copy of 'Bajramani'. He took it in his hand and said, "Yes, I shall read it". I never enquired whether he did read it. Not wishing to

demand words of praise from him and print them for publicity, I had shown no further enthusiasm about it. Whenever he spoke a few words of encouragement, unasked, I gratefully accepted them as divine benediction.

Another evening I went with Kamala Devi and Pratima Devi to attend one of these terrace meetings. Rabindranath told us many amusing anecdotes about his boyhood days. We heard of the South Indian Zamindar who was so eager to give his daughter to him in marriage. He remarked afterwards, "Would you have dared come near me, if I had finally married her? I would have been a landlord with an income of seven lakhs, I would have spent my days in Madras, wearing diamond earrings. And look at me now; just sitting and writing poems—unable to make both ends meet." I thought to myself—doubtful that we would have been drawn towards him then—after all, there are quite a few who own seven lakhs, but who keeps track of them?

Sri Taraknath Palit had once told him, "I guarantee that you will become famous if you take up barristerial duties." Eventually Rabindranath went to England and began to study various subjects. He said to us, "Latin, Greek, history of Rome—I left nothing untouched. If I had become a barrister, I would have, by now, given so many fine speeches and dragged so many off to jail, or saved them from its clutches. But fate was against me. The tone of my 'letters from Europe' upset my father. He was wondering whether I had plans of marrying some memsahib. Hastily he wrote to me—'You have studied enough—now, please come home.' Actually there was no basis for such anxiety."

He also told us about his second trip to England when he had taken someone else's woolen blanket, by mistake, and then later, trying to correct himself had rushed into a memsahib's cabin. Rabindranath commented on himself, "There is no one as incompetent

as I. I always need someone to protect me. Otherwise I have no sense of direction. Whenever I was invited anywhere in London—I had palpitations. I could not possibly ask them to invite my companion also. I never could take the right trains or got off at the correct stops—it was such a mess! Pearson had quite a time with me there. He did a lot for me. But Andrews sahib has no such abilities—he is worse than me!" Turning to Pratima Devi he said, "Now, those young women are quite efficient. They ride the trams alone, know the meaning of a red traffic-signal, or a green one. Watching them I feel ashamed of myself."

The Strand Magazine was then bringing a series of photographs of famous personalities. They ranged from childhood snaps to the ones taken in their old age. I remarked about the dissimilarity between a man's mature features and his childhood face.

Rabindranath said, "It does happen in most cases. My face changed rapidly. At first I was rather flat-faced and there was hardly any trace of a nose. I looked quite stupid. I would sit with my face pressed against the railings of our balcony and my eldest brother would come and give my head a little shake and say, 'Rabi will surely be a philosopher—look how thoughtful he is'. Then suddenly I started shooting up and my nose began to grow."

There were some Gujrati boys studying in the Ashram at that time. The poet praised the good looks of a small boy called Jitendra. The beauty of Gujrati women was another topic of discussion. After this we came home as it was getting rather late.

We tried to visit him every evening, if possible. Sometimes I went alone or I joined a group of girls. This was the best time for a discussion with him. There was some talk of our going back to Calcutta for a while. Thinking of my future absence from the Ashram, I went to see him alone the next evening. Seeing me he said, "Do sit down." Hearing of our Calcutta trip he protested, "I shall send a deputation to your father. You were all so well settled here—and now you will go away leaving me alone."

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Current Affairs

The Budget, 1971-1972

N. A. Palkhivala delivered a public lecture in Bombay early in June 1971 on the Budget 1971-1972. This lecture was published in booklet form by the Forum of Free Enterprise and our quotations are taken from that booklet. The introductory remarks are critical.

The Government of India, with its tremendous political mandate, had a golden opportunity of bringing in a nutritive Budget which could have harnessed to great national purposes the immeasurable reservoir of the people's faith and reponse, energy and enterprise. But instead, it has introduced a Budget which will sap the nation's strength, blight confidence and strangle enterprise. Whereas the Budget could have given the patient 547 millions the chance of a brighter tomorrow, it only aims at ushering in a socialist spring-time of dead flowers.

The Speaker then gave a short historical summary of Indian budgets since 1860.

The first Indian Budget in modern form, containing the first levy of income-tax, was presented to the Legislative Council on 18th February 1860 by the first Indian Finance Member, James Wilson, who said in his Financial Statement of that year, "The normal state of Indian finance may be said to be deficiency of income and addition to debt". In that Budget the rate of income-tax was 2% upon incomes between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500 a year, and 4% on incomes above Rs. 500. The Maximum rate of 4% was reduced in 1863 to 3%, and in 1869 to 1%. The wheel has now turned full circle. Instead of the assessee paying 2% tax and keeping 98% of his income, he has now to pay 98% tax and keep 2% of his income.

The Speaker's economic analysis of the present budget followed. In his opinion there is not much economics in it, it is politically inspired and ignores the basic facts of economics. He said—

More than any other Budget during the last 111 years, this year's Budget is in its conception ideology-oriented, and in effect will prove poverty-oriented. The philosophy underlying the Budget rests on the following inarticulate major premises :

- (1) It is enough; and a lot easier, to impoverish the rich instead of enriching the poor. "Amlri hatao" at Budget time is an excellent political substitute for "Garibi hatao" at election time : and the public mind may be trusted to be sufficiently muddled to see no distinction between the two.
- (2) The laws of human nature should be treated as impliedly and effectively repealed by the laws of Parliament.
- (3) A citizen of integrity and intellect, industry and enterprise, does not deserve to keep even a reasonable part of the fruits of his own labours. It is politically expedient to have a ceiling on income, although in practice it merely amounts to a ceiling on honesty.
- (4) The private corporate sector needs no incentive. It should find its deepest satisfaction in the fact that while, as a result of manifold restrictions on initiation and expansion of industry, it is permitted to contribute only 8% of the total national income (as against 70% in developed

countries), it contributes no less than 60% of the direct and indirect taxes collected by the Central Government.

- (5) The agricultural sector is politically too important to be taxed even reasonably ; mounting savage taxation should be discreetly reserved for urban citizens who have no political lobby worth the name.

Impoverishing talent and enterprise is a political gimmick; eradication of poverty would be an economic achievement. You do not really need the very expensive outfit of a vast Finance Ministry to manage the former ; an intelligent school boy can think up the simple expedient of imposing staggering rates of income-tax and wealth-tax. On the other hand, eradication of poverty demands wisdom and knowledge, character and dedication, of the highest order ; and only the finest of governments achieve it, though all political parties adopt it as their slogan.

The Budget will, no doubt, have the effect of reducing the disparity between the honest rich and the poor. But this object will be achieved at the cost of vastly increasing the number of black-marketers, tax-evaders and licence-peddlers. We may continue to dream of a higher standard of living for the masses, but will never manage to under-write our dream in terms of output. Neither the gross national product nor the *per capita* income will increase. But by constricting growth and aggravating inflation, the Budget will definitely increase poverty. There will be a sharp rise in the army of the unemployed who already number 20 million on a reasonable estimate. With this year's Budget one can confidently predict that the estimate of 28 million desperate job-seekers at the end of the Fourth Plan will be substantially exceeded by the actual figures. Any Budget which on ideological grounds prevents the

full development of job potential constitutes a crime against the nation.

His further statements are thought provoking :

It is a truism which will bear repetition that in economics there are no miracles ; there are only consequences. The only way of eradicating poverty,—of translating "**Garibi hatao**" into action—is to work more, save more, invest more. But this year's Budget offers the strongest possible disincentives to work, to save or to invest. The most expensive hobby of Indians is work. Capital formation is at the miserably low rate of 12% of the national income ; and the Budget will ensure that the 15% rate of saving targeted in the Fourth Plan will not be achieved. The powerful disincentives to saving are the steady erosion in the value of the rupee and the vertiginous levels of wealth-tax and income-tax.

When the basic instincts of human nature and the deep-grained motivations of human conduct come into sharp conflict with man-made laws, it is the laws which are invariably defeated and brought into contempt. Yet in the Budget Speech year after year our Government gives expression to the juvenile delusion that new laws and more laws are all that is needed to make men work mainly,—and at a certain level, wholly—for the benefit of the Exchequer.

The proposal for levying income-tax at rates going up to 97.75% and wealth-tax at rates going up to 8% (plus 7% in the case of urban property) virtually amounts to annual confiscation of income and wealth. These proposals make it clear that the Government is determined to let public morality die in India. Let the citizens observe only the Eleventh Commandment : "Thou shalt not be found out".

The implication of 97.75% income-tax is that it is more profitable for a citizen at a

certain level of income to evade tax on Rs. 30 than to earn honestly Rs. 1,000. If an individual with an income of Rs. 60,000 a year, increases it to Rs. 6,00,000 a year by dint of sheer hard work, the net additional income in his hands after income-tax would be only Rs. 23,650. In some democratic countries, such rates of income-tax and wealth-tax may be struck down by the Court as being unconstitutional and as amounting to confiscation of property.

Prof. Kaldor, a confirmed Socialist, recommended the lowering of the maximum marginal rate of taxation on personal income to 45% and observed :

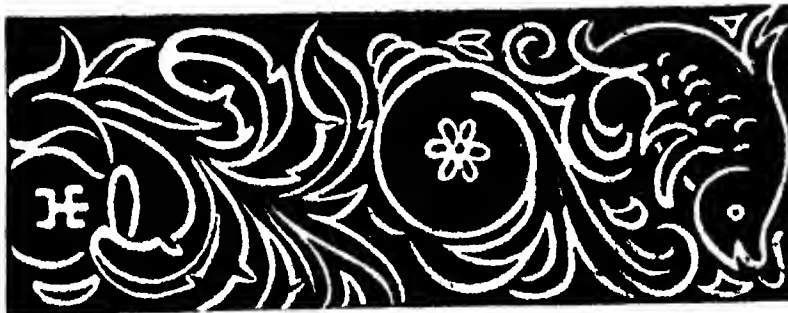
“As it is, these confiscatory tax rates truly apply only to a small minority of people who cannot avoid their incidence, and their long-run effect is bound to be wholly pernicious, both in penalising the prospects of certain careers which

are vital from the national point of view, and in undermining public morality.”

The speaker wound up his highly interesting speech with the following words of sorrow.

The founding fathers of our Republic conceived India as the dwelling of the Spirit of Liberty, where social justice would prevail and the nation would be enriched by the enterprise and labour of its citizens. It is the cardinal principle of social justice that labour and enterprise should be fairly rewarded. But our fiscal policies make this country fit only for blackmarketers, tax-evaders and politicians to live in

If this year's Budget is any indication of the future pattern of the policy of the Government, its invisible social cost is sure to be a further debasement of the nation's character, debased as it is even now, and a nation without character is a nation without a future.



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

In the June, 1971 issue of *Modern Review*, I said, "Nine of us sped from Tashkent to Moscow in a passenger train".

There I mentioned Samarkand and Tashkent of the famous conqueror Taimur Long (or Lame). I gave glimpses of Tashkent as I saw it in 1922, on my way to Moscow. I also gave glimpses of Tashkent revisited in 1963, on my way back from Moscow after attending the May Day Celebrations there, on behalf of H. M. S. I also mentioned Tashkent in 1965, when she played a very significant role in the history of India. The Indo-Pakistan War of 18 days ended in a treaty, signed at Tashkent, through the intervention and guidance of Soviet Russia. After signing the treaty the late Lalbahadur Shastri the then Prime Minister and Hero of the War breathed his last at Tashkent, leaving a sad memory for all specially for us Indians.

Revolutionary Plans in 1922

But long before 1965, a grandiose revolutionary plan for India's liberation was chalked out but it failed in a ludicrous manner. While in Tashkent and afterwards, we had heard many stories of these attempts and afterwards, we had heard many stories of these attempts and failures, and I feel that I should write a few lines about them before starting writing on the tour from Tashkent to Moscow and beyond.

Revolution goes Eastward

The great Proletariat Revolution in Russia took place in November, 1917. It was completed in about ten days, as described in the brilliant book—"Ten days that shook the world" written by the world renowned American Journalist, John Reed, who lived in Russia during those fateful and revolutionary days. This raised the hopes of Lenin and other Revolutionaries that the Russian Revolution would be followed very soon by Revolutions in all the belligerent nations. Russia's unilateral declaration of "No Annexation and no Indemnities", and publishing the secret Czarist treaties and repudiating them did cause some flutter, but there was no serious attempt at revolution in any other country.

Treaty of Brest Litovsk

As a matter of fact the war was prolonged as a result of the Russian Revolution. The Central Powers led by the German war machine, presided over by the Kaiser, were showing signs of weakening. But the collapse of Russia and the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, forced on Russia, strengthened the position of Germany immensely. Trotsky, who was negotiating, refused to sign the Treaty and declared, "No War but No Peace" on those humiliating terms. The shrewd and practical brain of Lenin, had its way and the treaty was

signed—to get “a breathing time” for the Revolution to organise itself.

Under the inspiring and far seeing leadership of Lenin, the Russian Revolution was organised and Russia was put on a sound foundation, but the world Revolution eluded him. Even after the disastrous defeat of the Central Powers led by Germany, followed by a still more humiliating treaty imposed by the victorious powers on Germany no attempts of a revolution on a big scale was attempted. The attempts of Bela Kun, in Hungary and in some parts of Germany were brilliant, but small and short-lived. Still, in 1919, the first Congress of Communist International, talked of the impending World Revolution, which they saw or imagined, was round the corner. This was the only hope of the Russian Revolution surviving. But things did not move that way. In 1920, when the vanguard of the proletariat met in Moscow in the Second Congress of the Communist International, realism had its way. Without giving up hope of Proletarian Revolutions in advanced countries, it was thought prudent not to put all the eggs in one basket, but to make alliance with the colonial people and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Nationalists for their emancipation. The graphic expression “the shortest route from Moscow to London was through Delhi and Cairo”, was freely expressed and believed.

East seemed Promising

The first and quick success had been in Afghanistan, where Lenin was the first to recognise the Government of Amanulla as independent of the British. This forced Britain also to accept Afghanistan as independent. This did not cost a single bullet. Only boldness paid a bumper dividend and gave British imperialism a big blow on the head, and Britain swallowed it very shrewdly. Soon after the Ameerate of Bukhara was freed from the Feudal Lords which had been under the

Czarist influence. Tashkent had already come under the Soviet system. So it was thought plausible that with a strong force in Tashkent, revolutionary movements in the east, specially in India, the crown jewel of Britain, could be successful in alliance with the revolutionary nationalist movement there. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal was fighting valiantly for her liberation, not for restoration of the Khilafat or of the Ottoman empire, but to build up a democratic state. All the help he got from Soviet Russia was about 25000 rifles and ammunition for the same. And he successfully fought the imperialist powers. China, under the leadership of Sunyat Sen was fighting the imperialists quite successfully.

Comrade M. N. Roy was chosen the leader of this Eastern expedition. He had inspired confidence in Lenin and the Communist International. Let us hear from the horse's mouth, what resources and opportunities he got and how he tried to utilise them (Memories of M. N. Roy pp 420-422).

“My plan was to raise equip and train such an army in Afghanistan. Using the frontier territories as the base of operation and with the mercenary support of the tribesmen, the liberation army would march into India and occupy some territory, where a civil Government should be established as soon as possible. The first proclamation of the revolutionary Government would outline a programme of social reform to follow national independence. It would call upon the people to rise in the rear of the enemy, so that the Liberation Army could advance further and further into the country. The appeal should be addressed particularly to the industrial and transport workers. The entire adult population of the Liberated territory would be armed, some for defence and others for enlarging the Liberation Army. The programme of social reform outlined in the proclamation issued

on the establishment of the revolutionary government would be enforced in the liberated territories ; consequently, the masses would enthusiastically support the new regime. The concrete picture of freedom would have a strong appeal to the vast majority of the people, giving them the incentive to strive for it. The vested interests throughout the land might be opposed to the revolutionary implications of national liberation but the imperialist power, weakened by the consequences of the World War and shaken by a popular uprising would not be able to offer any protection to the upper-class minority, who would wish to stem the tide of the democratic national revolution.

"The requirements for implementing the plan were obvious : a sufficiently large quantity of arms, field equipment, training personnel and plenty of money. The last item was sanctioned by the Council of people's Commissars on the recommendation of the Communist Party. Several years of Civil War having almost exhausted military stores, it took me sometime to collect the rest of the requirements. In Trotsky's absence, the Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council, Klansky, took the matter in hand and my party was ready to leave Moscow soon after the Third Anniversary of the October Revolution.

"The immediate destination was Tashkent, about two thousand miles away. A major part intervening was occupied by counter-revolutionary armies until, the previous winter. Roving detachments of White Guards, who had taken to banditry, still infested the stepes beyond the Ural River. They frequently tore up the railway line and held up trains to plunder. Our party travelled in two trains; one composed of twenty-seven 30-ton wagons carrying arms (pistols, rifles, machine-guns, hand grenades, light artillery, e t c.), adequate

supplies of ammunition and military stores, and field equipment which included several wireless receivers and transmitters. The train was escorted by two companies of crack Red Army soldiers commanded by a giant. While living in the United States as an immigrant labourer he had joined the anarcho-syndicalist organisation called the Industrial Workers of the World-the most militant wing of the American labour movement. After the Revolution, John returned to Russia and plunged headlong into the Civil War. But he refused to join the Communist Party, because he would not compromise the purity of his anarchist faith. His loyalty to the Revolution and the Soviet regime having been proved by heroic deeds during Civil War, John rose to positions of trust and responsibility. He was admitted to the air force as a highly skilled mechanic. He was nearly seven feet tall, and proportionately broad. With a booming voice, he was a veritable giant.

"The other train was composed as follows: two wagons loaded with money (gold coins, bullion and pound and rupee notes ; ten wagons carried dismantled aeroplanes and the complete outfit of an airforce battalion; the personnel of the latter and the staff of a military training school travelled in seven coaches; a saloon was attached for my use. A young airforce officer was the Commandant of our train. He took orders only from me. Our train was more heavily guarded. Camouflaged machine-guns were posted on the roof of the saloon car. The wagons carrying the treasury and the aeroplanes were also similarly guarded."

The quotation is a bit long but one need hardly apologise for it. The resources in money and equipment are not figured out in rupees or roubles. But it must have been at least ten crores of rupees, at a rough estimate.

Com. M. N. Roy had gone out earlier to Indonesia', Japan, China, Germany etc. for arms and money, but he could not get even a decimal fraction of what he got now. There was also a full batch of expert trainers. It was beyond the dream or imagination of Shri M. N. Roy himself or any other Indian Revolutionary.

Comrade M. N. Roy was the leader of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist International, which had been set up in Tashkent. Mass upsurges in India, China and Turkey must have prompted the leaders of C. I. to take this decision and direction.

Very soon an eastern university was established in Tashkent where theoretical and military training were being given by experts. Indian House (Indosky Doma) was established and was the great centre for preparing for the Indian Revolution. The story of internecine fight between Roy Party and Abdul Rub Party, would fill volumes. The majority of the Indian Revolutionaries who were being trained, were Muslim Mahajarcens, who had left India and were passing through very difficult days in Central Asia. They were not ideologically Communist or even strong nationalists, but only joined the Eastern University—as the only Port available to them, in the stormy weather. From Pan Islamist fanatics, some of them turned in to real Marxist Revolutionaries. It was a vast journey to make, but many of them did it. The difference between Roy group and Berlin group of Revolutionaries, was also a very great handicap to get genuine revolutionaries from India for training in Tashkent.

But the whole plan came to an abrupt end. The British Imperialists were very astute and they realised the potential danger and under the inspiration of Lord Curzon, the then Foreign Minister of Britain and a faithful watch dog of British Imperialism,

an ultimatum was served on Soviet Russia that the Military Academy in Tashkent must be closed. Soviet Russia was then in the midst of economic chaos, and however reluctantly had to agree and the whole Revolutionary establishment at Tashkent had to close. The Eastern University for theoretical training was transferred to Moscow and Military training for Indian Revolutionaries had to ceased. Any how, during the period of its existence for over one year, the achievement was not much, due to internecine quarrels.

Shri M. N. Roy himself left for Moscow and Berlin. Thus ended another revolutionary opportunity on a big scale for the proposed revolution.

One of the main reasons for the failure of the attempt, even before it had to be disbanded under pressure of the British, was that Shri M. N. Roy wanted to manufacture cent percent Marxist revolutionaries and was not satisfied with mere anti-British revolutionary ideology. Before achieving or even attempting to achieve liberation of India, Roy was more eager to assure, that when independence came, it should not be led by the Nationalist but by the Communists. It was like quarelling for the head of the goat before the goat was slaughtered. Comrade Chinmohan, Snehanabis is carrying on some research in this direction and I hope he will throw light on details of the activities of Indian revolutionaries, working in Tashkent area. It is a pity that the attempt at Indian Revolution with its base at Tashkent did not succeed, it is more of a pity that attempts could not be made with all the undreamt of facilities offered by the Soviet Government and the Communist International. It is however, not unusual or the new converts to be more fanatical, in support of a new faith. That is, I feel, what happened in Tashkent.

Baku

In this connection the first Congress of the oppressed peoples of the east held at this time at Baku, is also worth mentioning. The rich oil fields of Baku had been captured temporarily by the British Indian troops, who had publicly executed twenty two communist leaders on the beach of the Caspian Sea. After recapture of Baku by the Soviets, a movement had been started there. The Baku Congress was held there as a propaganda demonstration to enthuse the peoples of the East. M.N. Roy, however was not very enthusiastic about it and called it "Zinoviev circus" and did not even attend it, which was rather curious, as Zinoviev, Radek John Read etc attended, also Abani Mukherjee. But Mr. Roy started the work of the Central Asiatic Bureau of C. I. at Tashkent, with revolutionary determination. Though the plan ultimately did not succeed, it showed the great courage and vision of M. N. Roy. Tashkent therefore will long remember two Indian names, M. N. Roy and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

When we had reached Tashkent in the end of 1922, the India House, which was the (Indusky Doma) scene of so much activity and intrigue by Indian Revolutionaries like Roy, Mukherjee, Gupta, Zacharia etc. had no Indian Revolutionary living there. It is a sad episode in the long revolutionary struggle for India's independence. So many brains, brawn and resources were ready to be used, but nothing was even attempted. Ultimately Lord Curzon gave the final coup-de-grace to the dreams.

Fifty years have passed since then but one wonders what would have been the result if all Indian revolutionaries in Berlin Moscow, Tokyo, Washington, Calcutta, Delhi and Lahore, could be combined and the resources in the hands of M. N. Roy in Tashkent utilised properly. The history of Indian struggle

for freedom might have been different. But there is no use crying over spilt milk. The vision of the revolution reaching India, with Russian help, enthused both the Moulana and myself, inspite of the fact that the earlier plan of Roy did not succeed and was postponed (not abandoned). We wanted to revive it.

Taskhent to Moscow

We started for Moscow from Tashkent in the first week of December. We were seen off by high Soviet official communist leaders. It was a pleasant function. Nine of us were given one compartment of eight seats. There were two upper berths also. It was a corridor train. Later on we found that the corridor connected our bogie with several others. That is the usual Russian system and the U. S. A. system too.

Tashkent Railway Station was quite big and important as trains run from here both to Moscow the capital of Soviet Russia and to Bladivostok in the farthest eastern point of Russia and also to Tarmaj on the Afghan border. It is not actually on the Moscow-Bladivostok direct line. It is in fact the Southern apex of the Ry. Triangle-Tashkent, Moscow, Bladivostok.

We thought the journey of 4000 miles or 6000 Kilometres would take us 5 or 6 days, but it actually took us two weeks. The speed was low and haltings at stations were abnormal. However, it was post revolutionary period and the Railways were being repaired bit by bit.

We nine sat comfortably in our eight seats. According to Indian practice ten could sit, if not 12. Many people had no seats at all and were standing, or sitting or even sleeping in the crowded corridors, making it almost impossible to wade through them, to the bathrooms as each one of them had big bundles of clothes and other belongings slung on their shoulders in the time-old Eastern or

Asian style. They resembled the peasants of any part of India. Their clothes were dirty and smelling strongly, but we were more fortunate to sit comfortably in our compartment and also to sleep or relax comfortably by turn on the 2 bunks. In the other compartments there were 10 or 12 or 14 sitting on the benches and five or six sitting on the floor and there were several women with children. The corridors accommodated many more and we felt indeed lucky that we had some sort of reservation and no one encroached on our compartment.

The worst discomfort was the extreme cold. The doors and glass windows were double, the outer one was to keep the cold off and the air in between the two doors or windows acted as the non-conductor cushion against cold. The other windows were all white with frost accumulating on them and this making them absolutely opaque. But the difficulty was that in many places the doors and specially the windows were broken and through the holes the chilling cold wind would blow in and freeze us, though we were fully dressed, with sweaters, pull-overs, mufflers, monkey caps and overcoats. We tried to plug the holes with scrap papers or torn cloth, but they would often fall off bringing in gusts of chilly wind, till we succeed in plugging them off again.

The steam engine at last started with the long train after due whistles by the Guard and the Driver. I was glad to see that each bogie had a commandant or conductor guard in Indian parlance, but poor fellow, he could hardly move and we were made cognisant of his presence only at every station, where the train halted and he was the first to get down and last to get in. His usual task is to note how many are to get down at any station and help them to do so and also to admit the requisite number. But in our case all the

seats were filled and over filled and the Commandant had the most difficult task of saying no to all the would-be passengers, who had been waiting at the stations for hours, if not days together. The Commandant used his absolute discretion in the case of sick or old people or women with children and squeezed them in, anyhow. The effect of the Revolution and counter Revolution and dislocation of transport were being looked into and corrected gradually. The Army trains and the food trains had priority and all passengers were discouraged from travelling unless absolutely urgent and essential.

The train moved on-wards to Moscow and I felt that with every revolution of the wheels of our bogies, we were nearing Moscow, the Centre of World Revolution.

The days were short, about 8 hours and night 16 hours, in Tashkent and as we approached Moscow the days became shorter and shorter and near Moscow it was only 2 hours day and 22 hours night. We reached Moscow on the 24th day of December. But whether day or night we could see nothing but snow, snow and snow. The whole country seemed to be draped in a white sheet. The houses were also covered with snow all over. The fields were covered with deep snow with seeds of wheat, barley etc. sown underneath. When the snow would melt after 6 to 8 months, the seeds would germinate and green fields would emerge. The leafless trees stood, all white with snow and sometimes with beautiful geometrical and fantastic icicles, hanging from their branches and waving in the air and sometimes dropping in the ocean of snow below.

We were going to see Red Moscow but as we approached Moscow, it was more and more white!

We could have glimpses of the outside

world only at the stations, which were few and far between, when the carriage doors were compulsorily opened. But soon there was no desire to look at the white sheet spread from Tashkent to Moscow.

Some people warned that looking constantly at white snow, might even injure the eye. I had no dark glasses and one could hardly keep one's eyes closed to avoid the sight of white snow. The windows in the corridors were not double and one could make a hole in the frost on the glass window by blowing hot wind from the mouth which would melt the snow and the transparent glass would then allow one to look at the outside world of snow covered fields, trees and houses. But unless you continue to blow hot air, the hole becomes blurred and loses its transparency in 2/3 minutes. I too tried this game sometimes. Fourteen days are really a very long time to spend crammed into a small compartment.

We did not see many cattle or sheep or chicken from the train. They must have been in the sheds. Those outside, were all white wearing a coating of snow. There were neither any birds chirping in the trees except the inevitable crows, but they also were only seeking food and not cawing in the usual aggressive tone but in a subdued manner. Due to the snow falling on them even the crows looked white.

Food.

Food was available from hawkers, nice hot and cheap too. Chops, cutlets, fruits and also tea. Hawkers were mostly women some with babies slung on their backs.

Tea from Engine.

There is a very welcome system in Russian railways of supplying hot water from the boiler of the engine through a tap. Any passenger can get hot water from the tap and make his own tea. This tap is open twenty-four hours and whenever the train stops, people rush with

their pots to collect hot water. This system is unique in Russia and very useful for the passengers. In India, it is unnecessary, as tea can be bought at every important station. I don't know whether the old and very useful system of supplying hot water from the engine is still in vogue in Russia. In 1963 when I went again to Russia, I travelled by planes or Motor cars and hardly travelled by train—I did not see whether the system of supplying hot water from the Engine which was so useful in 1922 was still in vogue in 1963.

Aral Sea.

Our next important halt was at Aral Sea Station. Aral is really a lake, but because it is huge, is called a Sea by courtesy. Amu Daria, rising from the Hindu Kush, traversing Afghanistan and Uzbekistan falls in the Aral Sea in the South. We had followed this river from the source up to Patakesar and even journeyed by boat in her for a few days. The other river Syr Daria also falls in the Aral Sea. The Ry. Station is near where Syr Daria falls into the Aral. There I had the satisfaction of eating fried fish of the Aral Sea. Others in the group, suspected it was not fish but bacon as the bones had been separated. After tasting myself I challenged them to prove it was not fish, bones or no bones. As a Bengalee, I claimed that I knew fish no less than any person. My claim was conceded and after that most of the others of the group also tasted Aral fish.

Ural Station.

Another important halt was at Ural Mountain Station named then Orrenbury. This is the dividing line between European and Asiatic Russia. When we reached this station, we had crossed Asia and reached Europe. There was however no difference in the land and surrounding at all between European and Asiatic Russia. Some of us felt that we had at last reached Europe. Even if we returned to

India from there we could claim, we were "Europe Returned," not B. N. G. S. (Bilet Na Gie Sahib).

Volga Mata.

Where we stopped after that caused some emotional upheaval in us. We were at Samara on the bank of Volga Mat. The train crosses the River Volga here. As the Ganga is to the

Indians, full of historical memories and we call her mother Ganga, so is the Volga Mother Volga to the Russians. From Bukhara, Uzbekistan, Turkomanistan we were then in real Russia, where most of the Russian intellectuals were born and brought up for long years and drew their inspiration from Volga Mat (mother) and the surrounding countryside.

TEACHING ENGLISH IN ENGINEERING COLLEGES— THE PROBLEMS AND SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

RAVI S. VARMA

English is an important language and for historical reasons it is the only international foreign language that we have been studying constantly for the last hundred and fifty years. Most of the scientific and technical literature is available in English only and our young engineers need a sound knowledge of this language. In this paper I have tried to sum up the present position of English teaching in our engineering colleges and after suggesting certain norms have ventured a few suggestions to attain these norms.

There was a time when syllabuses for engineering colleges did not include courses in humanities. The syllabus-makers were not anti-humanities but they felt that wasting time on such courses was not of any use. They devoted all the available time to the teaching of the science and technical subjects which had an apparent and direct bearing on the courses aimed at training engineers. It was presumed that the student possessed sufficient knowledge of language and other relevant

subjects necessary to pursue his studies in an engineering college. They were right also, to some extent, in so presuming, for in those days the medium of instruction for higher secondary and intermediate classes was English and the standard of English was fairly high. Students, when they entered an engineering college had studied English for 9 to 10 years and this equipped them well for study in the engineering college. The students possessed fairly efficient language-skills and therefore, the syllabus-makers did not feel it necessary to give additional coaching in English and the time so saved was devoted to other discipline. Humanities and English did not find a place on the curriculum of an engineering college.

But with the passage of time a change became perceptible. English fell from the high status it had enjoyed during pre-independence days and was given a subordinate position in the syllabus of a higher secondary school and an intermediate college. In some states it was made an optional subject and in others

the courses were drastically reduced. Now English was taught only for 6 or 7 years and its standard soon began to deteriorate. Out of our misplaced zeal for raising up Indian languages we did positive harm to the study of English language, with the result that after passing the Higher Secondary or intermediate examination an average student had only rudimentary knowledge of English so that he could not easily grasp what was taught in the engineering college for there the medium of instruction continued to be English. This caused frustration among the students who failed or secured poor marks in their examinations because of their insufficient knowledge of English or faulty expression or both. Teaching ceased to be effective and interesting and much of the effort on the part of the teachers seemed to go waste.

When the first flush of enthusiasm for the national languages in the wake of newly won independence had settled down a little it was realized that English could not be so lightly deposed without serious consequences to the progress of the country, which was the prime concern at that time. Importance of English as a language was realized and efforts were made to re-install it in its former place. But it was difficult to give it the same place in the higher secondary schools or intermediate colleges from where it had been banished with great jubilation. So, for higher studies and improvement of standards of education in the country English was introduced in the technical colleges where formerly it had not been considered at all necessary.

At present, in all the technical colleges courses in English are given for one or two years. Naturally, English Literature has no place there and emphasis is laid on language for it is as a vehicle of our thoughts and ideas and as a medium of expression that we need

English and not for the enjoyment of its vast literature which was once studied for its own sake.

Curriculum in an Engineering College :

As we all know the medium of instruction in technical colleges for years to come will remain English and English alone, so English has been made a compulsory subject of study in these colleges. The aim of the courses in English is to increase proficiency in the language so that students can easily comprehend what they read in books and journals and express themselves in correct, simple and effective English.

Whatever be the branch one studies in a technical College, the aim is "communication" and efficient use of language is a *sine qua non* of effective communication. An engineer receives instructions and information from his superiors and passes them on to the technicians and other junior staff working under him. Now the regional language is necessarily used when dealing with the illiterate or semi-literate technicians or labour but communication with his equals or superiors who may not belong to the same state with the same language is possible only through English. And if a young engineer does not possess a good knowledge of English and his understanding of it is even slightly deficient, we know what serious consequences it may lead to in an industry or factory or a large-scale construction project. So the most significant trend in methods of teaching English as a second language may well prove to be the attempt to assign to communication its proper role in the class room. Decoding thoughts from words and sounds may be easier but it is not enough, we must lay equal or rather more emphasis on communicative activities for communication is always accompanied by understanding and that is what we need today. Mere manipulation of language which receives

so much importance under the structural approach is not enough; it needs to be supplemented with communication.

So the course in an Engineering College aims at developing these two skills—manipulation and communication and hence the items to be taught include prose passages in current English, including fiction, biographies, technical writing etc. Poetry cannot easily be used for teaching language so it has no place in the curriculum. I am of the opinion that not only poetry but all literature is to be enjoyed; it cannot be taught in the class room. Literature is not knowledge and forced labour on it is an artificial product of examination. Although literature cannot be used for language teaching work it certainly presents the best specimens of the use of language by masters. Literature provides the best solution for the problem of contextualization of the speech to be learned. By arousing interest it encourages the habit of reading, so important for getting experience of a language. But care should be taken that the pieces are not very difficult and reading can proceed with a fair degree of fluency. Specially prepared material is very useful and effective in the earlier stages. This underlines the need for such specially prepared textbooks for technical students.

A technical student needs English to put through his plans and thoughts and ideas and not necessarily his sentiments and emotions. For this the courses must be practical, that is he should be given training in that kind of writing which he is supposed to do in his later life. What I mean is; he should be given training and practice in writing scientific expositions, technical reports, reviews of technical articles and books, inspection reports etc. These items should find place in his syllabus rather than writing essays or short stories, or appreciation of

poetry or critical evaluation of a play—things which require very deep understanding of the language and are ordinarily beyond the ken of a student of technology. He must be exposed to passages of this kind alone and if he feels any need any time he may for pleasure's sake read poetry or drama or whatever he likes.

Besides giving practice in the written form of the language we must also devote some time to teaching its pronunciation. Children learn pronunciation automatically but once they have crossed the preschool age mere hearing of a foreign language does not result in good pronunciation. The fact that language essentially is spoken language, that the written form even at its best is an imperfect representation should not be lost sight of and attempts must be made at teaching pronunciation. Improvement of pronunciation through hearing and speaking results in improved memory.

It is a sad fact that in our teaching of English no serious or conscious effort is made at teaching pronunciation and the result is that very often our students make grave mistakes and fail to be understood outside their own state. One of the reasons for this deficiency is that in the early stages when a student begins learning English in school he has the model pronunciation from his teacher. Unfortunately in most of our schools the English teacher is not properly trained and his pronunciation suffers from regional peculiarities and his personal idiosyncrasies. The young student has an unshakable faith in the correctness of his teacher and at that impressionable age blindly copies his pronunciation with the result that mispronunciations become firmly fixed in his memory. In the later stages one has to struggle hard to get rid of these wrong habits of pronunciation. Hence the necessity of teaching pronunciation

so that an all-India level of intelligibility may be evolved.

English is an important international language. So, we by necessity, have to aim at international intelligibility. Otherwise our speech will cause ambiguity and we may be misinterpreted.

Teaching pronunciation is difficult but it has to be taught for full mastery of the language. A special pronunciation course must be devised for students as also the language teachers. Such a course must concentrate on the elements which are missing in the student's mother tongue ; for the rest he can be left to transfer the sounds of his native language to English. Those elements and patterns that differ structurally from the first language and represent a more complex system are real problems. For Indian students stress, rhythm and intonation patterns constitute the main problem for the word pronunciation can be mastered with little effort. Practice should be given in this area and constant efforts should be made to master them. Practice is also essential for the formation of new pronunciation habits to a high degree of automaticity with attention on the message, on communication and not on the sounds themselves.

The realization of the importance of teaching pronunciation of English naturally draws our attention to the technological aids which are a major force today. The Language Laboratory occupies the most prominent place among these technological aids. The Language Lab is not a substitute for a teacher ; it only takes away the drudgery of drill and leaves the teacher free to devote his time to more intellectual activities. For using the lab efficiently as an aid, the teacher must be properly trained to put the new equipment and techniques to good use. The lab only increases the effectiveness of good teachers ; even those teachers who have not achieved

complete native pronunciation can handle a pronunciation class efficiently. The lab provides good models of the speech of the target language for imitation and manipulation by the students. The lab lessons must be interesting and need careful preparation in accordance with the need of the students for whom they are meant.

We need not go into more details about a language lab because a language lab is so costly that only a few institutions in the country can afford to have it. We in our institution have made a modest attempt but it is still far from perfect. The paucity of funds is the most intractable difficulty in planning a language lab. However, we give lessons in Spoken English to our second year students and make use of the apparatus we possess. Personally, I feel an enthusiastic teacher can teach pronunciation well even without the complex equipment of a lab only if he has a desire to do so. A good pronouncing dictionary is enough for the purpose. It may be supplemented with a few recordings.

The question whether to retain English or to discard it altogether from our colleges and universities has been long debated and the verdict of the Government of India has been that English can be and must be retained as a 'library language'. The phrase 'library language', although very vague has thrown cold water on the enthusiasm for learning and teaching English. It has accelerated the pace of falling standards of English and consequently of education as a whole.

By library language we mean a language of which we possess only reading comprehension. It is not expected that we should use it in our day to day conversation or as a vehicle of self-expression. This passive understanding of a language is not enough, yet let us see if we have seriously attempted even to achieve this reading comprehension of English.

The linguists point out that learning a writing system differs basically from learning to speak or understand a language. Robert Lado says, "Learning to speak and understand means learning the language, whereas reading and writing imply that the language is known and that we are learning a graphic representation of it." Writing as a rule should follow reading and speaking. It is something of a contradiction to teach writing before the student knows the patterns he is to write. To read is to grasp language patterns from their written representation. In a second language reading is usually taught to students who are already literate in the source language. Only spoken expression shows the full intonation, stress, juncture and consonant and vowel systems of a language. Spoken utterances express the language code fully and completely.

By the time a student enters the technical college he is familiar with the association between the sounds of the spoken sentence and the visual symbols which represent it on paper; he has also developed recognition of these visual symbols as conveying meaning. Now in an engineering college we must concentrate on speed and understanding. By arousing the pupil's interest in what they read we can encourage them to read quickly and silently. But reading faster is not enough in itself, we must also understand thoroughly what we read. Some texts require only superficial understanding, but for the purposes for which we use English in our country we need to understand it more profoundly. Elliott has distinguished three types of understanding. The first is imaginative understanding. It is essential for the enjoyment of literature but a scientist also needs it when he reads an account of an experiment, a process or a theory. The second type is precise understanding. It enables the reader to understand the exact meaning of a descriptive word or sentence, to

know exactly what is being said in a scientific book or journal, to comprehend accurately the text, the whole text and nothing but the text. A third type is practical understanding. This is important for the mechanic and the technician who have to follow instructions issued by the manufacturers of various machines etc. These three types are simple different applications of the same ability and we need all at different levels.

Unfortunately no conscious effort is being made in our colleges to improve reading skills of students. Drills must be prescribed for reading faster for the time at the disposal of the student is less and he has to do a lot of reading. In our college we tried the following method with this end in view. We took our first year students to the library and asked them to select one book each on any topic they liked. Then we gave them the choice of selecting a lesson and asked them to read it as fast as they could and after finishing it to write down what they had been able to comprehend. Most of the students showed very good results and they not only developed the habit of reading faster but also of comprehending it and putting it down in writing. It improved their skill in writing of summaries as also in note taking which is so vital a part in all our reading. But this method can be applied in a small tutorial class of say 15 to 16 students and a well-equipped library with facilities for conducting such a class there. For classroom use Dr. Edward Fry's book 'Reading Faster' provides good exercises.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have tried to sum up the aim of teaching English in our engineering colleges and the various skills we attempt to develop in our would-be engineers and technologists. I would like to conclude this paper with a few remarks about the selection of text books for use in the classroom. What Palmer wrote fifty years ago regarding

the text book still holds true. He wrote, "If we asked a hundred different English teachers to design what each considered an ideal course or textbook, the result at the present day would certainly be a hundred different courses. They would differ in every conceivable way ; most of them would differ from the others fundamentally." He hoped that in some distant future the answer to our request might take the form of a hundred manuscripts, all essentially the same and differing only in non-essential details.....but the situation after fifty years remains the same for the art of language teaching is always in a flux. We cannot stop and say, "This is the final course or the final method" and have further research in the field. The day to day experience reveals newer problems and we are made to think afresh applying the old principles and suggesting suitable modifications. And the quest continues till today.....*

The attempts worth considering are "Learning Through English" published by the Poona University, Poona, "Language through Literature" prepared by the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad and "Literature in English" published by McGraw Hill Book Co. All these three selections are language-

oriented and incorporate the results of the latest research on the subject. They present good specimens of current English for almost all the pieces have been taken from twentieth century prose. The last mentioned selection is significant as it gives examples of English as it is written by non-native speakers of the language besides those of the native speakers.

With little ingenuity anyone of these textbooks can be suitably used in the class room. Ultimately much depends on how a book is used and here the human factor counts more than anything else. Hence the need for language—original courses at the M.A. level and special training for our English teachers.

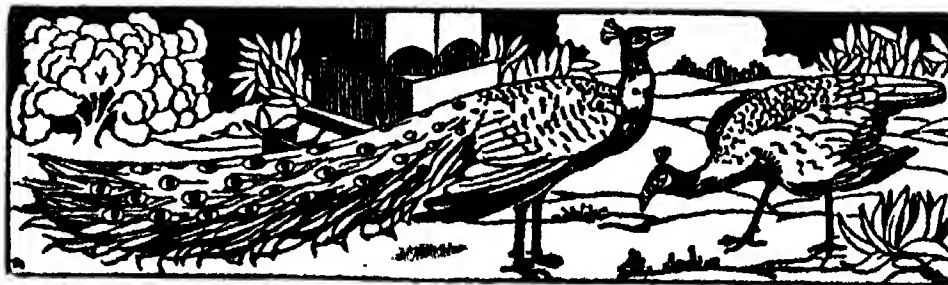
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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Chittajayee Chittaranjan by Dr. Nares Chandra Ghose, Published by Jayasree Prakashan, 251A/32, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Road, Calcutta-47. Price Rs. 20/- Complete in 596 pages.

The want of a comprehensive biography of Deshabandhu Chittaranjan has been very keenly felt by thousands of our countrymen, who have even today dearly cherished in their bosoms the loving memory of the great son of mother India, who fought valiantly all through his life for the liberation of the country.

We have no doubt that this magnum volume will be very warmly received and will be fondly preserved in academical institutions and public libraries as it has been a splendid publication and as such it will be of invaluable service to the people of the country, particularly in these days of deepening darkness when they are at a cross road, in despair and confusion. This most worthy and useful book must have been the outcome of years of untiring labour, unflagging devotion and diligence. Full of highly interesting and glaring facts and phenomena, collected from very old records and documents, many of

which are still unknown, this mammoth volume, unique in all respects, has been highly informative, educative and will serve splendidly as a book of reference.

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Memorable student life of Chittaranjan in England, his meteoric rise in the realm of law and the historic days when he flung himself head long in freedom movement, have been most ably and passionately drawn so as to bring out the entire man in his full splendour and glories.

An attractive album consisting of as many as twentyfour very rare photographs depicting the various phases of the great life has immensely enhanced the value of this most commendable publication.

Dr. Ghose certainly deserves the sincere congratulations and grateful thanks of his countrymen. G. S.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

C. R. Speaks on Limits to Power of Majorities

C. Rajagopalachari can be considered to be now the grand old man of Indian Politics. His views therefore on the dangers of allowing parliamentary majorities to do what they like with the basic principles of the constitution, should be well worth noting down by all who have the franchise in India and, are thus, responsible for maintaining the fundamental guarantees to our rights of citizenship. We quote below from his article published in the *Swarajya* of June 26, 1971

It is gratifying to note that the Prime Minister has not been hustled into 'recognizing' Bangla Desh by popular emotional appeals. Such recognition would be an open declaration of war against Pakistan and the Prime Minister has rightly realized the gravity of such a step and abstained from it so far. I hope the Prime Minister will show the same wisdom and circumspection as in the Bangla Desh affair in respect of the pressure brought to bear upon her to have the Constitution amended, using her present majority in Parliament and elsewhere for that purpose.

The majorities the Prime Minister secured in Parliament and elsewhere have been with fairly adequate reason questioned as being the result of the employment of illegitimate means. But apart from that question the PM should remember that the best and wisest of our publicists met in a Constituent Assembly 22 years ago soon after our attainment of political freedom and solemnly adopted the Constitution including most conspicuously the guarantee of certain fundamental rights conferred on the citizens as against the State. These rights

were guaranteed by a unanimous vote of the Constituent Assembly. It would be unwise on the part of the Prime Minister to declare war against this Constitution and the rights inscribed therein merely on the strength of the majority she has secured in Parliament. I hope and trust that at the present juncture of our affairs the PM will not launch a battle against the Constitution. The people of India want these rights to be preserved intact, notwithstanding that certain groups desire to disturb these guarantees.

The protection of religious minorities has been safeguarded in the Constitution and all these sections of the nation would resist any annulment or reduction or danger of such annulment or reduction as a result of any constitutional amendment pushed through by a mere superiority of numbers that the PM can muster in Parliament.

The Supreme Court has interpreted these guarantees and restricted the power of Parliament to amend such guarantees. The decision of the Supreme Court in the Golaknath case should not be touched. It should be left to be the law in respect of the matter and Parliamentary majorities should not be vested with power to do away with the Supreme Court decision. Every seasoned publicist in India desires that the present state of affairs, wherein no one knows what each party stands for and everybody stands for everything, should be replaced by a clearly understood polarization of political attitudes.

The Congress organization has no doubt been weakened by the split in it and by reason of the assumption by the Prime Minister of supreme office with her declared intentions.

The drift of the Congress (O), if not checked in time by an active and vigorous attitude, is likely to end in the Congress (O) disappearing from current politics and lapsing into mere history and the personalities associated with it will go into obscurity. Notwithstanding the damage caused to the image of the Congress, if the Congress (O) stands firmly for the defence of the Constitution as it was solemnly framed when we started on the road to full freedom, and declares its firm opposition to any attempt on the part of the present Central Government to do away with or reduce the fundamental rights inscribed in it the nation will give powerful support to that defence. We cannot guess now what form such support will take if the Prime Minister persists in her projected battle. The Prime Minister should realize the gravity of the situation and abstain from inviting such a conflict. The defence of the Constitution and of the fundamental rights inscribed therein will enable the Old Congress to revive and recover from its present damaged image. Otherwise its survival is doubtful. A clear polarization with reference to the basic law of the land will be welcomed by all the democratic parties and a new atmosphere will replace the present stupefied psychology of drift.

[The Congress (O) Working Committee has adopted a resolution just the contrary of what I have advised in my article. The Congress (O) seeks to out-herod the Indira Congress which prevents any polarization. The Congress (O) Working Committee wants the Constitution so to be amended as to negative the Supreme Court's decision in the Golaknath case.]

Egypt and Israel

The Arabs and the Jews had remained mentally at war in spite of "cease fire" agreements and occasional talks of establishing conditions of peace. The recent moves made by the UAR have inspired reactions in Israel

which are well summarised in the following excerpts which we have made from the *Jewish Frontier*.

According to diplomatic sources, the United Arab Republic has informed Dr. Jarring that it will sign a peace "agreement" with Israel, not a treaty, if Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territory and meets its views on a just solution of the Arab refugee problem. This readiness is certainly a step forward from the position taken by the Arab states at the Khartoum Conference on September 1, 1967, when they adopted their rigid formula of "no peace, no negotiations, no recognition." It also marks an advance on previous answers made by Arab representatives of Dr. Jarring in which they spoke of "peace in the region" rather than of peace with Israel, and markedly omitted naming Israel in their encomia of the independence and territorial integrity of all states of the region. This studied vagueness in documents seeking to clarify peace terms was hardly reassuring to Israel who is all too familiar with the Arab refusal to recognize her legitimacy as a state in the Middle East. Consequently an explicit statement of recognition of Israel as well as a declared readiness by the Egyptian government to conclude a peace agreement must be viewed as an advance.

However, jubilee is premature. Although Egypt has finally used the banned words, "peace agreement" and "Israel" in conjunction with each other, there is no indication that it has abated one jot of its demands for the total withdrawal of Israeli force. Israel, on the other hand, insists with equal vehemence that the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 calls for withdrawal to "secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreement." A theoretical peace agreement without agree

ment on actual borders is meaningless. Once a willingness to make peace has been expressed, the borders can be defined through negotiation. Instant withdrawal cannot precede such negotiation, a process which in view of the variety of problems on each border is likely to be difficult and prolonged.

Israel's insistence is understandable. Less than two weeks before Egypt informed Ambassador Jarring that its government would sign a peace agreement with Israel provided Arab conditions were met, President Sadat, addressing the Egyptian National Council on February 4, 1971, reaffirmed the familiar Arab demand for withdrawal back to the 1967 borders. Such withdrawal, he added, would be foiled by "the realization of the rights of Palestinian people." In Arab parlance such "realization" has till now been a transparent euphemism for the destruction of Israel. In other words, as recently as February 4th the official position of Egypt was still the well-publicized Arab strategy whose two stages were: first, the eradication of the "aggression" of 1967 through Israel's return to the pre-June pre-war borders; and secondly, the liquidation of Israel by the Palestinians.

The same variety of supposed new Egyptian flexibility may be noted in regard to the opening of the Suez Canal. In what President Sadat described as a "new Egyptian initiative" he proposed that Israeli forces withdraw from the eastern bank of the Canal. Then Egypt would be ready "to begin at once with the clearing of the bed of the Suez Canal and its re-opening to international navigation and the service of the world economy." There is unfortunately no clear statement that Israel's right to use the Canal is included under the general term of international shipping."

Obviously Israel will not accede to a pariah role on the Canal, nor will she

quixotically facilitate easier passage for foe and friend through the international waterway unless she receives assurances that her ships will not be barred. An Egyptian initiative predicated on the assumption that international rights do not extend to Israel is hardly a peace move. Similarly, an offer to sign a peace without coming to grips with any of the issues which have kept the Middle East pot boiling for over two decades is little more than nominal. The substantive, genuine issues must be faced. These are defensible borders and the status of the refugees.

The mere utterance of the word "peace" is not likely to be viewed as a staggering concession by Israel. True, it is more hopeful than the constant reiteration of blood-curdling threats of extermination, but it is not in itself a magic formula for a new era. President Sadat and Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahoud Riad, having brought themselves to utter the forbidden syllables, make no secret of the fact that they now expect the United States to secure equivalent concessions from Israel. Since Israel has been offering to talk peace for the past three years she will probably feel that the parties are at last even on this score, and will insist on hammering out real concessions on both sides. An undivided Jerusalem, the fortified ridge on the Golan Heights, the status of the West Bank and the Palestinians, defensible boundaries in the Sinai Desert, three times a staging ground for Egyptian attack—all these present problems whose solution will require the best minds and the best will of Arab and Jew. The imposition of a presto settlement whose terms ignore the basic causes of the conflict would lead nowhere.

A Pole Looks at Barauni

Jerzy Chocilawski, writing in *Polish Facts On File* says :

We set out at dawn from Varanasi, driving for many hours across the endless succession of villages in Bihar crowded and gray with dust, as though there had never been any rain there.

In this bucolic landscape the 105 meter chimney of the Barauni power plant suddenly appeared before us, on an open, treeless expanse, like a surrealistic exclamation mark.

It was already late, too late to have a closer look at things; this we would do on the following day. For the time being we enjoyed meeting the twenty Poles who live here or if one considers whole families, even twice as many. The engineers Wacław Bury (head of the Polish supervising team), Stanisław Paszczela (chief engineer) and Bronisław Stelmazak (representative of the CEKOP foreign trade enterprise) tell us about Bihar. They mention the terrible starvation that in 1966-67 afflicted that state, one of the most densely populated in India (56 million inhabitants). This starvation was caused by drought which sounds like a paradox, since the Ganges River and its many tributaries flow in Bihar and the soil here is one of the most fertile in the world. But the point is that the water does not reach the small fields of the Bihar peasants because there is no irrigation or else its installations are so primitive that they do not guarantee a sufficient supply of water in times of drought. This will change in the near future, Electric energy from the plant will set in motion the pumps at the irrigation wells and the farms and fields in Bihar will never again be parched.

"Before the power plant was built," says Mr. Bury, the engineer, "the electric network of northern Bihar was completely cut off from the southern part of the state. Now, after an oil pipe-line has been laid, running beneath the bed of the Ganges River and an electric power line has been set up from Barauni to Gaya (approximately 200 km.), the two parts are connected. This is of great significance

for the economy of Bihar. Not only the farmers use the electricity, but also small craftsmen, mills, a sugar plant, oil plant, the nearby tannery, the Britannia Metal Works, which produces parts for railway cars the large crude oil refinery built with Soviet help, etc.

For the sake of accuracy it should be mentioned that there are two power plants in Barauni—A and B. The one marked "A" has 3 units, each with a capacity of 15 megawatts and was assembled by Yugoslavia; Barauni "B" is a "Polish" plant and has a much greater capacity since it is made up of two blocks with a maximum capacity of 55 megawatts each. This is a complete Polish export power plant. It has already won some fame—last year Polish newsreel operators went there to take pictures and a part of this reportage about the power plant was included in the documentary film entitled "Poland".

The equipment of this power plant is a sort of a cross-section of Polish power engineering. The boilers were produced by the factory in Raciborz, the turbines by the Zamech plant in Elbląg, the generators came from DOLMEL in Orocław, the electrical installations are from ZWAR in Miedzylesie near Warsaw, the transformers, too, represent establishments well known in Poland, such as: Energo-pomdar—Gliwice, Skawina, Patnów, Zeran, Siekierki and Jaworzno.

While I was in Barauni the whole first block had already been in operation for over a thousand hours without a single breakdown which is something very rare in the world. By now the second block, too, has been in operation. The engineers Bury and Paszczela are, generally speaking, satisfied with results so far; after all, the boilers from Raciborz showed not a single crack in the pipes and after all each boiler has approximately 10,000 weldings. The engineers say that the Indian welders really did a good job there. The prototype solution of the oil installation has

proved itself too, and the turbine set from Zamech works without a flaw. The vibrations have never exceeded 20 microns, the permissible norm being 50. The Barauni B is not what is called a "completed" plant. Polish firms only deliver FOB (Free on Board) and our specialists on the spot supervise the assembly, the starting of operations and the annual exploitation. The assembly and various other deliveries of parts and the building work etc, are handled by the investor the customer the Bihar State Electricity Board,

Thanks to the good cooperation between the management of the power plant headed by Mr. B. Sinha and the group of Polish specialists, all the difficulties, which after all were inevitable in such a large investment project, have been overcome and already the results of the joint work of Indian and Polish specialists are notable.

The chimney stacks of Barauni are belching smoke and it is envisaged that the future will bring further enlargement of the power plant by another two blocks with a capacity of 60 megawatts each. Thus it is not impossible that in the next few years Bihar will receive another amount of Polish megawatts, which together with those already in operation will serve to bring about the development of the Indian Republic, to fertilize the fields, put the factories, machines in motion and strengthen the friendship of the two peoples in the most lasting way-in the form of useful achievements in joint work.

200 Years of Coal Mining

The *Coal Field Tribune* publishes the following account of the forthcoming bicentenary of the coal industry in India.

Coal Industry in India will celebrate, according to a spokesman of Coal Symposium Committee, its bicentenary in 1974. It is a long history of Coal Industry since it came

into being in 1774. Coal is the first industry in India followed by other industries in later centuries. This basic industry can claim to be the path finder of other industries and industrial revolution in India.

Commercial exploitation of coal started in 1774 and only 2500 maunds of coal was despatched to Calcutta by river in 1775. With this modest beginning, the Industry is going to produce 935 million tonnes of coal in 1974, on its 200th year of existence. It is now one of the biggest industries in India employing about 400,000 persons.

Raniganj coalfield can claim to be the pioneer of Coal Industry because the exploitation of coal first started here and first Railway line was extended to Raniganj in 1855 in order to transport coal to Calcutta when production went up and transport by river route was time-consuming factor in keeping up with the progress of production. With the extension of Railways, Coal Industry started developing in other parts of the country. Railways actually gave a new lease of life to Coal Industry in the beginning. But what is found to-day after about 200 years? Railways are out as if, to strangle the Coal Industry by its hostile attitude towards it. Coal Industry is gasping with about 9 million tonnes of coal stocks at the pitheads on account of Railways' failure to supply wagons for movement of the coal-stocks.

Long history of Coal Industry is the history of India's industrial progress. In its life, Coal Industry did not receive due attention of the Government till 1901 when the Indian Mineral Act was passed and the Chief Inspector of Mines' post was created. Coal Industry actually received due attention when for the first time the Indian Mine Act came into being in 1923, five years after the end of the first World War. Since then various Committees were formed and legislations

passed. The importance of Coal, however, came to lime-light during the second World War and since then development and progress of Coal Industry started in planned way and for that purpose several Committees and Boards were set up by Government, which marked a new chapter in the Industry.

Coal Industry, however, entered into a new phase after Independence when Mines Act 1952 was passed followed by Mines Rules, 1955 and Mines Regulations, 1957. Miners so long were neglected and after Independence, Government laid special stress on their living conditions and Social Security measures. But, at the same time, political parties made the mining field,—particularly in West Bengal, their suitable arena of politics in the name of trade union movement. So long miners were said to have been exploited by the owners but since Independence, the exploitation did not stop. They are being exploited by the protagonists of anti-exploitation. That is, miners are used as pawn in the political chess board of different political parties.

Yahya and the World Press

Yahya Khan tells his lies, attempts to stage manage things to make his sadistic barbarities appear as normal military activities against rebellious insurgents and pretends to be the saviour of a state in difficulties ; in order to create favourable world opinion. He chased out all foreign correspondents and many foreigners left of their own accord when they found themselves in the midst of a gruesome carnage in which thousands were shot down daily and millions were subjected to inhuman persecution. Yahya's mistake was that he overlooked the possibility of the truth coming out through statements made by the above mentioned foreigners, by others who were in ships which had come to the East Bengal ports and by the millions of refugees who fled

the country to save their lives and honour. Yahya's soldiers also shot down a number of foreign priests, a few foreign managers of tea gardens and other establishments and a large number of Bengali intellectuals who could not just vanish without rousing questions in the minds of people who had regular contact with these victims of Pakistani butchery. Yahya Khan could not announce in the press and broadcast through the radio about normalcy in East Bengal without opening the doors of the country to foreign visitors. His idea that he could hire out some foreigners who would say what he wanted them to say, was also not a safe bet ; for some reporters would always dishonour their undertaking when they found that it was the most honourable thing to do. And it was also not easy to take wide awake press correspondents on conducted tours to prove to them that Dacca was normal and that the people of East Bengal were living and working in their usual manner.

The most difficult barrier to establish his lies as truths was the steady flow of refugees from East Bengal into Assam, Tripura and West Bengal. Also the presence of large numbers of Mukti Fouz officers in West Bengal who had photographs, films and reliable eye witnesses to prove that the West Pakistani soldiers had killed, raped, plundered and burnt down entire inhabited areas wantonly and with a bestial disregard for all moral and human considerations.

So, though it took a little time, the true story of East Bengal slowly filtered through the massive earth work of false representation of facts that the military administration had put up in order to dupe the world and to obtain foreign aid in a free and easy manner. Yahya Khan was very badly off for money and war material. He was fighting his ungodly battle against the forces of freedom, justice and human rights. His resources were

dwindling and would soon vanish altogether. Even if he got some foreign aid, he would find it difficult to carry on the fight for long. The crimes committed by his soldiers were so heinous and degrading that no one could white wash them by explanatory arguments. Denial by false tales of imaginary happenings and recital of alleged statements and declarations which were never made were chosen as worth-trying out methods of achieving an unholy objective. But truth has a way of becoming manifest. Foreigners spoke, they made convincing logical conjectures, evidence of documentary significance slowly reached other countries, and Yahya Khan's liars had to work overtime in order to counteract the increasing pressure of truth on the peoples of the world.

We found in the beginning some important journals like the *Guardian* and the *New Statesman* publishing articles, reports and letters in which the hideous genocidal activities of the Pakistani army were laid bare to a great extent. Yahya Khan's men tried to prove that all that was published was propaganda inspired by anti-Pakistan people. But this did not produce the expected result. More letters and reports began to come out in various other journals in Britain, America and other countries, and politicians began to take up an anti Pakistan attitude too, demanding the stoppage of all financial and military aid to Pakistan. The journals gave full publicity to the mass killing of men, women and children ; rape and abduction of numerous women ; destruction of villages and residential areas in towns and the calculated, liquidation of all Bengali teachers, lawyers, literary-men, doctors, technicians, scientists and other intellectuals. The Bengalis of Pakistan were numerically and educationally superior to the Urdu, Punjabi, Pushtu, Baluchi and Sindhi speaking West Pakistanis. Ayub and Yahya Khan's military administrators had treated the

Pathans and Baluchi unjustly, but they being small in numbers could not retaliate nor agitate strongly enough against exploitation by the Punjabi and Urdu speaking Pakistanis. The Bengalis had been resenting their exploitation by the West Pakistanis and the Awami League had been organising to force the termination of military rule and the introduction of democracy. So, when Yahya Khan decided to wipe out the Awami League ; he also planned to kill off or drive out a few million Bengalis from East Bengal, so that the Bengalis would no longer retain their numerical superiority. He also planned to kill as many Bengalis of the educated class as he could manage and carried out his diabolical plans by killing 5000 intellectuals in Dacca during March 25 midnight and the midnight of March 28.

All these utterly unbelievable and fearsome details of Yahya Khan's genocidal attack on the Bengalis of East Pakistan began to come out in the foreign newspapers as time passed and Yahya Khan was reluctantly forced to admit the barbarous actions of his soldiers. Pakistan was already reduced to near bankruptcy by her excessive military expenditure and the fall in revenue collection, and this was accentuated by the refusal of many aid giving countries to give money or arms to Pakistan until the Bangladesh problem was settled politically in a manner which did away with military autocracy and guaranteed democratic control and management of the affairs of the people of the Eastern region. The scope for lying was becoming extremely restricted and the Military rulers of Pakistan were now depending on those countries which will help her to survive, no matter what crimes against humanity were committed by her soldiers. Among such countries the United States was outstanding and the government of the USA were shamelessly giving assistance to Pakistan, inspite of the publicity given to the true story

of Bangladesh in the newspapers of the USA and the vehement protests made by important statesmen against sending shiploads of US arms to Pakistan.

National Capitalism

Industries that are selected for the development of national Capitalism are usually the most important public utility concerns Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones, Radio Broadcasting, Gas and Electricity production and distribution, Air Communications, Port Services, Ship Building, International Trade, Banking and Insurance are some of the essential economic enterprises that the Indian government have arranged to monopolise with a view to make their version of socialism successful as a business venture. But they have not proved themselves to be successful managers of these monopolistic enterprises. Firstly they have not been able to organise timely and efficient operation of the services undertaken. Secondly their employer—employee relations have been made abnormally rough and obstructive by ill feeling and friction. If ultimately national capitalism prevails one

hundred percent in India and all workers paid by employers become employees of the state ; one shudders to think of the atmosphere that will be suffocating all managers and other ranks in the economic field. The Indian Air Lines affair which nearly destroyed a great national undertaking recently, showed up the weaknesses in the field of employer-employee relations which one notices when bureaucrats are made to act as business managers. The Government of India would have to reorientate their mind as to the setting up of managerial control over workers in the light of the best industrial experience that can be found here or in the outside world. Otherwise they will have to lock out the entire nation from time to time in order to operate the nation's socialistic business and industries. Of course one can prevent strikes, slow downs and work to rule obstructionism by stringent punitive legislation. But that would be communistic-fascistic and would be unpalatable to the freedom loving peoples of India. An easier way would be to cultivate a sensible business like outlook and attitude in place of the current unbending, case hardened bureaucratic attachment to codes and rules.





ABANINDRANATH IN HIS YOUTH



ABANINDRANATH TAGORE--

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CONTENTS FOR AUGUST 1971

WHOLE No. 776

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 81 |
| What Bangla Desh Means to me ?—Subhash Chandra Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 89 |
| Nehru—The Man of Science—M. Mus'eh Uddin | ... | ... | ... | 93 |
| Harish Mukherjea : prometheus of Indian Political Liberty—P. Thankappan Nair | ... | ... | ... | 95 |
| Regional Disparities and India—B. L. Dhakar | ... | ... | ... | 112 |
| Our Wobbling Democracy—Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji | ... | ... | ... | 118 |
| Conflict Between The Governor and The Ministry—Dr. S. M. Sayeed | ... | ... | ... | 124 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 129 |
| The Impact of Hindu-Buddhist Cultures—Buddhadasa P. Kirthisingh | ... | ... | ... | 138 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 141 |
| Change of Kings —Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 145 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 154 |
| Book Review— | ... | ... | ... | 160 |



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NOTES

Abanindranath Tagore

Abanindranath Tagore was born in the Jorasanko Tagore family in August 1871. The day was the birthday of Shri Krishna and considered to be very auspicious. He was brought up in the manner of the children of wealthy families, that is by maid servants till the age of five and thereafter by men servants who taught him the ways of the sons of the rich, until he was considered to be grown up enough to go about freely in his own way. Abanindranath was brought up by a maid servant whose name was Padma and who was dark as the night, as described by the great artist in the memoirs of his earlier days. Padma had a fight with another maid servant of the house and cut her forehead by knocking it against the wall. She was angry and looked like a black stone statue of Bhairabi with red *sindur* plastered on her forehead. Padma went out of his life after this and another maid servant came to replace her who made little impression on him. He was taken over by a

man servant Ramlal when he left the women's section of the great big house. This man taught him manners, some words of English, tales of commerce with the outside world which made the Tagores multi-millionaires and he also made models of sailing ships for his entertainment and instruction. He heard stories of the great merchant prince who had engaged British architects to build the Jorasanko houses. One architect described by him belonged to the Napoleonic period and came riding a palanquin with his plans. He wore knee breeches and a satin coat as well as a powdered wig. Abanindranath had not seen this remarkable architect who perhaps lived during the reign of George III ; but his colourful cravat and stockings were an integral part of the story of Jorasanko which was recounted by succeeding generations of story tellers. When he grew up and could go about freely he saw the Pathan wrestlers, the professional singers and all those who linked up the present with the past culturally and helped people to realise the greatness and wide

ramifications of India's civilisation. Abanindranath took lessons in many subjects including Persian. This created in him a deep attachment to things of the past which gave India a glorious place in the world of philosophy, literature, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, drama, dance and the great crafts. He took up miniature painting as his life's mission and developed such a mastery over the technique and art inspiration of Rajput—Moghul painters that some of his pictures in the Moghul style could have been passed off as the work of the master artists of the courts of the Moghul emperors. He was also a great writer, a great actor, an expert decor artist, a designer of furniture, a landscape gardener, a superb Esraj player and an intellectual of rare distinction in the field of art criticism and aesthetics.

Abanindranath Tagore had developed a style of his own in the early years of this century. His example was followed by other artists and that was the beginning of the Bengal School which dominated the field of art in India for several decades. This was clearly something quite different from the Western style of painting taught at the art schools of those days. Those were perhaps useful as book illustrations, for calendars and advertisements. But no artistic feelings or emotions found material expression through these depictions of persons or incidents. They had some similarity in form, line, colour and composition with the truly artistic paintings of the great artists of Europe; but that likeness was merely superficial. No expression of any artistic inspiration or emotion was involved in the production of such mechanically turned out pictures. The teachers of art in the schools of arts and crafts in India taught drawing and composition and their pupils became competent in reproducing shapes and forms without really experiencing any artistic

urge to project their inner feelings through lines and colour. This is where the Indianness of style and form came to be given a place of essential importance. That also created a living connection with the general background of Indian civilisation, thought and culture. There was a time when Persian artists were invited to come and work in the court of the Moghuls; but very soon the Persian nature of their art vanished, creating a new art form that was Indo-Persian. Something new and creative in the world of art. The British art teaching was not bringing about any such synthesis of British and Indian art. It was the death of art through pointless imitation of form.

So When Abanindranath arrived on the scene and began to pick up the lost threads of inspiration and technique that were lying hidden in the rubble left by the onslaught of Western civilisation on Indian thought and culture; his pupils recaptured the flow of life in the new art forms that were a revival as well as creatively expressive. The Bengal school grew roots in Lahore, Lucknow, Jaipur, Madras and other centres of art learning in India and the dead imitative Western style was soon replaced by a living and vigorous style that was not only Indian but also showed a continuity with what had been there before. Abanindranath Tagore put India back on the map of creative art and artistic expression. Without him we might have continued to exist as a lifeless suburb of London. His place is high among all those great men of India who held the flag of Indian civilisation up during the period when British exploiters of India carried on a base propaganda against India's cultural distinction and greatness.

The Right to Assist Foreign People

The international law relating to the recognition of a new state by other states may be complicated and there may be all sorts of objections raised by astute lawyers when it

comes to giving lawful shape to an official recognition. But the people of one country or even the governments of different states can render assistance to the suffering people of any country if they choose to do so. This can be done when natural calamities befall a nation or when people become victims of war. There are no recognised conventions relating to such assistance. For example America and China are supplying arms to the Pakistani forces and are apparently within their rights to do so. If therefore other nations supply arms to the forces of liberation of Bangla Desh who are fighting the Pak army, who can find anything to object to in such supplying of war material? China is sending military experts to advise the Pakistan Generals. If some other country lends experts to the Bangla Desh Army, that should be found to be in order at least by the Chinese. The Americans have been assisting the South Vietnamese with men, money and arms and have been fighting their battle for them. The nearest we have ever done in assisting the people of an outside state has been by granting refuge and may be by giving money aid too. The Dalai Lama was given such assistance and he and his retinue still live in Indian territory. The masses of Pakistani nationals who have been forced out of East Bengal by the West Pakistani soldiers have entered the territory of India, Burma and, may be, other states; and over seven million persons are now being fed, clothed and accommodated to enable them to keep body and soul together by these foreign states. Many nations are sending material assistance for these refugees and the Pakistanis do not appear to dislike the idea of their nationals being fed by others. For this is helping them to achieve their despicable objective of reducing the Bengali population of East Bengal. All hopes of these refugees ever going back to their lost homes are fast

receding and the only way left open for this is by military action against the Pakistan forces to induce them to evacuate East Bengal. This can only be done by the army of liberation of Bangla Desh which is trying to win back East Bengal for the people of the country who have been forced out and also killed and wounded in their hundred thousands by the ruthless barbarities committed by the soldiers of President Yahya Khan. If this army of liberation is helped by other nations, Pakistan cannot object to that; for Pakistan is continuously seeking and obtaining help from outsiders. Moreover helping is not recognition at law, and nobody can object to anybody helping anybody on the ground that the party helped was not officially a recognised state. When Pakistan and China help the underground Nagas, the Mizos and similar rebel forces they do so with the full knowledge that they were helping persons who were not the officially engaged forces of a state established and recognised at law. So the Bangla Desh forces can be assisted with training and arms by anybody who chooses to do so.

China and America

The Chinese have been inscrutable throughout their history. That being so, nobody really understands what the Chinese mean when they praise, condemn or show indifference to any person or thing. But they never lack principles relating to anything that matters. They have a hundred thousand commandments as pronounced by their great men during the last three thousand years. During their recent Maoist revolution they have broken away from the tradition of Confucius, Mencius, Lao t'Sze and all those others who interpreted the sayings of the saints of Chinesecivilisation. But they have accepted Karl Marx as a new prophet of progress and a framer of modern moral laws and axioms of human virtue. These new principles of

conduct, rights and obligations have no basic ethical significance in many cases ; but are preached by the leaders of the political parties as if those were the tenets of a new religious creed. As, however, politics and economics are the main props of this creed, it has not been able to replace to any great extent the religious and moral considerations which prevailed over society at large in the past. The people do not really think, believe and feel in a new way ; but accept the orders of the political dictators out of fear and as a compulsion which cannot be resisted by the common people. Many factory workers, some peasants and the army, navy and air force personnel stand behind the political clique which rules China ; and the general public accept this powerful organisation as the ruling power. It is very difficult to discover what really goes on in China. Propaganda does not actually represent facts. There are also traders in Hongkong who appear to belong to various nations ; but are in reality the agents of the Peoples Republic of China. How far the Chinese have achieved the construction of the industries shown in their development program, is unknown to outsiders. Many things may have been received by the Chinese from other sources and been declared to be made in China for propaganda purposes.

The Chinese had been enemies of the Russians for some years now and the Americans liked that very much. It may be assumed that the Americans began to develop friendly feelings towards the Chinese from the time the Chinese began calling the Russians revisionists and by other terms of Marxist abuse. Whether the Americans had been supplying components of all sorts of complicated ultra modern weapons and industrial equipment directly or through the foreign agents of China, is a question which only the Chinese and the Americans can answer. But it is a

safe guess that the Americans did not develop their friendly feelings towards the Chinese overnight through the diplomatic activities of Dr. Kissinger as has been made out by the publicity men of America and China.

The Americans and their supporters have been pro-Chinese in a manner of speaking for some years. The principal reason for this appears to be the Anti-Russian attitude of Chinese leaders. The recent pro-Chinese foreign relations program that President Nixon has adopted also goes to prove that the Americans consider undermining Russia's might of much greater importance than reducing China down to a lower level in the community of military powers. This line of thinking has been there in America's mind for quite some time, and that naturally made Americans view favourably everything that augmented China's economic and military strength. America's progressive withdrawal from South East Asia helped China to conserve her strength and to concentrate her forces against Russia, rather than be forced to deploy her army to points where it could not be used against Russia. Pakistan is looked upon with favour by the Americans for the reason that the Pakistanis have given access to China to her territories adjoining the states of the USSR in Asia. This has been done by allowing the Chinese to build the Aksai-Chin road through Indian territory unlawfully held by the Pakistanis in the so-called Azad Kashmir. America also intervened to save Pakistan after the total rout of the Pakistan army in the 22 days Indo-Pakistan war. Many things therefore point to a secret fellowship between China and America and to the fact that the recent developments in the field of official renewal of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries was nothing that one could not expect as a natural expression of fellow feelings that already existed. The

utter surprise that the world has been feeling latterly was, therefore not so utterly surprising.

Inefficient Police wants to Disarm Public

The Police of West Bengal are thoroughly inefficient and many policemen are also traitors to the motherland. In the circumstances they cannot and do not protect the public from the criminal activities of law-breakers. But the government do not deal with the police in the manner they should be dealt with ; and leave them with all powers that they do not deserve to possess. In many cases these powers are misused and in many more these are kept in abeyance to the disadvantage of the public. During recent months many weapons possessed by the public have been forcibly taken away or stolen by criminals and the police have neither been able to stop this nor to recover any substantial proportion of the stolen weapons. People say that it is the police who inform the criminals about the names and addresses of private licence holders and the criminals have taken away weapons from the public on the strength of such information. In many cases when weapons are taken away from the police no resistance has been put up by the policemen. Whatever the facts may be, the police of West Bengal have definitely failed to maintain law and order in the state and there are grounds for suspecting complicity on the part of the police in many cases of weapon snatching.

Now the police are ordering the licence holding public to deposit their weapons with the police for safe custody. If all weapons are deposited with the police, lawlessness will greatly increase. The criminals can obtain weapons in an illegal manner ; but the public cannot. So that once all guns and small arms are handed over to the police, the people who buy and keep arms for protecting their life and property, will find themselves helpless and

the criminals, knowing that these licence holders no longer possess the weapons will attack them confidently and subject them to robbery with violence. The police will sit inactively when the crimes are committed and arrive on the scene for "post mortem" enquiries.

We think this disarming of the people is a very objectionable and unintelligent move on the part of government. It would have been better if all licence holders had been instructed to resist and to be ready to resist miscreants at all times. Bands of licence holders could even work as special constables if thought necessary. But the government have no faith in anybody excepting their own henchmen. This is an inheritance they have got from their imperialist predecessors. In a democracy the government should not have any right to disarm people who have been granted licences to possess fire arms after considering their reliability and requirement for protection. At least officials should not have the right to demand surrender of arms according to their own wishes. Higher authorities should be consulted to do all this sort of thing, if at all it is found necessary to disarm the owners of fire arms. Almost all owners of fire arms pay licence fees for the privilege of keeping arms. Most of them pay thousands of rupees to buy the fire arms. The licence holding therefore involves expenditure of money and the expenses are not inconsiderable. The government should not therefore withdraw the privilege in an easy and light hearted manner. May be there are risks of the arms being stolen or snatched. But that applies to diamond necklaces and other valuables too. Can the police ask people to deposit all their jewellery at the thanas ? Arms of course can be a source of danger to others when thieves get hold of them. But diamond necklaces too can be exchanged for pistols if it came to that.

Almost all fire arms carried by robbers are obtained by payment of money to illicit traders in fire arms. Money therefore is the most dangerous of all things as far as criminals and their arms are concerned. Should people, therefore deposit their cash, ornaments and other valuables with the police?

We believe the government have discovered many disloyal policemen who had been recruited recently by political party leaders acting as ministers. Some of these lawless fifth column revolutionary members of the police force have been, perhaps, relieved of their duties latterly. But the number sent out would not be sufficient to clean up the force of the poison of treachery. One thinks that all policemen working in West Bengal may be sent to serve in other states and policemen of other states brought into West Bengal to act as substitutes of the persons sent away. This alone will not help the situation fully and reestablish law and order in this state; but it will be a good beginning.

Yahya Wants to Fight India

Yahya Khan, the President of the military autocracy of Pakistan wants to fight India. The causes of this proposed war are many. Firstly India does not allow Pakistan to send her planes, which carry military personnel, arms and ammunition unfailingly in all flights, over Indian territory for the reason that Pakistan has been carrying on a genocidal campaign against the people of East Bengal since March 1971. India is particularly against Pakistan carrying on this barbarous onslaught upon a peaceful people because of its inhuman character and because one feature of this hideous anti-Bengali frenzy of Yahya's kith and kin is driving several million non-combatant men, women and children into Indian territory as refugees seeking escape from fearsome torture, death, rape and utter loss of freedom and the right to live as civilised

human beings. A few hundred thousand people have been already killed in cold blood in East Bengal by Yahya Khan's soldiers. At least a lakh of women have been carried away by the same soldiers to their cantonments out of whom about half have been murdered after being subjected to torture and dishonour. India also stopped these over flights of Pakistani planes because Pakistan arranged the hijacking of an Indian passenger plane which was taken to Lahore and destroyed by the agents of Pakistan.

Other reasons for Yahya Khan's determination to fight India are his firm belief that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was instigated by India to take up an anti-Martial Law regime attitude because India instigated him to do so. This alleged belief of Yahya Khan has been spread wide through Pak propaganda in order to prove to the world that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the people of East Bengal had no grounds for opposing the Martial Law Administration set up by Yahya Khan and his predecessors. In fact the West Pakistani Junta had been exploiting East Pakistan in an organised imperialistic fashion ever since Pakistan had been created by Jinnah and the British. 70% of all borrowings by Pakistan have been utilised for West Pakistan. 90% of all jobs go to West Pakistanis. 80% of all foreign exchange earnings of Pakistan are from the products of East Pakistan and that 80% are used only for purposes which benefit West Pakistan. In short East Pakistan has been a colony of West Pakistan and the latter had therefore set up an exploitative autocracy which took everything from and gave nothing to the Bengalis of East Pakistan now called Bangla Desh. Even when floods and storms ravaged East Bengal in recent times, the West Pakistanis did not move a muscle within ten days of the incidents to render assistance to the people who lost everything and thousands

of their family members too, due to the cataclysm. Foreign money and stores sent for the stricken people were utilised for other purposes by the Martial Law Administrators as suited their convenience. There have been grounds for a rebellion or secession in East Bengal for long years and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not advocate these extreme measures as he considered a Gandhian way better than an armed revolt. The Indian inspiration therefore was for peace and not war. It was only when Yahya Khan's men killed and abducted thousands and set fire to homes that the East Bengalis formed the army of liberation. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was by that time a prisoner in Rawalpindi having been treacherously arrested by Yahya Khan while sitting at a conference called by the same dictatorial head of the state of Pakistan, General Yahya Khan.

Yahya Khan also thinks India is helping the soldiers of Bangla Desh to fight his barbarian murderers of women and children and sadistic criminals whom he has let loose on a peaceful population. It would appear that if Yahya Khan pushes out seven and half million people from their home land into Indian territory, that is no act of war, but if India allows the same people or some of them to reenter East Bengal from India; it must be India's duty to discover whether the persons going back into East Bengal were going back with a view to attack the soldiers of Yahya Khan who are terrorising the people there. The persons who come into India do not carry any arms when they come. When some people go back to East Bengal they go unarmed. If after going back into East Bengal they become members of the army of liberation, India can not prevent that; nor is it India's duty to obstruct movement of persons between East Bengal and India. If some of these soldiers of Bangla Desh come and go

between the two countries, secure arms and munitions in India and smuggle the same into East Bengal or come into India to recuperate before returning to rejoin ranks; India cannot stop such movements. It is the Pakistanis who should guard the frontiers of their country and prevent the movement of men and arms between the two countries. We believe they do try to do this; but fail to achieve the purpose. They leave many passages unguarded in order to enable the refugees to enter India. That cuts both ways and people get into East Pakistan by the same routes.

Yahya Khan has proved himself a criminal and a mass killer of innocent civilians by his war against the people of East Bengal. He has also been responsible for countless cases rape, arson and loot. He thinks if the war of Bangla Desh changes into a war with India, the world will soon forget his crimes and begin to think of the whole affair as a war between India and Pakistan. That is why he is spoiling for a fight with India.

President's Rule and Political Parties

The reason for introduction of President's rule in West Bengal was the failure of political parties to secure a working majority in the Legislature either singly or by forming a dependable coalition of parties. That was a sign of the political parties being badly and ineffectively organised. Generally speaking the political parties of West Bengal are becoming progressively unpopular. We do not think that even 20 percent of the general public are interested in these parties. The parties too have no friendly and constructive contacts with the public. They have their own policy, ideas, ideals and intentions in which thoughts of public well being play little part. The political parties therefore do not either represent public opinion nor do they endeavour after public welfare. In such

conditions the people who are ruling West Bengal in behalf of the President of India should try to create contacts with the public rather than with the political parties in order to reestablish law and order in the state with special reference to the normal running of educational institutions. But the rulers of West Bengal are running after the leaders of the political parties in order to make their administration successful. The leaders are, of course, deeply interested in making the President's rule fail. There can therefore be no sincere collaboration between the parties and the President's agents.

Asansol Municipality Badly Mismanaged

The municipality of Asansol is notorious for its mismanaged affairs. The assessments are iniquitous, many parts of the municipal area have no conservancy, water supply, road maintenance and lighting which are the basic municipal services. But tax collection is carried on with great vigour. Several political parties tussle with one another in the municipality for power and that power when grabbed temporarily by any group helps that group to make hay while the sun shines. The public remain helpless spectators. The town, one of the largest in West Bengal, remains without proper conservancy, water supply, education arrangements, road repairs and lighting arrangements. Underhand methods are used by unscrupulous persons to get assessments made to their advantage and people who do not know the ropes have to pay high rates without receiving any municipal service. Some say Asansol is typical of all municipalities of India. We cannot, however, believe it. For we remember

that when Asansol municipality was run by an administrator appointed by government, things were very much better.

Politics a Great Paradox

China desires government of the people by the people and calls herself a people's republic, no matter if all political power is concentrated in a few hands. These few hands belong to leaders who work for the public good and not for individual profit of a group of capitalists or feudal overlords. Pakistan is an autocracy in which political power has been usurped by some army generals who rule the people dictatorially, not for their good, but for the benefit of some capitalists who belong to a limited number of families of Pakistan. That is, Pakistan is a capitalistic dictatorship which can have nothing in common with China. But politics is a paradox in which logic or realities do not play any part. America is a democracy and she has no sympathy with dictatorships of the communistic type or of any other kind. But America is not only supplying arms to Pakistan which is being used for the destruction of democracy and the moral values on which rest all human rights of mankind. America is also trying to make an open alliance with China, which is a fanatical sponsor of communism and all the undemocratic things that it stands for. America of course considers Russia as a greater opponent of her political ambitions than any other country and would like to see Russia clash with China. For if that happened only America would remain there to dominate world politics.

WHAT BANGLA DESH MEANS TO ME ?

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Why have I been so moved by the events of Bangla Desh ? Is it because I wish to go back to Bangla Desh ? Is it because I believe an independent Bangla Desh would enable many Hindus, who left their homes in East Bengal, to go back and resettle themselves in their homes ? No doubt I love Bangla Desh, the land of my birth. But I have no desire to leave my present home in India and to go to any other country—even to Bangla Desh. Indeed the Bangla Desh society is quite unknown to me and I can no longer integrate myself in that society. Therefore I do not support the freedom movement in Bangla Desh with any lurking desire to go and settle there. Similarly, although I believe independent Bangla Desh would accord the Hindus a fully equal and dignified status, I do not believe it would be possible for many Hindus, originating in East Bengal but now living in India, to go back to Bangla Desh and rehabilitate themselves there. My concern for the welfare of Bangla Desh does not arise out of any possibility of the Hindu Bengalis returning to East Bengal.

I support the freedom movement in Bangla Desh because it represents a new value in politics and inter-community relationship in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. To explain this a backward look is necessary. Although I did not live in the land of my birth for any great period of time, I had never thought of abandoning it till the rising and aggressive communalism of the Muslim League made it impossible for the self-respecting Hindus to stay there. Nevertheless, having lived most of my life in West Bengal and away from the land of my birth, not to be

able to go back to Bangla Desh did not mean so much of a sacrifice to me as it meant to others who had their roots there. Indeed, many Hindus did not think of leaving East Bengal even after the emergence of the Islamic State of Pakistan. For, the original conception of Pakistan did not exclude the participation by the Hindus in its affairs. Even as late as 11 August 1947 Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, said in his first speech before the Pakistan Constituent Assembly that in the political sense there would be no religious group in Pakistan and that every religious group could pursue its faith in the fullest freedom. Jinnah said, "you are free ; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens of one State. Now, I think, we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, and you will find that in course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus, and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State." (P xvi Majumdar - **Jinnah And Gandhi.**)

It was not long before it became clear, however, that the Pakistan Government, then headed by Jinnah himself, had no desire to implement this assurance of non-discrimination. On the contrary, a deliberate policy was followed to drive the Hindus out of East Pakistan. Within five years of the establishment of Pakistan no fewer than fortytwo lakhs of Hindus were forced out of East Bengal. Undoubtedly

there were many reasons underlying this policy of genocide. But one significant consequence of this policy of expelling the Hindu Bengalis was that thereby the proportion of the population of East Pakistan to the total population of the whole of Pakistan was reduced by as much as nine percent within the course of five years. By 1952 the proportion of the population of East Bengal to the total population of Pakistan came down to 56 percent from 65.7 percent in 1947. Since the leaders of West Pakistan were desirous of imposing Urdu as the sole official language of Pakistan and, since the Bengalis of East Pakistan were opposing Urdu on the ground that the language of the absolute majority of the population of Pakistan, (i. e. Bengali) ought to be made the State language of Pakistan, obviously the driving away of the Hindus from Pakistan was also serving the important purpose of reducing the Bengali-speaking population in Pakistan. To that extent the policy served the cause of Urdu. It cannot be truthfully said that the dominant section of the Bengali Muslim leadership in East Bengal was opposed to the expulsion of the Hindus. Indeed, in many places they not only cooperated with the non-Bengali Muslims, but also created provocations to drive out the Hindus. So strong was the grip of communalism.

But, underneath, a great churning was going on and the narrow communal outlook was yielding ground to a broader, national secular outlook based on a complete negation of communalism. The newly-gained secularism of the Muslims of Bengal has since been successfully tested in the war against the occupation forces of Pakistan. Jinnah, the one-time apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity, had in his frustration and anger, raised communalism to the level of a new political theory. In his presidential address at the Lahore

session of the All India Muslim League in March 1940 (when the Pakistan resolution was passed) Jinnah observed: "It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and, Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their outlooks on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap." (p 353-354, Philips: The Evolution of India and Pakistan.)

What Jinnah spoke was not wholly true; but it was substantially true at that time. That was why the bulk of the Muslims in India followed Jinnah and the Muslim League. That this distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims was unreal nobody could prove to the satisfaction of either the Hindus or the Muslims at that time. The significance of Bangla Desh is that it has undone this myth of Hindu-Muslim separateness whose other side is the myth of Muslim oneness. It is doubtful if, without the ruthless exploitation by the West Pakistani Muslims, the East Bengali Muslims could ever have overcome the limitation of a purely communal outlook

that had vitiated Muslim politics in India during the past fifty years and more. The West Pakistani move to impose Urdu on the Bengali Muslims forced them to fight back the non-Bengali Muslims. In this fight the Bengali Muslims had no other weapon except the heritage of the language which was substantially built up by the Hindu writers. The East Bengali Muslims were faced with the need to resort to the Hindu writers to fight their Muslim compatriots. If they wanted to be self-respecting they could not throw aside what such men as Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterji and Michael Madhusudan Datta had written in their language, Bengali. If the Bengali Muslims had to adopt these non-Muslim writers as their own, they could not very well maintain a communal outlook. Moreover the very fact that the Bengali Muslims were under a compulsion to fight the non-Bengali Muslims brought home to the Bengali Muslims that religion was no basis for unity or cooperation. After this realization which was brought home to them by the blood of the martyrs of 21 February 1952 it was but a question of time for the Muslims of East Bengal to look back at their history with this new understanding so that all the heroes of the pre-Pakistan freedom movement—most of them Hindus and not cared for much by the Muslims—overnight became part of the heritage of the people of Bangla Desh, who were Muslims so far as personal faith was concerned, but who had transcended the limitation of a denominational order and became members of the community of the universal men. In a sense it is the Muslims of East Pakistan who through their negation of Pakistan have realized the promise made by Jinnah on 11 August 1947 that in Pakistan "Hindus will cease to be Hindus, and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as

citizens of the State," (Hector Bolitho's *Life of Jinnah*, p. 197, quoted in S.K. Majumdar, *Jinnah and Gandhi*, Calcutta 1966, p.xvi.) Indeed this has been the objective of sane political action all over the world. But the Muslim league wanted to negate it by its two nation theory. If all Muslims had constituted one nation, there could never have been so many different Muslim states in Asia. But then one bent upon a malevolent politics could never afford to be objective in one's outlook. Bangla Desh represents the negation of this distorted view of history and stands for non-communalism. If Bangla Desh wins, the problem of Hindu-Muslim communalism, as we have known it, will disappear from the India-Pakistan subcontinent once for all and there will be an end of communal riots in India and West Pakistan.

In addition to establishing the values of a non-communal, non-sectarian, and secular social order, Bangla Desh also stands for the right of self-determination of nationalities. Although the right of self-determination of nations has been formally recognized by the international community for at least fiftyfour years since the famous declaration of President Wilson of the U S A back in the days of the First World War, it has continued to be trampled upon by the more powerful as in Rhodesia, South Africa, Portuguese-occupied Africa and elsewhere. The people of Bangla Desh have risen against domination by others. Freedom loving people everywhere must welcome this as a powerful contribution to the growth of the spirit of freedom. Even genuine Pakistanis cannot quarrel with Bangla Desh, since the demand of Pakistan had been put forward on the plea of securing self-determination for the Muslims. The true Pakistanis ought to have no difficulty in conceding the demand of the East Bengalis for indepen-

dence. Even the Pakistan resolution of the All India Muslim League adopted in March 1940 did not visualize one State for the east and west wings of Pakistan, but spoke of two or more "States". The resolution adopted on 24 March 1940 in Lahore read : "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles. viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute *Independent States* in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign : that adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitutions for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Muslims are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

"This session further authorizes the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary." (P. 354-355, Philips : *Italics ours*)

Mr Mujibur Rahaman's six-point demand did not go beyond the resolution which Mr Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, had commended to all. The military junta ruling in the name of Pakistan is butchering hundreds of thousands of men, women and children merely because they wanted this resolution to be given effect to in letter as well as in spirit. The fight of the people of Bangla Desh is thus in a sense a fight for the spirit of Pakistan as well. Therefore one can support the freedom movement in Bangla Desh even without being anti-Pakistan. I very much hope the saner elements in Pakistan would see the utter folly of the Pakistan Government's policy and come forward in support of Bangla Desh.

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NEHRU—THE MAN OF SCIENCE

M. MUSLEH UDDIN

If one goes through the numerous writings of Jawahar Lal Nehru and reads the speeches he gave, on various occasions, two dominant impressions are left in one's mind. First one is his vitality and zest for life, his sense of enthusiasm and purification in anything worthwhile that was going on and the second is his approach to all the problems with an open mind to what he himself would describe as the temper of Science.

Being a student of science, Nehru had a profound belief in science and scientific method. He understood and welcomed the revolutionary impact of science and technology and realised that "without science and technology we can't progress". To quote a passage from the 'Discovery of India': "The applications of science are inevitable and unavoidable for all countries and people today. But something more than its applications is necessary. It is the scientific approach, the adventurous and yet critical temper of science, the search for truth and new knowledge, the refusal to accept anything without testing and trial, the capacity to change previous conclusions in the face of new evidence, the reliance on observed fact and not on preconceived theory, the hard discipline of mind—all this is necessary, not merely for the application of science but for life itself and the solution of its many problems. The scientific approach and temper, are, or should be, a way of life, a process of thinking, a method of acting and associating with our fellow-men." He had this approach to life and its problems in full measure and wanted others to have it. For, he continued, "That not only gives us a greater understanding of the world as it is, but creates ultimately a

temper, an objective temper which should help us in dealing with other problems. All the problems that come up in Parliament or elsewhere, or whatever they may be, could be dealt with better if we approach them in a scientific frame of mind."

Seeing the progress of science and its offspring, technology, Nehru said, science has changed the world we live in, and the recent advances in science are changing the way men think of themselves and of the world. This practical and scientific approach of Nehru caused him to comment: "But so many of life's mysteries are capable of and await solution, that an obsession with the final mystery seems hardly necessary or justified. Life still offers not only the loveliness of the world but also the exciting adventure of fresh and never ceasing discoveries, of new panoramas opening out and new ways of living adding to its fullness and ever making it richer and more complete." He continued: "It is, therefore, with the temper and approach of science, allied to philosophy, and with reverence for all that lies beyond, that we must face life."

Later, reverting to the same subject in the 'Discovery of India', he wrote: "We have to function in line with the highest ideals of the age we live in, though we may add to them or seek to mould them in accordance with our national genius. Those ideals may be classed under two heads—humanism and the scientific temper. Between these two there has been an apparent conflict but the great upheaval of thought today, with the questioning of all values, is removing the old boundaries between these two approaches, as well as

between the external world of science and the internal world of introspection. There is a growing synthesis between humanism and the scientific spirit, resulting in a kind of scientific humanism." The synthesis is in fact the recognition that humanism and scientific spirit are two complementary approaches, both valuable, both of which can be developed by the same individual and add to the richness of his life.

Regarding culture Pt. Nehru said, "The forces which under the guise of what people call culture, narrow our minds and outlook. These forces are essentially a restriction and denial of any real kind of culture. Culture is never a narrowing of the mind or a restriction of human spirit or of the country's spirit. Therefore if we look at science in the real way and if think of the research institutes and laboratories in a fundamental sense, then they are something more than just little ways of improving things and of finding out how this or that should be done. Of course we have to do that, too. But these institutes must gradually affect our minds, not only the minds of the men and women who work there but also the minds of others, more specially the minds of the rising generations. So that the nation may imbibe the spirit of science and be prepared to accept the new truth, even though it has to discard something of the old. Only then will this approach to science bear true fruit."

Jawahar Lal Nehru sought to harness the forces of nature to lift from this country the dead weight of poverty and hunger. He hoped to dot the land with mighty projects and proudly acclaimed them as the "new places of pilgrimage." It was crystal clear to him that political freedom had to ensure social liberation and that could come only

through economic growth which demanded the fullest use of science and technology in transforming to gainful ends, the untapped natural resources of the land.

Pt. Nehru saw clearly that India had to make up quickly the leeway in development. He had explored diligently India's past and had made his own discovery of the originality and vitality of this ancient land. But he had no doubt about the urgent need to change, to modernise, to catch up in productive progress, through education, new thinking and experimentation, with the advanced countries. The prime mover of this great change he saw in science. Hence he ceaselessly strove to give his people a scientific outlook and create for science and scientists a nourishing atmosphere.

Nehru always looked upon science as the servant of man and abhorred all attempts to make the man subservient to science. He always declared to the world that we are harnessing science to the service of the nation and for the uplift and betterment of humanity. Keeping in view the basic question presented by atomic energy, he said: "Use it for evil, it will destroy the world; use it for good, it will raise the world to unknown standards of progress and happiness."

If our country is proud of proclaiming to the world that she can produce nuclear bombs, if necessary, but refrains deliberately from doing so because of her quest for world peace, that is entirely due to the foresight and vision of our late Prime Minister who got his inspiration from his *Guru* Mahatma Gandhi.

The atomic reactors in Trombay and network of national laboratories in the country constitute a magnificent monument to the cherished memory of Nehru, the man of science.

HARISH MUKHERJEA : PROMETHEUS OF INDIAN POLITICAL LIBERTY

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

Harish Chandra Mukherjea, who struck terror in the hearts of the British imperialists for their annexationist policy and earned the title of Prometheus of Indian Political Liberty for his deft handling of the first mass movement of the people of Bengal, was the Father of Indian Journalism.

"Can a revolution in the Indian Government be authorised by Parliament without consulting the wishes of the vast millions of men for whose benefit it is proposed to be made? The reply must be in the negative. The time is nearly come when all Indian questions must be solved by Indians. The mutinies have made patent to the English public what must be the effect of politics in which the native is allowed no voice," wrote Harish Chandra immediately after the Mutiny of 1857. Remember, this visionary had the guts to issue this and similar statements through the columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT while serving the British Government in a responsible position.

Harish Chandra Mukherjea (= Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee, Hurris Chander Mukherjea) who edited the HINDOO PATRIOT, India's first thunderbolt English weekly for a period of seven years, achieved the impossible by awakening his countrymen in political and social matters. Harish Chandra lived in the most crucial period of Indian history. The Santhal Rebellion (1855),

the Hindu Widow Remarriage (1856), the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), establishment of the University of Calcutta (1857) and the Indigo disturbances (1859-60) took place within a quick succession of six years changing the political and social life of India. The only man who had the opportunity to witness these mighty revolutions was Harish Chandra who portrayed them in vivid colours. Historians are divided on the effects of the Mutiny of 1857, but there is no two opinion that the Indigo disturbances marked the beginning of a contest for the political leadership of rural India between the paternalist British district officers and the middle-class urban India.

A self-made man, who died at the comparatively young age of 36 and left an indelible mark on the page of Indian history which no force on earth can erase, Harish Chandra was born in Bhowanipore, Calcutta as the second son of Ram Dhun Mukherjea and his wife Rukmini Devi. Ram Dhun was a high caste Kulin Brahman—"a Hindu among the nations, a Brahman among the Hindus, a Kulin among the Brahmans and a Foola among the Kulins". Rukmini Devi was the youngest of the seven wives of Ram Dhun. Haran Chandra was the eldest son of Rukmini Devi. Lucky Narain Muherjea and Devi Mukherjea—great grandfather and grandfather respectively of Harish Chandra—were respectable Kulin Brahmans with poverty as their constant com-

panion. Harish Chandra was born in the month of April in the house of his maternal uncles—Bireshwar and Debnarain Chatterjees—which stood at 68/3A Harish Mukherjee Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta. "Here stood the house in which lived, worked and died Hurrish Chunder Mukherjee, Editor, "HINDOO PATRIOT" and father of Indian Journalism—Born 1824—Died 1861", reads a marble tablet on an antique building which now occupies the site of Harish Chandra's house.

The early life of Harish Chandra was uneventful. He was sent to the local Pathsala at the age of 5. He did not have the best English education, but read at the local Union School as a charity student. "An insignificant village school which subsisted on the philanthropy of certain high officials, imparted the rudiments of an English education to the man who at a maturer age wrote English language with the fluency of a native and the strength and vigour of a University man," says Girish Chandra Ghosh, about Harish's education. He spent six years at this school, but earning bread for himself and his mother was more pressing than finishing the school studies. "The cry for bread at home was too piteous and urgent to be neglected by a young man of fine sensibility and strong natural feelings. He deserted his school though he did not desert his books," we are told by Girish Chandra Ghosh. Bireshwar and Debnarain Chatterjees could not afford anything better than coarse rice and such vegetables as could be had for the asking for the food of Harish Chandra.

The precocious infant gave promise of a splendid man during his school days. His teachers stood in such an awkward dread of Harish as he cross-questioned them. The result was that they had to come prepared to the class. There were times when Harish suggested a better analysis of many a difficult lesson. He could not brook any insult and

injustice to his fellow students. Once a drunken sailor insulted some stray lads of his school. Harish Chandra lost no time and hastily organised a little regiment armed with rulers and at its head gave the enemy such a severe mauling that he was too glad to beat a retreat.

Another anecdote that shows the pluck and pugnacity of Harish is worth narrating here. Once Harish was travelling in a railway compartment with a friend seated opposite his bench. A soldier was sitting by the side of Harish and he was audacious enough to stretch forth his leg towards the native. Harish asked his friend to change their respective seats and stretched his own leg towards the "great son of Mars with the greatest sangfroid imaginable as if he were the Governor-General." The soldier left the compartment swallowing the rebuff, and muttering: "Let me be damned if I ever enter a railway carriage without a pair of pistols in my pocket."

Harish started earning his bread at the age of 14 by writing petitions, bills, letters, etc. After all, this profession was not dependable. What else could he do? A man without a formal education, not to speak of a University degree, which would have served as a passport to Government service those days, Harish did not lose heart. He stuck to petition-writing which occasionally brought him a glistening rupee. He was a genius and whatever he touched turned into gold. His fame as a forceful petition-writer spread far and wide, through it left him in the lurch without food for days together. One day he was sitting at home cross-legged. There was nothing at home—not a grain of rice or salt, nor a single pie to buy even *chira* (flattened rice). It was raining cats and dogs. All that he could mortgage was a brass plate from which he ate. Mortgaging it was impossible without an

umbrella. God did not forsake him. Suddenly the door opened, and a stranger entered his sitting room. He was a *mooktear* of a well-known zamindar of the town, who wanted some Bengali documents to be translated into chaste English. The fee offered was a sum of two rupees. To Harish the fee offered was worth more than tons of gold, so urgent was his need.

Tullah & Co., well-known auctioneers of the day in Calcutta, employed Harish Chandra as a bill writer and later an auction *sircar* on a monthly salary of Rs.8. His pay was subsequently raised to Rs. 10. "And his employers thought it such a good salary for a young native that they positively refused to grant any further increase, although Hurrish Chunder declared that he would not vex them for promotion for a long time were he allowed an additional two rupees. The auctioneers were inflexible." Harish Chandra was honest. Auction *sircars* were at a glut in the market and had Harish stooped to rob his employers, he would have stayed to revenge himself on the senior partner of the firm for his stinginess. After all auction *sircars* had peculiar opportunities and temptation to satisfy their itching palms. Harish, though hard pressed for money, did not soil his hands by nefarious means, but resigned the job.

An open competitive examination was held by the Military Auditor-General of Calcutta in 1848 to select a clerk. Harish Chandra, who appeared in the examination, was found to be the best among the candidates in the examination, and was accordingly appointed to the post at Rs. 25 per month. Mackenzie, his colleague, who rose later to become the Abkarry and Income Tax Collector of Calcutta, spurned the vulgar prejudices of caste and colour. It was this Englishman who took Harish kindly by the hand and omitted no opportunity of putting him forward. 'He

early discovered in his young friend the genius that flashed out at a subsequent period and introduced him as an extraordinary clerk to the notice of Col. Champneys, the Deputy Military Auditor-General." He also attracted the notice of Col. Goldie, Military Auditor-General.

With the shrewdness of judgment for which even his enemies gave him credit and the liberality of soul which justly earned him the title of the Luculus of Calcutta in the pages of Russel's INDIAN DIARY, Col. Goldie deeply appreciated the talents of Harish. The office of the Assistant Military Auditor-General was the exclusive preserve of the Europeans and Eurasian assistants, but Col. Goldie raised Harish to that position, silencing the bickerings of Harish Chandra's colleagues on account of his sterling qualities. The pay attached to the office of the Assistant Military Auditor-General was Rs. 400 per month—a fat sum indeed. It was high-souled and chivalrous Goldie and Champneys who supplied Harish with books and newspapers from their private library and encouraged him to study history, jurisprudence, political science, etc. They indulged every whim of Harish, allowed and encouraged him to write unrestrained about Sepoy Mutiny, Indigo disturbances, etc., while he was holding the high office of the Assistant Military Auditor-General.

The loyalty of Harish Chandra was a byeword. His attachment to Col. Goldie and Champneys was proverbial. The Assistant Military Auditor-General often attended his heavy duties in a condition of health in which another man would have remained prostrate in bed. In the course of his official life, he was once compelled to make what convenience he could make out of a three-legged table and a broken chair. He was advised by his European colleagues to make a representation to his superior officer. He told his European

adviser : "A Bengali is used to write upon his knee : a three-legged table is decidedly more convenient than that"... Harish Chandra declared at his death-bed that he did not apply for leave during his tenure of office because he wanted to show his covenanted officers that a native of Bengal could be devoted to his work even at the risk of his life.

Mukhoda Debí, daughter of Govinda Chandra Chatterjee of Uttarpara, a suburb of Calcutta, whom Harish Chandra married immediately after his joining the Military Auditor-General's office, died two or three years after giving birth to a son. The child did not survive. Harish Chandra married for a second time, and the lady pined for the rest of her life after her husband's premature death. Harish Chandra's line became extinct as there was no issue from this marriage.

Harish Chandra's zeal for acquisition of knowledge knew no bounds. He footed all the way from Bhowanipore to Cornwallis Square—a distance of 12 miles—simply to hear Dr. Duff's lectures on Mental Philosophy. His greed for knowledge was insatiable. The job of a copyist at the Military Auditor-General's office left him ample leisure which he utilised most judiciously. He became a subscriber to the Calcutta Public Library immediately after joining the Military Auditor-General's office as he was a man of means then and could afford to spend a rupee or two from his salary. He spent two to three hours daily at the Public Library. He avidly read all available literature of the day. Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee has left it on record that Harish Chandra read 75 volumes of the old EDINBURGH REVIEW some three or four times within a period of 5 years. He could recite from memory many passages from Gibbon's DECLINE AND FALL OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE and from Kant's philosophical works. Besides delighting in the study of historical, legal, philosophical and political treatises, he took up the study of literature seriously. Harish Mukherjee's erudition and knowledge of Eastern and Western philosophical systems were bywords in Calcutta and he was qualified to criticise the conduct of Sir Lawrence Peel and Sir James Colville, justices of the Supreme Court, on many a legal nicety.

Few knew that Harish Chandra was a juriconsult, though not a Law graduate. His perfect mastery over draftsmanship is evident from the petition he drafted for the British Indian Association for presentation to the House of Commons on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853. The petition emphasised not merely the need for inclusion of the non-official elements in the Legislative Council, but also participation of Indians in the administration of the country. He demanded improvement of the judicial system and removal of fiscal imposts of a prejudicial character.

The British Indian Association, established in 1831, was fortunate in getting the counsels of Harish Chandra. He was the soul and mainspring of the Association in its infancy and his pen supplied the spirit, energy, loftiness of thought and cogency of arguments by which the Association's petitions were so eminently distinguished. Harish Chandra became member of the Central Committee of the Association in 1852 and had to learn all Regulations that governed the administration of India. He was more than a match to Prasanna Kumar Tagore (Vice-President of the B.I. Association and the foremost legal luminary of the day) and Mr. W. Montrio, father of the Calcutta Bar.

How did Harish Chanda become the master of Jurisprudence ? Sambhu Nath

Pandit, first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who began his career as an Assistant to the Record Keeper of the Sudder Diwani Adalat in 1841 was six years older than Harish. When he was appointed a Decreejari Mohurir in 1845 he built his residence at Bhowanipore at a distance of a few minutes' walk from Harish Chandra's house. "His dingy garret soon attracted by the sizzling good qualities of its occupant and his hospitable *chutries* a crowd of youngmen of whom Hurris was the leader." Neither Sambhunath, nor Harish Chandra relished idle talk and they together established the Law Club. Moot courts were the regular feature of every day's meeting of the Club. According to Girish Chandra, "a stranger entering it would have believed that he had lighted upon a sort of Bengali Bar. Regulations and constructions were hurled at each other with the enthusiasm of neophytes and the sagacity of practised lawyers. It was indeed a bewilderment to lay understandings to follow up the current of the discussions. The original court had passed a decision, the judge had reversed it on appeal, the Sudder had reviewed the proceedings and ordered a retrial. The whole merits of the case were energetically gone through in that mock court at Baboo Samboo Nauth's. Counsel was arrayed on either side with the warmth of actual forensic struggle. Opinions were advanced which for depth and originality of conception might have equalled those of the brightest Sudder judges. An animated discussion followed. Regulation so and so supported this view. But construction so and so opposed it. The grounds of the construction were analysed. The principle of the Regulation was laid bare. Hurris Chandra's keen intellect directed the nice operations. His voice rose pre-eminent above the voice of the rest. His powerful mind made itself conspicuous in the debate and final adjudica-

tion. What an ornament was lost to the Sudder bar by a caprice of fortune!"

Harish Chandra did not want to become a lawyer simply because of the reason that his position as a humble clerk in the Military Auditor-General's office left him greater leisure than otherwise to aid the poor by his advice and by those petitions which every wrong-doer in the country had read with the blush of shame and the pallor of ungodly fear. "But the public does not yet know the true reason of that self-dential which pinned him to the desk whilst he might have starred it in the bar. He had the delicacy not to parade his virtues and it was the virtue of gratitude which tied him to the Military Auditor-General's office", says Girish Chandra Ghose. Harish was a great admirer of Jeremy Bentham and formed his style after the great jurist.

Harish Chandra was a Brahmo by religion and a collection of his lectures at the Bhowanipore Brahmo Samaj was published by Brojo Lal Chukherbutty. The Brahmo Samaj at Bhowanipore (the old building is still existing at Paddapukur Road and is in constant use even today) was established by Harish Chandra. His friend Sambhun Nath Pandit was President of the Samaj.

The people of Calcutta selected Harish Chandra as their native agent for England. Harish was consulted, and they all thought that he was the best person whom they could depute. He did make up his mind and would have gone had not, as they were all aware, social customs prevented his doing so.

Father of Indian Journalism

The journalist in Harish Chandra asserted himself at a comparatively early age. He first flashed his pen in the columns of the HINDOO INTELLIGENCER (1846-1857) which was founded and edited by Kashi

Prasad Ghosh. No English journal was then circulating and hence the HINDOO INTELLIGENCER was very much in demand and the native gentlemen connected with the Sudder Diwani Adalat patronised it. Besides contributing to the ENGLISHMAN (whose successor is the STATESMAN today) which was then edited by Cobb Hurry, Harish also wrote for the BENGAL RECORDER started in 1849. Harish wrote on legal and judicial topics in the BENGAL RECORDER. It appears that Harish, who was then budding forth, was assigned the humble place of a "Correspondent" to the BENGAL RECORDER.

The HINDOO PATRIOT which was Harish's vehicle for bringing about social political and cultural renaissance of India, originated from the ashes of the BENGAL RECORDER. Girish Chandra Ghose, together with his two brothers Srinath Chandra and Khetra Chandra, started the BENGAL RECORDER in 1850. Girish Chandra was the founder-editor of the HINDOO PATRIOT and the BENGAL (1861) as well. It was on Thursday, the 6th of January 1853 that the HINDOO PATRIOT was born. Madhu Sudan Roy, a banker by caste, by accident came into possession of a printing press and some types and knowing no other mode of working them, proposed to the Ghose brothers to start a newspaper in English. Madhu Sudan's press was situated at Kalakar Street, Bara Bazar. Ghose brothers agreed to discontinue the BENGAL RECORDER and start a new Weekly with the nucleus of the subscribers of the existing monthly. The name *Hindoo Patriot* was suggested by Khetra Chandra, though Girish wanted it to be 'Hindu Standard' and Srinath proposed, 'The Hindu Gentleman'. The name *Hindoo Patriot* coined by Khetra Chandra was unanimously approved. It is not correct that Harish

Chandra coined the name HINDOO PATRIOT, but he was its first responsible editor. The publications of the day such as the INDIAN MIRROR, the REFLECTOR, etc. agree that it was Girish Chandra who started the paper, but all agree that he made over the editorship to his friend and colleague Harish Chandra Mukherjea. "It is superfluous for us to say that the hard intellectuality, rare power of reasoning, and a thorough knowledge of local politics, which Harish possessed, pre-eminently qualified him for the chiefship of the only native political organ of the day, and Girish Chandra, who watched with interest and admiration the rapid development of his friend's intellect, cheerfully served under him."

Koylas Chunder Bose has justly remarked : "The genius and energy of Harish soon proved him to be a worthy compeer, when Babu Girish Chunder conferred on him the captainship of his own accord, contenting himself with occasional display of wit and strength of mind which could not be mistaken." The task of editing the journal fell on Harish Chandra as the Ghose brothers severed their connection with it and Madhu Sudan Ray became seriously ill and had to go upcountry for a change. The press was therefore sold to a third party and the HINDOO PATRIOT was published from Satyagjan Shurcharini Sova's Press at Bhowanipore, till Harish Chandra established his own HINDOO PATRIOT Press.

The Ghose Brothers ran the HINDOO PATRIOT only for 3 or 4 months. Harish Chandra, who was the leading contributor of the journal since its inception, found an opportunity of gratifying his darling ambition and purchased the goodwill and the publication from Madhu Sudan Ray. The purchase was veiled in secrecy, for his boss Col. Goldie, the Military Auditor-General, would have

hardly approved of a proprietor-editor of a journal as one of his subordinates. This explains why he did not boldly declare before the Indigo Commission that he was the editor of the HINDOO PATRIOT, but simply said that he was in a position to influence the Editor to write whatever he pleased. Haran Chandra Mukherjea, brother of Harish, was the man of straw in whose name this benami transaction was conducted, but the entire labour of editing and management fell on Harish. This is evident from the following extract from the editorial of the HINDOO PATRIOT dated 19th June, 1861.

"As a pecuniary speculation the PATRIOT was a failure. The first proprietor, therefore, after sustaining a loss of a few thousand rupees, at the end of three years offered it for sale. No purchaser appearing, the paper was determined to be abolished and the press and the materials sold. Harish, who by economy had made a little money, rather than see the paper perish, at once resolved to invest it in a speculation which had proved a failure and was at all likely to prove anything better in his hands, supported by a hope that his exertions might at least make the PATRIOT pay its bare expenses. In June 1855, he bought the PATRIOT in the name of his brother the present proprietor and removed the press and office to Bhowanipore near his house."

Harish Chandra was older than Girish Chandra Ghose by some 5 years. Girish Chandra's acquaintance with Harish Chandra commenced from the time both of them entered the Military Auditor-General's office. To Girish Chandra his friend appeared anything otherwise than that he actually was, "the soul of honour and the first gentleman in all India ; that his genius was as conspicuous in business as it was in the more important political affairs with which his memory was bound up." Harish was a constant guest

at Girish's house, whom he epigrammatically described as being addicted to eating *loochie*s and listening to Jattras or operas. Girish Chandra was the greatest admirer of his friend and spent many a holiday at his Bhowanipore residence.

According to Buckland, "it was in 1855 that the *Hindoo Patriot* was issued under his (Harish's) sole editorship charge. The number of its subscribers in those days never exceeded 150, it was in a fact a losing concern during the editorship of Harish Chandra, and cost him more than Rs. 100 a month out of his official income. The proprietorship was eventually vested in his elder brother, Haran Chandra."

Girish Chandra Ghose from whom Harish Chandra took over the editorship of the weekly and who returned as the editor of the Patriot at the request of his late friend's mother and widow, wrote on 26th June, 1861 : "The paper has reverted to those hands that first started it. But the hand of hands is, alas, wanting. The reader will in vain seek for those brilliant political crushers, which awed and astonished the local Press and sent dismay into the factories. Providence in his own inscrutable wisdom has taken back to himself that spirit which flashed like a meteor over the country and disappeared as suddenly as it had burst upon the eye. The tear of friendship is not yet dry, and we are called upon to resume the pen which had all but raised the HINDOO PATRIOT to the position of a power in the realm. The public will excuse our shortcomings when we tell them that their forbearance is craved in the interest of the bereaved mother and the unfortunate widow of the remarkable man who devoted his fortune and his life to the service of his country. With his fast ebbing breath he loudly and repeatedly called for the last proof ! 'Don't print yet ! Give me the last proof !' and

Hurris Chunder Mookerjee died three minutes after with the HINDOO PATRIOT still uppermost in his delirious thought."

The HINDOO PATRIOT saw the most crucial period of Indian history. The Mutiny of 1857 heralded political consciousness among the people of India. The widow remarriage shook the age-old traditions of the Hindu society. The establishment of India's first University in Calcutta released the floodgates of scientific knowledge and educational progress. Crowning all these social, cultural and political revolutions was the Indigo disturbance which ushered in an agrarian revolution. The sole organ of the people of India during this period of 5 years within which all these epoch-making revolutions took place was the HINDOO PATRIOT, "published by a Calcutta gentleman, from Calcutta, without circulation, without capital and without any correspondents in the villages--but it was read by our rulers including the Viceroy Lord Canning, as the only means of keeping their finger on the pulse of the public feeling in the country" (Sir Jadunath Sarkar). Buckland has corroborated Sir Jadunath that "his (Harish's) journal was conducted with so much ability that it attracted the notice of the highest members of the Civil Service and the Government of India."

Harish's solid sense, his dignified, weighty and sententious utterances, his wider grasp of each subject with which he dealt, his calm judicious fairness and candour and above all his power of close reasoning attracted the attention of the Governor-General and the men at the helm of affairs and enabled them to steer the ship of the state during the most stormy period of the history of India (1855-1860).

As a journalist, Harish Chandra was not only fearless, but he also set an example for others. Ram Gopal Sanyal tells us: "No

considerations, however important, ever led him to sell his conscience and notwithstanding the frequent pecuniary losses he had to bear, he uniformly refused to receive outside assistance, even when voluntarily offered by friends and admirers." Harish Chandra never courted the favour of anybody, nor did he rely upon outside help of any description in conducting the PATRIOT, "a journal the like of which can scarcely be now seen in any part of India."

Harish Chandra Mukherjee was the first Indian journalist to raise his voice against the ruthless annexation policy followed by Lord Dalhousie. He exposed the hasty and ill-natured steps the Government took during the Mutiny. He was the first man in India to expose the bureaucratic bungling of the British officials. "These civil servants are about the best specimen of things we import, quick or dead." He criticised the conduct of "dozen corrupt bribe-eating magistrates who prostituted themselves."

Sir Frederick Halliday, first Lt-Governor of Bengal, was unpopular in Calcutta and the HINDOO PATRIOT commented that his career was "remarkable for selfishness aggravated by intense meanness, for insolent blunders, systematic insincerity and a number of hasty doings whose pernicious effects it will take a quarter of a century to undo." Harish Chandra fixed up the blame for the indigo disturbances squarely on Halliday. Had he listened to the woeful tales of the ryots and taken ameliorative actions, the indigo disturbances would not have flared. He was presented with a petition in August 1854, when he first toured Bengal, which he called "vague and probably not credible." He did nothing to investigate the grievances of the ryots. Harish Chandra hailed the petition as an evidence of the dawn of political consciousness in Bengal mofussil. "They are learning to

exercise the privileges of British subjects to meet together in public, discuss questions of public importance and to convey fully expression of their opinions thereupon to their rulers," he wrote in the HINDOO PATRIOT on August 17, 1854.

Widow remarriage was the greatest revolution that took place in the history of Hinduism. When Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar initiated steps for passing the Widow Remarriage Act, Harish Chandra threw his lot with Vidyasagar. A keen supporter of social regeneration, Harish promoted his ideals in cooperation with his friends in the *Suhrid Samiti*. It is difficult to estimate the invaluable service rendered by Harish Chandra in his capacity as the Editor of the HINDOO PATRIOT, the only organ of the enlightened section of Hindus in Calcutta. Harish Chandra himself was a victim of the polygamy of Kulin Brahmans who married solely for money with no intention to fulfil any of the duties which marriage involved. His own mother was the seventh wife of his father. The indiscriminate polygamy practised by the Kulins left many a young girl to the thralldom of widowhood. Raja Radhakanta Deb, the wealthiest Hindu prince of the day, was the leader of the diehards. It was with the help of Harish Chandra that Vidyasagar could disarm the critics by presenting his views in the columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT. After the passing of the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act (1856), Vidyasagar financed a number of widow remarriages. Many an unmarried widow looked upon him for maintenance. Vidyasagar's zeal for widow marriages landed him in debts to the extent of half a lakh of rupees. Some well-intentioned friends of Iswar Chandra appealed to the public through the columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT for starting a Hindu Widow Marriage fund for the clearance of Vidyasagar's debts. Vidyasagar

who was out of town, contradicted the appeal on his return and stated, out of modesty, that "though sixty widow marriages consummated upto that day had actually cost Rs 82,000 yet my debts on that account would not come upto half of 45,000 accounted for by the appellants." It was Pandit Iswar Chandra who saved the journal by taking over its management after the death of Harish Chandra. Girish Chandra continued to edit the weekly upto the middle of November 1861 for about 5 months after which Sambhu Chandra Mookherjee acted as the Managing Editor while he was residing at Barrodwaree Palace, Jorasanko, Calcutta. The journal seems to have fallen into the hands of Kali Prasanno Sinha, Secretary of the British Indian Association from whom Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar took over the management. Kristo Das Pal was appointed the Editor of the HINDOO PATRIOT by Vidyasagar and Pal raised the PATRIOT, during his 23 years of editorship, from a nearly moribund condition to the first place among the native Indian journals.

The Mutiny of 1857 had far reaching effects. Harish Chandra felt humiliated when India was placed directly under the Crown without a reference to the public opinion in the country. He criticised the retributory policy of the British Government after the Mutiny. The conduct of Harish Chandra during the Mutiny was characterised by moderation and the HINDOO PATRIOT'S display of accurate knowledge of things helped Lord Canning in taking correct decisions. Harish Chandra's sober, statesmanlike view of this horrible crisis counselled sobriety and patience to the Government. He played the role of a peace-maker between the enraged native soldiers and the Government. The Government of Canning got true insight into the exact state of native feelings towards it from the writings of Harish Chandra than

from the rabid vapourings of the Anglo-Indian Press. *"In short, Hurrish Chander stood as a mediator between the people and the Government and saved both of them from headlong ruin. We therefore call him the saviour of his country during the horrible days of the Sepoy Mutiny and he will be known to posterity as such"*, wrote Ram Gopal Sanyal about Harish Chandra and added: *"The history of Sepoy Mutiny remains yet to be written from the national point of view, and the important part played by men like Hurrish Chander in assuaging the rancorous feelings of hostility displayed by an infuriated body of the ruling race, partly from fear and partly from selfish motives, is now almost forgotten."* It is unfortunate that historians of India are at loggerheads in regard to the real significance of the Mutiny. A re-assessment of the available material is necessary taking into consideration the role played by men of the calibre of Harish Chandra who painted the picture of many a revolution with an amount of detachment which is rarely met with these days.

Indigo Disturbances

Though the imperialists could suppress the first national movement for independence in 1857, it was the Indigo Disturbance that taught the natives the value of combination and political agitation. Englishmen who found in indigo a great source of profit compelled the cultivators to take up its cultivation. The indigo cultivation covered almost all districts of undivided Bengal and lower Bihar. The ryot planted indigo as long as it was not unprofitable to him. But those ryots who did want cultivation of the indigo were compelled to do so by the planters. The oppression of the White planters went on unchecked, aided and abetted by the East India Company. Harish Mukherjee did not

remain a silent spectator to the torture and oppression of his countrymen. He studied the question of oppression in great detail, by sending out his team of correspondents for on the spot reporting. Armed with facts and infallible logic, Harish Chandra launched an all-out campaign in 1858. The correspondents of the HINDOO PATRIOT roved the indigo districts publicising the incompetence and partiality of the district officials, and frequently the Lieutenant Governor acted upon abuses first brought to light in the pages of the HINDOO PATRIOT. Sisir Kumar Ghosh, who later founded the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA was one of the Correspondents of the HINDOO PATRIOT who pilloried the planters under the initials "M. L. L."

"The system of indigo-planting as it now exists in Bengal, is a system of organised fraud and oppression," Harish Chandra declared on July 29, 1851 in the columns of his journal and castigated the District Magistrates for their siding with the planters. He asked: "Are these magistrates men to govern millions when they cannot resist the temptation of dining with the white planters and talking with their wives and dancing with them". Harish Chandra's editorials raised the indigo disturbances from the level of a labour dispute to that of a political contest.

The planters tried to inveigle Harish Chandra failing which they threatened him with anonymous letters. He was abused in the filthiest language. He published such letters in the columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT. One such letter reads thus: "Well, Nigger - I see thou art getting bolder day by day, thus to seriously slander gentlemen. Forgettest thou your position as a 'slave of the Conqueror'..? Knowest not that from the day of Plassey thou art doomed to suffer? Being proud of your large circula-

don of thy mean journal and of the totally undeserved praise thou elicitest from all your brother liars thou hast taken into your head to villify the character of your noble-body.. Never think that thine flattery will do thee any good. Vile sycophant. Knowest not thou the authority of our august body ?Nigger, take care how thou actest. If thou wilt not stop your pen, thou shalt suffer. Thy character of late has become most detestable. Nigger, reflect on your position. Don't desire what you deserve. P. S. - If I happen to meet thee any day, either in town or in the mofussil, I am resolved to make you suffer a few good cuts of my horse-whip."

Harish Chandra kept on assailing the Government. He wrote on April 14, 1860: "Here we are the weak, the oppressed of years, the producers of the country's wealth, the support of its prosperity who ought to be cherished and protected by the Government. We are visited with a law of special severity and troops are sent to make us submit to fraud and oppression. There are the planters, powerful, influential, wealthy, oppressive, committing violent crimes, the patrons of ruffianary of the country, who instead of being punished and put down, are encouraged, furnished with means to extend their oppression." The columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT were always open to the ryots. From April 28, 1860, a new section under the heading, 'The Indigo District' was opened for publication of the news and letters regarding indigo cultivation. These columns were filled up with the harrowing tales from Nadia and Jessore where the conditions were most miserable. Sisir Kumar Ghosh was responsible for organising the ryots of these districts and narrating their tales of woe in the HINDOO PATRIOT.

Harish Mukherjea wrote a number of learned articles on the indigo disturbances and

stirring editorials. It is worth reproducing what he wrote on May 19, 1860 on the INDIGO QUESTION in the PATRIOT.

"Bengal might well be proud of its peasantry. In no other country in the world is to be found in the tillers of the soil the virtues which the ryots of Bengal have so prominently displayed ever since the Indigo agitation has begun. Wanting power, wealth, political knowledge and even leadership, the peasantry of Bengal have brought about a revolution in magnitude and importance...to none that has happened in the social history of any other country. They have battled with adversaries possessing some of the most formidable elements of power. With the Government against them, the law against them, the tribunals against them, the Press against them, they have achieved a success of which the benefits will reach all orders and the most distant generations of our countrymen. And all this they have done by sheer force of virtue, by patience, perseverance and fortitude, without committing a single crime—almost a single act of violence.

"Already the oppressors of the ryots came to feel that their system of oppression must cease. They see that the day is coming when the Bengal ryot may not be treated as a serf. However the labours of the Indigo Commission may end, they will authoritatively establish that the factory system is a system of enormous fraud, violence, and rapine, the existence of which would be an opprobrium to any Government. It is a part of that system that the ryots should give their finest land, their strongest men, their fullest industry to the service of men whose only claim upon them is that they are unsympathising foreigners come to make money amongst them. It is a part of that system that the ryots should at the capricious call of some men disregardful

of divine and amenable to no human law, surrender their honour, their wives and their lives. It is a part of that system that the country should be made to give refuge and subsistence to professional rogues, sharpers, bullies, robbers and murderers. It is a part of the same system that the most important branch of the national industry should be diverted into unnatural directions or forced to unproductive purposes. It remains for the Commission to give the impress of their responsible authority to this knowledge. The system will then be no longer able to maintain itself for a day.

"The revolution has caused the ryot community a vast mass of suffering. They have been beaten, insulted, bound, starved, imprisoned, ousted from home, deprived of oppression one can imagine. Villages have been burnt, men carried off, women violated, stores of grain destroyed, and every means of coercion has been used. Yet the ryots have not yielded. They have ceased to aspire after the freedom which they feel to be their birth-right and which they have been told the law assures them. Let them but suffer on a few weeks more, and they will gain their darling object. A revolution will have been effected on their social condition, the beneficial effects of which will reach all the country's institutions. The defects of our law, the vices of our country, the efficiency of the police, the oppression systematically practised by some classes, and the general prevalence of anarchy will have been exposed in a manner never hitherto made—in a manner which will make reform inevitable."

The editorials and signed articles of Harish Chandra and popular sentiments expressed by various correspondents in the columns of the HINDOO PATRIOT caused flutter in the dovecots of the imperialists and the Indigo Commission was appointed in 1860 under the

presidency of W. S. Seton-Karr. The Commission examined 134 witnesses from 18th May to 4th August 1860. Harish Chandra tendered his evidence before the Commission. He disclosed before the Commission that he used to assist the ryots who came to Calcutta to present petitions.

The White planters instituted civil and criminal suits against Harish Chandra in 1860 for what he had written in the HINDOO PATRIOT on behalf of the poor ryots against the oppressions perpetrated upon them, knowing full well that neither his countrymen nor the ryots would help him in the hour of trial. The planters got a decree against him from the Subordinate Judge of Alipore, and his house was attached and put to the auctioneer's hammer.

"It is perhaps not generally known", wrote the BENGALIEE on July 29, 1863, "that Hurrish Chunder Mookerjea aided the Indigo ryots not merely with his pen but also with his purse. He did not only brave the libel law for the benefit of the ryots, but he fed and clothed those who personally sought the mercy of the Lieutenant Governor in Belvedere House. His private resources were heavily taxed for this public purpose, and he freely placed them at the service of his suffering countrymen. His charities were so unobtrusive that it was not until some long time after their exercise that the British Indian Association was informed of them and shame compelled them to raise a fund for relieving Hurrish Chunder from further pecuniary sacrifices. The bold stand made by Baboo Joykissen Mookerjea on behalf of the patriot whose necessities he knew well, forced the Association to this measure of bare justice, and an Indigo Fund as it was called, was placed in the hands of the individual who had devoted his life to the good cause. An account was rigidly kept by the Association of which Hurrish

Chunder was in other respects the sole almoner. Before the money was exhausted, Hurrish Ghunder was stretched upon his death-bed..."

Raj Narain Bose of the Adi Brahma Samaj has left it on record that Rukmini Devi, Harish's mother, was a very kind lady and used to cook with her own hands food for the poor ryots who freely flocked to his house to represent their grievances. He offered them assistance liberally.

Evaluating the role of Harish Chandra in the Indigo Disturbances, Blair B. Kling in his recent (1966) *BLUE MUTINY* says: "The activities of Harish Chandra are a landmark in the history of Indian political development. In addition to publishing stirring editorials, Harish Chandra freely gave advice and encouragement to the scores of peasants who came to visit him at the HINDOO PATRIOT office in Calcutta...Here, for the first time, an Indian of the urban middle-class was acting as a spokesman for the peasantry. The indigo disturbances mark the beginning of a contest for the political leadership of rural India between the paternalist British district officer and the middle-class urban India."

"The precursor of all modern Indian political campaigns was launched in Calcutta to support a popular uprising against economic injustice. An idealistic cause thus helped to shape the character of nationalism in Bengal. This in turn was to influence the political goals of all India in which the attainment of self-government was considered inseparable from the realisation of social and economic justice... Similarly the romantic movement, transplanted to Calcutta through English education, gave rise among the intelligentsia to an idealisation of the rustics. During the indigo disturbances this sentiment was popularised in the editorials of Harish Chandra Mukherjea of the

HINDOO PATRIOT. A decade later it would enter the mainstream of Indian political thought through the writings of the renowned Bengali novelist and patriot, Bankim Chatterjee," adds Kling.

Self-sacrifice and self-abnegation were the two principles which guided Harish Chandra during his 8 years of public life (1853-1861). He conducted the HINDOO PATRIOT at a cost ruinous to himself without reward or recompense for those whom he served so nobly. He spent more than Rs 10,000 for the publication of the PATRIOT uninterruptedly. After spending every farthing in helping the ryots, and conducting his pet journal, which robbed his poor mother and his wife of the provision he ought to have made for them, Harish Chandra died on 16th June 1861 at the age of 36. Harish Chandra died leaving the legacy of his name to the posterity. He spent his time, energy and income from Government service for liberating the indigo cultivators from the clutches of white planters, a cause which was dearer to him than any material possessions. In his eyes the claims of his countrymen and of the poor indigo serfs of Bengal were superior to those of his living surviving relatives.

Harish Chandra was not above vices. He was addicted to drinks and it seems that without a drink he could never write those stirring editorials in the HINDOO PATRIOT. "Every Thursday night he used to come to the office of the paper, and at one sitting generally wrote all the articles, news and summary of European news, but he could not do without wine," we are told by Madhu Sudan Ray.

Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt, the celebrated poet and his contemporary (both of them were born in the same year) paid a glowing tribute to Harish Chandra in these words: "Of all men now living he has exercised the

greatest amount of influence over the educated classes of our countrymen. His death would be a loss.....for the progress of independence of mind and thought”.

“Before the HINDOO PATRIOT commenced to pour its thundering broadsides into the citadels of non-official crime and official misrule, before that strong impassioned voice arose which fearlessly assailed guilt striking the conscience-stricken with a blast which sounded like the Archangel’s blast at doom, the native community was existing in a condition of inglorious somnolency. Strangely contrasting with their present vigorous actions on questions of public interest and importance, they seldom troubled themselves with politics until it touched a sore point in religion. If an audacious Hindoo free-thinker was to be punished, if an offensive missionary school was to be suppressed, if a rebellious apostate from any one of the great Hindoo parties was to be put out of caste, such activity was speedily mustered and a large amount of fuss organised. But on questions affecting the weal or woe of the nation, there was always, we grieve to say, exhibited a shameful indifference. It was the mission of Hurris Chunder Mookerjea to turn the evil. His earnest mind set itself thoroughly to work until a revolution was effected in Hindoo society. The new oracle was received with enthusiasm by all who listened to him. A new philosophy pervaded native minds. The leaders of the people abandoned child’s play for political action. A political association was organised. Hurris Chunder Mookerjea directed it by an iron will. He may be said to have laid the foundations of the future Indian Parliament. The country is ringing with his private virtues and his public acts. But all combined cannot glorify him more than as the Prometheus of Indian Political Liberty” (HINDOO PATRIOT, July 17, 1871).

Calcuttans assembled on Friday, 12th July 1861 at the Hall of the British Indian Association to mourn the death of Harish Chandra. Girish Chandra Ghose who spoke on the occasion called Harish Chandra the greatest Hindu that had lived since the days of Raja Rammohun Roy. Harish Chandra had a mission in life and achieved his object. In recalling the services of his bosom friend, Girish Chandra said: “That the apostle of political liberty has left his mark in the heart of his countrymen presages the happy consummation of the object for which he lived—and for which he died. It is not given to many to shape the thoughts and through their thoughts the destinies of a nation. The motive power that has been imparted by the gigantic mind of the individual whose loss we are deploring is a legacy which the country cannot sufficiently prize. The fire and the energy with which the nation collectively proceeds to the combat of principles and the overthrow of abuse are mainly of his creation.”

“A thunderbolt has fallen upon native society. Hushed is every voice and transfixed is every eye. The friend of the poor and mentor of the rich, the spokesman, the patriot, the brave heart that defied danger and battled foremost in the strife of politics has been swept away like a vision from our aching eyes...Our loss is great,” Girish Chandra said.

A few well-intentioned friends of Harish Chandra started a society after his name to perpetuate his memory and spread the ideals for which he stood. An extract from the HINDOO PATRIOT dated August 8, 1861 reads: “Probably to many we make ourselves ridiculous by mentioning his name in connection with hero worship. But one thing is certain, that he was the apostle of a new creed, that he gave vitality to feelings and ideas which hitherto had been asleep, that his strength of mind, his energy and his

perseverance have left their mark upon Hindoo society, that he has disturbed the dead silence and stillness which had all but banished hope, that he has roused the nation effectively from sloth and filled it with a new yearning. These are benefits for which his memory should be embalmed. A public meeting of the richest and the best of the native community has already decided upon the form which the Hurrish Memorial should take. But it amounts not to the height of his great services nor does it accord with the spirit of his acts. If he could come back amongst us and guide the discussions over his memorial, he would scowl upon the scholarship. He had small faith in the government system of education. He doubtless turned from the prize boys to himself and what a contrast !”

A subscription of Rs 10,500 for a memorial to Harish Chandra Mukherjea was raised by the British Indian Association of which he was the heart and soul. It took some time for the Association to decide upon the form of the memorial. The anguish of the public about the proper spending of the fund is expressed by the BENGALIAN in its issue dated July 8, 1863 thus : “It is just two years since the fund was raised, and naturally, those who helped to make it upon deem the time ample enough for some tangible illustration of the national admiration for the deceased patriot... In a few years more all trace of the meteor whose bright effulgence friends regarded with pride and foes acknowledged under the unavoidable pressure of a contrary feeling, will perhaps have passed away ; and our children shall deify little fry in the absence of a more acceptable object of worship.” It was apprehended that the delay was dangerous and there would be no shade of the man whose life was one continuous page of patriotic fire and devotion to the national weal, who magnetised the national mind, bidding it “awake, arise”,

with a voice which shot animation through the dullest frame, who opened a new age in the history of Indian progress, made Bengal political, independent, thoughtful, free, and imparted life to prodigious bellies ere while full only of sweetmeats and ghee.

The conduct of the British Indian Association whose indebtedness to Harish Chandra was very heavy indeed was castigated by the Press again. The vacillation in erecting a memorial to Harish Chandra could not be tolerated by the public. The Association had the meanness to ask for an account of the Indigo Fund from the patriot. The Fund was almost spent by Harish and the balance was contemptible, yet his last moments were embittered by a call for an account of refund of that balance.

“Consciousness had almost left him. When the demand was made, he was dying. The heartless men who had followed his leading and had become great and honourable from his reflected lustre, who had received at his hands services which no amount of gold could ever have purchased, who were once sternly answered when they proposed him a salary, could not command sufficient decency—letting alone any higher virtue—to forbear disturbing his dying hour with a debtor and creditor statement. ‘Mother’, said the fast sinking patriot, ‘give those men what money they want. I cannot in my last moment look up their account, though I suspect it is incorrect. But give them the money and have done with them.’ It is impossible to conceive anything more mean or inhuman than the conduct like the above. If the nation had heard of it at the time it would have shrunk with horror from men who possessing ample individual means for replacing any loss by a refusal of the heirs of the dying man to acknowledge the debt or pay it back, hesitated not to intrude upon a sacred death-bed on

which flowers should have been strewn, with a mean money demand. We should have trembled for the fate of the country were we not assured that the gratitude of the British Indian Association will now receive universal execration and pass into a proverb. It well may refuse to sign an address to one of the most conscientious, independent and crime-repressive judges that ever came out to India, and its hirelings in the press may empty their butter pots on their conscientious abhorrence to praise a man for doing his duty. It is possible that this magnificent theory was at the bottom of the meanness towards Hurris Chunder. He but did his duty and the Association could not conscientiously be grateful. The inertia of the Hurris Memorial Fund is perhaps owing to such a feeling. Let the fund sleep while the British Indian Association pets and licks into shape its newly discovered grand idea." (The BENGAL, July 29, 1863.)

It appears that the funds collected by the British Indian Association were expended in building the Hurris Chandra Library in the premises of the British Indian Association. Girish Chandra's criticism of the inertia of the British Indian Association in honouring the deceased patriot had its effect. The dwelling of Harish Chandra was attached and sold in auction, but the Association had paid off the amount of the decree and saved the property. The Association also paid an annuity to his widow till her death.

Though the British Indian Association and the big-wigs of the day did little for Harish Chandra, the people of Calcutta did not forget the Father of Indian Journalism and the Prometheus of Indian Political Liberty. A memorial to Harish Chandra was established in Bhowanipore, at a stone's throw from his residential house, in the form of a park where

a 20 feet high column has been erected in 1904 with the following inscription :

Sacred to the memory
of

HURRISH CHUNDER MOOKHERJEE

who was Editor of 'The HINDOO PATRIOT', as a guiding spirit of the British Indian Association and in connection with various movements of his time rendered conspicuous services to the country by his able and disinterested discussion of public affairs ; who waged war against wrong and vindicated justice with a rare courage, honesty and independence ; who in a critical period of transition gave counsels of wisdom to the rulers and interpreted their policy ; who was a father to the aggrieved poor and never denied them any personal help in his power ; who lived a life of self-sacrifice and.....devotion to duty ; who was at once a tribune of the people and a pillar of the empire ;

This monument is erected by his grateful countrymen with funds raised by public subscription.

Born 1824

Died 1861 at Bhowanipore, Calcutta.

December 1904

Though the marble column is in excellent condition, the letterings of the inscription have become illegible in certain parts. The site for the park seems to have been donated by Kali Prasanna Singh, who was the Secretary of the British Indian Association. I have not verified this fact.

Harish Chandra will have an honoured place in the pages of the political history of India and his fame as the apostle of political liberty is undisputed. The memory of Harish Chandra will be cherished by generations to come for his role as the pole star of political liberty is undisputed.

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*This writer could not consult Framji Bomanji's book on Harish Chandra Mukherjea as it is not available in National Library. It appears to have been published before 1889 as Sanyal has referred to it. The author will deem it a favour if the readers of this sketch on Harish Chandra could lend a copy of the book or locate its availability. The address is P. T. Nair, 82/C Kansaripara Road, Bhowanipore Calcutta-25.



"REGIONAL DISPARITIES AND INDIA"

B. L. DHAKAR

Isolation in national or international economy is giving its place to regional cooperation or national or international plans. Recently, President Nixon's visit to Asian countries was motivated with a view to form a regional grouping of East Asian Countries. India occupies an important place on the Asian scene. The industrial structure of pre-independence and post-independence era, added a gulf between developed regions and under-developed regions of a country and the world. The lopsided development has resulted into wide disparities of national income. This cumulative gap invited the attention of all serious thinkers to the issue. Efforts are going to be made under the present policies and planned programmes of nations to remedy the chronic evil. India as a developing country inherits this disease of regional imbalances. The Telengana issue put the regional development on the front. The Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stressed this point that 'Government's economic policies are shaped by the country's social and political situations'. She means to say that the backward regions should be given prime importance to catch up with the progress of advanced regions.

The issue is very vital from the practical point of view. But how far it has got validity on economic grounds— is to be examined analytically in the framework of Regional Science.

Werner Beer gives explanation to regional imbalances that "the phenomenon of unequal rates of economic growth of regions within a country is becoming of acute interest to policy makers in countries like Italy, the U. S. A., Canada etc. Since their principal aim is to

formulate programmes stimulating the economy of the stagnant regions, their analytical interests are not primarily devoted to explaining the original causes of regional disparities. Their efforts are spent in discovering through what channels the general growth process will increase or decrease regional inequalities and in formulating policies designed to increase the rate of growth of the stagnant areas without hurting the growth of the dynamic areas".¹

In the process of economic development for years, then operating forces contributed to the growth of varying structures of the economy. Erstwhile Bombay, Bengal and Madras provinces grew comparatively strong in industrial production, Punjab, U. P. concentrated on agriculture, whereas Rajasthan, Orissa, Bihar, Kashmir, Assam etc. remained under-developed. The Fifth Finance Commission bears testimony to the fact in allocating grants in aid to backward States and depriving advanced States of the same. This fact is an eye opener to us and reveals the lacuna in the regionally balanced growth of India.

Friedrich List's thoughts with the observations of United Nations Experts are "As a result of the remarkable progress of science during the past two hundred years, the gap in technology between the developed and the under-developed countries has grown wider and wider. This gap is even more impressive than is the great inequality in wealth which separates them ; the two are not unrelated. On the basis of long cumulative scientific tradition, the advanced countries of Europe and America have made great strides—while some of the new technology has reached the

under-developed countries, it has only affected certain limited sectors of their economies and has not permeated their social and economic structure".² List's life symbolised a synthesis of theory and practice, and repudiated the doctrine of comparative costs. In India, the erstwhile industrial provinces enjoyed benefits of their growing technology such as, Cotton textile industry in Maharashtra, Jute industry in Bengal and so on.

Hicks advances reasons for inequalities in regional wealth for initial growth advantages of certain regions in a country, "Particular places within a country where wealth can grow most easily are marked out by geographical advantages, proximity to minerals or sources of powers, or to areas particularly suitable for specialised crops ; alternatively, they may have naturally good communications, so that though their resources of supply are at a glance, they can be supplied from many sources rather easily."³ The areas in India which were easily accessible to foreign trade and mineral resources have made faster progress than other areas which were deprived of the same, in course of economic development through decades. The growth of particular cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras which had a great centripetal force. U.P., North Bihar and Punjab grew because of net work of railroad transport and high agricultural potentiality.

Sir Dennis Robertson pushed this line of argument a little further that "local dust and dirt, all sorts of things which previously had to be imported and in particular it has become evident that the simple processes of textile manufactures can be carried on with almost equal efficiency by almost any kind of population in almost any part of the world."⁴ Keynes also stated that "modern productive processes of mass production can be performed in most countries and climates with almost

equal efficiency." On this assumption the Indian Prime Minister quite aptly remarked that "social tension has been growing in this country because of the disparities and the feeling of injustice, it generated among many of our people in backward regions. An effort of the nationalisation of banks was made to help in easing this tension and was a move for all round security." Recently, more attention to backward regions and backward section of the society was also demanded by Members of the Rajya Sabha.

Even then the past growth has its validity, despite its lesser importance in the present context. A firm grows on its own, and market forces influence it. Hirschman also stresses the fact that "whatever be the reasons, there can be little doubt that an economy, to lift itself to higher income levels, must and will just develop within itself one or several regional centres of economic strength."⁵ Hicks supports the view that "once unequal rates of growth develop, they will tend to perpetuate themselves, or the disparity in growth rates might even increase, because—as industry and trade become more concentrated in a particular centre, they themselves give to that centre, an advantage for future development." A conglomerancy tendency is generally observed. New firms will tend to settle in the already growing regions, unless there is any alternative region to offer. External economies will make investment in these regions more beneficial. A more readily available source of skilled labour, a wide variety of already available auxiliary goods and services pre-exist there because of an internal economic momentum. The spectacular growth of the Kanpur, Ahmedabad and Delhi areas are the outcome of initial start.

Although the growth momentum is usually cumulative in the dynamic areas, it could

under certain conditions, spread some of its dynamism to other areas. In other words, growth of the dynamic area acts as a 'centrifugal force' in certain circumstances, but it could also act as a 'centripetal force and drain the marginal areas of any growth potential. Let us examine some of the centrifugal and centripetal forces of the "trickling down" and "polarization" effects, as Hirschman dubs them. Growth can be transmitted from the dynamic to the static region through three basic channels :

- i) The movement of goods
- ii) The movement of capital
- iii) The movement of labour.

Growth transmission through trade takes place when the dynamic region is not self-sufficient, in that case the complementary region will receive a part of the incremental wealth. The wealth split will go to other countries. The growth of the Lancashire region could be attributed to the growth of cotton cultivation in the British Colonies. Such movement might actually create new centres of self generating growth. On the other hand if the dynamic centre is self-sufficient, it will act centripetal. It will lead to further capitalisation of the centre and rates of return on investment will probably be much higher in the growing than in the under-developed areas.

Despite the traditional bondage of paternal living in the rural area, labour will move towards the urban area which can provide better means of earning and thereby better living. On the positive side, labour movement might ease the pressure in the backward areas and even raise per capita output. Such a movement might also benefit the dynamic area and wage bill will remain within reasonable limits.

Hicks stresses that labour movement implies the provision of houses and other facilities. This process will involve a consi-

derable capital investment.⁷ It is most likely that the 'best talent' of young and energetic persons will cause drain to the under-developed region by their move.⁸ India too has the experience of 'brain drain' of 5000 Scientists, 12000 Engineers and 8000 Doctors to foreign countries. It is a loss of an irreparable kind.

It can be argued that even if centripetal forces are dominant, in the long run 'market' considerations could ultimately cause a reversal of these forces. Once the dynamic region assumes its full productive capacity, it needs outside markets to keep that going. Private capital might flow to the under-developed region. The Government will initiate aid programmes even with foreign collaboration. This will multiply economic activities all around. A huge amount of foreign capital and investment through International Agencies and the U.S.A. have taken place in the post-war era. The world trade has been growing at the rate of 12% (1968-69). The backward regions will also share the benefits of economic development, as it is seen on the map of the world.

The fiscal and monetary weapons may help in redressing the grievances of the backward region. The Wanchoo Committee has strongly recommended for providing fiscal concessions and granting incentives to backward regions, such as, tax can be relaxed, rebate can be given, tax free import of raw-materials and machines, land at concessional rates, cheap credit etc. This trend has started getting momentum. Maharashtra already led in this direction, other states have also taken up the matter in their planned programmes. De-urbanisation is of prime importance today. Hicks, however, claims that "such measures are most successful when they are moving with, not against, the economic tide. It is not difficult to induce the economic forces to move a little further, or a little faster, than they would

have done without 'interference', but to dispense altogether with their aid is a much harder job."⁹

An infrastructure of social overhead capital in the under-developed region is a prerequisite for its onward march to development. The question arises of tapping resources and where will they come from? The comfortable method is raising the taxstructure. Implications of additional taxes are to be viewed in terms of mere social justice or economic growth or a synthesis of both. A judicious policy in the circumstances is called for. Heavy taxation will enode savings and consequently retard growth. Hirschman gives an excellent description of many other policy-problems that may arise in distributing public investment between regions. The investment incentive should not be curbed by heavy direct taxation.¹⁰ S. Boothlengham in his report clearly mentions that the company tax in India is the highest in the world—70% as against 58% in other countries, Pakistan 55%, Belgium 30%. As a result, our economy will go on depending on foreign capital to achieve the desired goal of growth rate of 5.5% overall rate. In the third plan the growth rate went down to 0.1%. Both ends cannot be met squarely. An ideological dilemma is a main detrimental factor.

II

The factual analysis of various sections of the Indian economy will enlighten us further. Walter Isard writing about regional economic planning and its techniques of analysis for less developed regions puts forth that "the sources of invested capital, the reasons for development in a region, choice significant or not, movements of labour, regions, market, political, economic and social balance sheets of the various regions. The solutions for mountain regions will not do for plains. The development policy for a new plant to be installed, a new road to be built, or a new

pattern of farming introduced, and population satisfaction—are all the necessary ingredients".¹¹ The concept of regional planning cannot be accepted outright but should be examined on the above criteria. It is a knotty problem for the planners of a country to make it rational.

Dr. P. S. Loknathan has very ably stated that "the main reason of the disparity may be sought in the sectoral nature of their (regional) economies. With some exception, States with high per capita income like Maharashtra are associated with the comparatively smaller 'agriculture' and larger manufacturing sectors and States with low per capita income like Rajasthan and Orissa, have relatively bigger agricultural and smaller manufacture sectors." The wide disparities appear between different States of India. A few States accelerated their growth by concentration on industry, while several States went on with agriculture and small scale industries. The cumulative effect after regional integration. The sectoral concentration counts a great deal in States' incomes, as revealed below :

Table I

Total budgetary position of States, 1969-70

| State | Revenue | |
|--------------------|----------|---------------|
| | (crores) | Rs. P. |
| 1. Andhra Pradesh | | 279.91 |
| 2. Assam | | 99.46 |
| 3. Bihar | | 180.75 |
| 4. Gujarat | | 165.83 |
| 5. Haryana | | 78.34 |
| 6. Jammu & Kashmir | | 58.21 |
| 7. Kerala | | 135.27 |
| 8. Madhya Pradesh | | 187.35 |
| 9. Maharashtra | | 351.32 |
| 10. Mysore | | 213.26 |
| 11. Orissa | | 118.64 |
| 12. Punjab | | 127.08 |
| 13. Rajasthan | | 144.53 |
| 14. Tamil Nadu | | 263.06 |
| 15. Uttar Pradesh | | 360.43 |
| 16. West Bengal | | 236.77 |
| | | <hr/> 2998.21 |

Source—Economic Times, 5 April, 1969.

The above budgetary resources reflect the developed and under-developed economies of States. Allowance may be given to States small in size as Punjab and Haryana. The Fifth Finance Commission studied the overall economic conditions and gave special consideration to the following States by allocating grants in-aid :

Table II

| State | Grant (crores) Rs. P. |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Andhra Pradesh | 65.01 |
| 2. Assam | 101.97 |
| 3. Jammu & Kashmir | 73.68 |
| 4. Kerala | 49.65 |
| 5. Mysore | 17.99 |
| 6. Nagaland | 77.95 |
| 7. Orissa | 104.67 |
| 8. Rajasthan | 51.49 |
| 9. Tamil Nadu | 22.82 |
| 10. West Bengal | 72.62 |

Due allowance is given to West Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu because of their population pressure. All the above States' income per capita is less than the average Indian per capita income of Rs. 375/-.

The States who are deprived of grants-in-aid will have an overall surplus at the end of 1973-74 as shown below (in crores of rupees) :

Table III

| State | Grant |
|-------------------|--------|
| 1. Bihar | 19.46 |
| 2. Gujarat | 158.99 |
| 3. Haryana | 79.88 |
| 4. Madhya Pradesh | 15.09 |
| 5. Maharashtra | 419.29 |
| 6. Punjab | 117.22 |
| 7. Uttar Pradesh | 280.87 |

The very backward States comprise of Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Rajasthan, Orissa and so on. These States are placed at unfavourable position from natural and other

resources point of view. Rajasthan and Orissa have potentiality for better prospects because of mineral wealth.

NATIONAL INCOME :

A glance at the growth of national income will give the overall picture of the country :

Table IV

| Year | Total Rs. crores | Per Capita Rs. | Per Capita (60-61 prices) |
|---------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| 1960-61 | 13308 | 306.7 | 1306.7 |
| 1965-66 | 20586 | 420.5 | 370.0 |
| 1967-68 | 27922 | 542.9 | 521.3 |

Source—Economic Times, 26 April, 1969.

An unsatisfactory per capita growth of real income is not encouraging. It reflects poor progress on the whole.

The level of national output at any given time is determined by the supply of resources, available techniques, the organisation of markets, the institutional framework of economic life and the psychological attributes of the population.

There is a 'drain' of banking funds to advanced States like Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat where credit exceeds the deposits. This drain is injurious to backward regions and backward sections. Gajendragadkar said as long as India suffered from economic imbalances, all talk of unity was bound to fail. The present political instability goes deep into the economic malady of regional disparities, which find expression in rapid changes in States. Gunnar Hyrdal indicates that "corruption in public life has been responsible directly or indirectly for collapse of many political regions. In India corruption has assumed proportions which threaten our national life at many points.

Conclusion :

The country's lopsided development can

be judged from the fact that the six States, Maharashtra, U. P., West Bengal, Tamil Nadu Bihar and Gujarat account for more than 60% of the national income. Whereas Tripura, Himachhal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa and Rajasthan jointly contribute less than 5% of the total national income as against 10% of the total population.

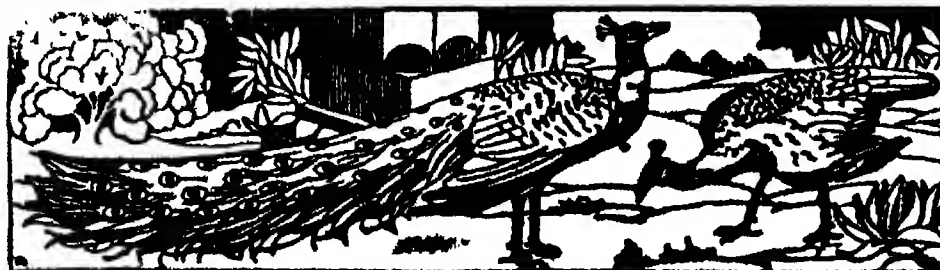
As the end we must be optimistic to move forward towards the balanced development of all regions in India, just as Prof. Boudivillei, a brilliant economist advocates that "we must help our countries to realise the importance of regional planning in their general development policy and supply them, to that end, with information on how to translate national economic policy into regional terms and any regional experiment in process of execution into national terms in other words, to plan national development policy in the light of regional and local factors and relate regional development programmes to the national context".¹²

An investment programme for a given development policy is to be planned mainly on the basis of national and regional considerations, income, employment, productivity, savings and capital formation, consumption, foreign trade and the balance of payments, monetary stability and fiscal and financial policy, technical training etc. An integrated

approach will give greater strength to the Indian Economy.

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OUR WOBBLING DEMOCRACY

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

During the Debate on the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons in March 1947 Churchill observed in course of his criticism of the Bill, "In handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes, we are handing over to men of straw of which in a few years no trace will remain." (Alan Campbell-Johnson-Mission with Mountbatten, p. 28, Quoted)

Nationalist India was not surprised. The observation, it thought, was just one of these anti-Indian, Churchillian fulminations for which their author had acquired a notoriety. The Bill was passed in due course in spite of the stiff opposition of the Conservatives. India was partitioned and the Dominions of India and Pakistan came into being (August 14-15 1947).

India in 1947 had one of the finest leaderships in the world, one of which any country might feel legitimately proud. Besides the Old Patriarch Mahatma Gandhi, there were Jawaharlal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, among them. But the Mahatma at 77—he was born on October 2 1869—was a disillusioned man. Disowned in fact by his associates and adherents for decades as Jesus of Nazareth had been disowned by Peter two thousand years ago, the Mahatma shone in his lonely majesty. As Radhakrishnan points out; "Towards the end of his life Gandhiji was a lonely and frustrated man. Deep disillusion entered his soul before the assassin's bullet entered his body." With his almost uncanny insight into the minds of men the Mahatma

too felt that his isolation was complete, that he was "left high and dry." He is on record as having said, "I should not be surprised if, in spite of the homage that the national leaders pay to me, they are one day to say, 'We have had enough of this old man, why does he not leave us alone?'"

Gandhi fell to an assassin's bullet (January 30 1948) within six months of independence. His colleagues too were old or aging and had their trysts with Destiny. Jawaharlal, the youngest (b. November 14 1889), was nearing sixty. They were all to quit the scene within years of the Mahatma's martyrdom with the exception of Rajaji, who now sails in the Swatantra boat.

Years rolled by. Waters flowed under the bridges. Happenings in India and in Pakistan as well—during the twenty odd years since 1947 have amply demonstrated that Churchill was no false prophet. Our politicians have been weighed and found wanting. They have failed miserably to canalize the energies released by independence into useful and constructive channels.

India opted for a party-based Parliamentary democracy. A Constituent Assembly presided over by Dr. Rajendra Prasad framed the constitution of free India accordingly. Signed and accepted by the Constituent Assembly on November 26 1949, it was promulgated early in the following year and India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic two months later on January 26 1950. The framers of our constitution had, however, failed to take note of certain vital objective conditions prevailing in the country.

Democracy, defined by Abraham Lincoln as "the government of the people, by the people and for the people", is much more than a mere form of government or a constitution. It is in fact a way of life. A freely elected legislature and an executive responsible thereto alone do not make a democracy. Certain conditions and they are quite a few are absolutely necessary to make democracy a living reality, to make it a part and parcel of the citizens' lives. Some of the more important are an educated electorate, the existence of democratic traditions, association of the people at all levels of administration and entrusting responsibilities to them, free and fair elections, a dedicated leadership, a free and fearless press, a free and impartial judiciary, universities and institutions of higher level capable of providing new ideas, an honest, well-organised and effective opposition and last but not the least, the faith of the people in democracy.

Most of these conditions are non-existent or exist only in part in India. Ours is an illiterate country. Nearly a quarter of a century after independence an overwhelming majority of our masses are still unlettered. Literacy in the case of many does not go beyond the ability to scrawl one's own name and read with difficulty very simple printed matter in one's own vernacular. Many of these again relapse into illiteracy in the long run.

Active participation of the people at all levels of administration builds up the democratic tradition so essential to the success of democracy. India has had no democratic tradition in living memory except for a little more than sixty years under the British Raj. The 'democracy' allowed to Indians by the Raj was restricted in many vital respects. Democracy was not, however, altogether unknown in ancient India. The Lichchavis of Vaishali about twenty kilometres from

Patna in Bihar, for example, had a republican constitution in the 6th century B. C. We also read of republics in some parts of India in the 4th century B. C. when Alexander the Great invaded India. The Buddhist Sangha Monastic order was run on democratic principles. Casting and counting of votes were not unknown. Dr R. C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India* throws a flood of light on the subject. Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Seleukes to the Court of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B. C., speaks of a civic board for the administration of Pataliputra. He also refers to a War Board for the administration of the Maurya army. But democracy in the modern sense seems to have been unknown in ancient India and whatever democratic tradition she had, was wiped out during the decline of Buddhism.

Much is made of our village Panchayats. But they have never been democratic bodies in the modern sense of the term. Accustomed to authoritarianism for centuries, we understand only the language of command. *Argumentum ad baculum* is not unoften the last and sometimes the only argument with many of us.

Free and fair elections are the very life-breath of democracy. But there are ominous symptoms that our elections have been neither free nor fair in all cases for some time, particularly since 1967. Use of money, intimidation, spurious votes and impersonation, besides the dishonesty of those in charge of conducting elections have been alleged. That the allegations are not altogether unfounded is evidenced by the recent proposals of the Chief Election Commissioner. He has recommended stiff penalties for electoral offences. But laws however Draconian and howsoever rigorously enforced will not eradicate the maladies our much publicised and

much vaunted free and fair elections are suffering from. The electorate must be conscious of its rights and duties. Franchise is a sacred trust and must be conscientiously exercised. Politicians must not think of the ballot box alone. All these pre-suppose mental preparation and laws alone cannot give mental preparation.

Leadership is an important factor in the life of every community, organisation and institution. How important leadership is, is illustrated by the debacle of the Sikh army in the two Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845-46 and 1848-49) against the East India Company. Man for man, the Sikhs were the finest soldiers in 19th century India. It was a corrupt, vacillating and incompetent leadership that let the valiant Khalsa down. An army without an able General is a ship without a rudder and degenerates into an armed rabble.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan rightly pointed out the other day that the real crisis in India and Pakistan is the crisis of leadership. There is hardly any far-sighted leader in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent today. Every 'leader' is eager to grind his own axe, to butter his side of the bread. We have no statesmen, but only politicians, who think only of themselves and have no scruples in sacrificing the people and their interests for their own safety and interests. They are sowing the wind in their short-sightedness and are leaving an unenviable legacy for those who will follow them. It must be borne in mind that a people without a sound leadership is no better than a disorderly mob and can be easily led astray.

Freedom of thought and expression symbolized by a free press is among the most precious rights of the citizens in a democracy. It contributes to the success of democracy. But we do not always have freedom of expression in present-day India. Free and frank opinions on political parties or their activities some-

times result in insult, harassment, if not in the loss of limbs and worse at the hands of the private armies of the parties concerned. Raids on the offices of newspapers threatening letters to newspaper Editors and bombing of newspaper vans are not unknown. A Minister threatens press reporters with arrest by the police or with handing them over to the 'boys' of his locality. 'Jehad' is declared against newspapers in public meetings. A top ranking political leader proclaims openly that he will ask newspapers to stop mud-slinging against his party and its activities and that if there is no effect, other methods will have to be thought of. It is not difficult to guess what these other methods are likely to be. A comrade of the said leader is more frank and says that while he himself does not want press reporters beaten up, he can guarantee them no protection against the party cadres.

"Democracy must be provided with ideas." Ideas developed outside political circles are very often taken up by politicians, who give legislative shape to them. These ideas are the product of independent thinking connected with political problems. Independent thinking, political and otherwise, implies a certain degree of intellectual dynamism on the part of the people. The Parliament, the Cabinet and other political institutions provide the machinery of political action. But a political machinery must have ideas to work with while political leaders tackle the day to day problems of administration. They formulate the policies to be pursued by the government.

Political institutions cannot generate ideas. Political leaders have neither the time, nor, in most cases, the capacity to think profoundly and provide ideas. All over the democratic world political ideas originate and grow outside the Parliament and political institutions. They are reflected in the national legislature at a later stage and are finally adopted as the

basis of official policies only after they have acquired some strength and popularity in the country, after they have struck roots among the masses, in other words. Prof. A. V. Dicey's classic, *Legislation and Public Opinion in England in the 19th Century*, shows that the basic principles underlying each and every major legislation in England in the 19th century had been thoroughly discussed and debated on, argued about and fought out in the country before Parliament gave legislative recognition to them. The importance of ideas to democracy, it is thus evident, cannot be over-estimated.

Universities and other institutions of higher education are the nurseries of independent thinking. The School of Economics, Delhi, the Gokhale Institute of politics and Economics, Poona, and a few other institutions of the kind once used to provide ideas and doctrines of democratic practices in India. But the same perhaps cannot be said now of many of them. The School of Economics, London, the *Ecole des Sciences Politiques*,

and similar institutions, discussion groups and clubs clustering around outstanding academic leaders and institutions like the Fabian Society, on the other hand, have been doing valuable work in the matter of providing ideas and democratic practices in their respective countries. Nor can we ignore or minimize the importance of various research groups with special interests. They study national problems in all aspects and pass on the results of their studies to public men, who are thus provided with ideas concerning every aspect of the national life. Fed from various sources in this manner, the stream of thought is thus kept flowing. There is no resting on oars. Stagnation and self-complacency are ruled out.

The Opposition is the watch-dog of democracy. But an Opposition, to be effective must be strong, well-organised and honest.

It must be alert and disciplined, at the same time. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." A constant reminder to those in power that they are not indispensable or irreplaceable, an alert and effective opposition keeps the Government on an even keel. A Government without an effective opposition generally degenerates into tyrannical autocracy. Unfortunately, a hodgepodge of all sorts of parties, coteries and groups opposed to the Government as we have, we have hardly any opposition in the parliamentary sense. These parties, coteries and groups are torn by mutual jealousies and suspicions and are often at loggerheads with one another. None is capable of forming a government by itself and take the place of the Party in power. We had no official Opposition nor any Opposition Leader in the National Parliament for nearly twenty years after the promulgation of our constitution in 1950. A duly recognised Opposition in our Parliament is just a few months old and came into existence only after the split in the Congress party in 1969.

That our democracy has fallen on evil days will be readily admitted. That it is falling to pieces may not be admitted as readily. We lack the political maturity which a successful working of democracy presupposes. It is why we witness the mushrooming of all sorts of upstart political parties, groups and coteries of which there are nearly twenty in one of the smallest States of the Indian Union. Some of these are purely local parties. Floor-crossings by legislators have become chronic. Ministries in the States fall off and on. New Delhi is suspected of pulling the invisible wires from a distance to bring about the collapse of State Ministries. Leftists unabashedly join hands with the Rightists and the communalists to capture or to remain in power. There are rumours of money and foreign money at that playing a part in elections and in the toppling of the

State Ministries which are in the bad book of New Delhi. It is alleged that the State Governors are sometimes made to play the tune called by New Delhi. The Congress, which spearheaded the national struggle against foreign rule, is split in twain, not over principles but over power hunting and personalities. A minority Congress Government is in the saddle at New Delhi and rules or misrules the country as it likes. It is kept in power with the help of an odd assortment of parties of all sorts, which have little faith in and still less regard for what the Congress stand for, at least theoretically. The Congress Prime Minister, who is naturally the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, files the nomination paper of the Party's candidate for election to the Presidency of the Union of India and then canvasses against him. The Parliament is by-passed and vital legislation carried through Ordinance to steal a march over political adversaries and for cheap popularity. Legislators abuse one another in language that would put Billingsgate to shame and roll up shirt sleeves with rolling eyes. Their compeers intervene and prevent them from converting the floor of the legislature into a make-shift wrestling arena. Honourable Members of the Parliament openly defy the law and are beaten up by the Police, under government orders, of course. Legislators vote themselves substantially higher salaries and perquisites while the people they claim to represent eke out a miserable existence. In utter disregard of covenants and solemn guarantees attempts are made to abolish or reduce the Privy Purses and the privileges of the ex-ruling Princes and the members of the I. C. S.—all on the ground of economy to the national exchequer. Proposals are afoot at the same time, however, of giving subsidized plots of land in Delhi to the Honourable Members of the Parliament—on what grounds we do not know. A political

luminary, who 'forget' to submit his Income-Tax returns for years together, is let off with impunity when detected. He has been since elevated to the Presidentship of the Congress. He is also an important member of the Central Government. The seat once adorned by those giants among men like Dadabhai Naoroji, G. K. Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Deshabandhu C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, is now occupied by one who does not come within miles of them. A communalist is another stalwart and important prop of the Central Government. The Congress, yet the largest party in the country, has bidden good-bye to the ideals of service, suffering, purity and sacrifice, which were its hall-mark under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The race of Titans has been followed by a generation of pigmies. Tin-gods now strut the scene with hollow talks and brandish their tin-swords with a gusto that would make many a circus clown green with envy. Political parties indulge in slogan-mongering and seem to be oblivious of the fact that a large part of the country has been given to the law of the jungle where anti-social, anti-national law-breakers carry on their nefarious activities under the nose of the minions of law and order. The organ of a party of the Extreme Left openly boasts of having "liquidated sixty" "class enemies" in one State alone in less than a year.

The Prime Minister of the country has in the meanwhile "changed the rules of the game of politics by her 'conscience' vote (a very pliable conscience, no doubt), by manipulating opinion in her party through such devices as signature campaigns and the unashamed use of the government propaganda apparatus. Now she is getting a taste of her own medicine." It seems she will be fully hoist with her own petard not in the very distant future.

There is, however, a silver lining the only one—behind the serried mass of ominous storm-clouds. The judiciary, which is the palladium of democracy, has escaped the all-round degeneration. Excepting a 'gherao' of the High Court of Calcutta during the United Front Ministry in West Bengal, the freedom of our judiciary has not yet been assailed from any quarter. Its integrity is still above and beyond suspicion. Indian democracy will defy all attempts at subversion so long as our judiciary retains its freedom and fearlessness. This is not to suggest, however, that our faith in democracy remains unshaken.

Indian democracy is indeed very sick today and an unhealthy democracy often ends in anarchy. It may also lead to the disintegration of the country or to the rise of dictatorship—military or otherwise. Not unoften does a discredited democracy lead to totalitarianism or military dictatorship. The failure of the Weimar Republic led to the rise of Nazism in Germany under Hitler in the early thirties. A quarter of a century later and

right on our door-step we have witnessed the rise of Ayub Khan in Pakistan. A little later and a little farther away, we have seen the rise of Ne Win in Burma and of Soekarno and Soeharto in Indonesia. Instances may be multiplied.

The ex-Chief of Staff General K. M. Cariappa's hint sometime back at a brief spell of army rule in India was howled down by professional politicians in the Lok Sabha for obvious reasons. Men without any "ostensible means of livelihood", their occupation will be gone and their collective existence as a class will be in jeopardy, if there is a military take-over. But unless our sickly democracy is restored to health and unless our politicians in power as well as those out of it mend their ways, the possibility of a military rule cannot be lightly dismissed. General Cariappa might not have spoken for himself alone.

Our politicians should know if they do not know as yet that all people cannot be fooled for all time and remember at the same time that the sands of time are fast running out.



CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE MINISTRY

DR. S. M. SAYEED

The framers of the Indian Constitution had formulated the lengthiest Constitution with a view to avoiding any ambiguity and providing remedies for all future exigencies. The makers may have been right in conceiving so, but experience has proved that the expectations of the Constitution-makers have not been realized. The Constitution, despite its length and volume has been failing in meeting the political situations and providing solutions for the problems that emerged in the Country from time to time. A thorough scrutiny of the constitutional crises which sprouted after 1967 reveals that the Constitution is ambiguous, confusing and misleading and most of the controversies relating to the Governor and the Council of Ministers had arisen mainly due to the Vagueness of the Constitution.

The Constitution provides that "there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head, to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions."¹ With regard to formation of the Council of Ministers, Article 164 provides that "the Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister."² But, who shall be a Chief Minister, any way? The Constitution does not lay down any conditions, criteria or qualifications for the appointment of the Chief Minister. Thus, legally, it is at the discretion of the Governor that he may invite the Leader of the majority Party or any other member or a person who is not even a member of the Legislature to form the Government. This discretion of the Governor becomes more practicable and effective in case there is no political party having a clear majority

in the legislature. In such a situation, the Governor would be free legally, practically and conventionally, to invite any one whom he considers capable of installing a Government in the state.

It is true that the Chief Minister should be one who commands confidence of the legislature. But the problem is: how the governor should decide the question of leadership, if there are claims and counter-claims by the leaders of different political parties for being in a majority in the legislature? How should the Governor satisfy himself that a particular claimant has really the support of the majority of the members of the legislature? The Constitution does not prescribe any method for testing the strength of the various political parties in the House and deciding as to who enjoys the confidence of the legislature? The growing tendency of defections has aggravated the situation and has often placed the Governors in a ridiculous position. In almost all the States where coalition governments have been constituted, the question of "majority" and "minority" has arisen and the Governors had to solve this problem in their own way.

It is obvious that in an atmosphere where different political parties are making claims and counter-claims for their being in the majority in the legislature and are pressurising the Governor to call their leader to form the Government, the Governor cannot satisfy all the claimants, whatsoever judicious course of action he may adopt. In the absence of any specific provision in the Constitution for testing the strength of the various political parties in the House and determining as to who does enjoy the support of the legislature,

the Governors of certain States had been a target of bitter criticism and controversy. The country may be saved from such constitutional controversies by adding one sentence in Article 164 of the Constitution: the leader of the majority party shall be appointed Chief Minister and if there is any doubt regarding the relative strength of the various political parties, the Governor shall decide it on the floor of the House by a lobby-division."

Size of the Ministry :

The second part of Article 164 is also ambiguous and may create confusion. It reads ".....the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister." The Constitution has not determined the size of the Council of Ministers. Hence, a Chief Minister may submit a list of one hundred members to the Governor with the "advice" that they should be appointed Ministers. This act of the Chief Minister would certainly create a problem for the Governor. If the Governor accepts the list of one hundred Ministers, it would be nothing short of a mockery of Parliamentary democracy; if he refuses to do so, it would amount to violation of the so-called convention that the Governor, being a Constitutional Head, should act according to the advice rendered by the Chief Minister.

In the present day politics of defections when legislators freely desert one Party for another allured by money or political offices, a Chief Minister who is heading an unstable coalition Government may think of constituting a Ministry of more than one hundred members only to retain the support of a majority in the legislature. One fails to understand as to why the Constitution-makers did not prescribe the maximum size of the Ministry? This vagueness of the Constitution may lead to a political crisis at any time in future.

Back-door entry to the Ministry

Article 164(4) paves the way for the entry of non-members to the Council of Ministers. It provides that "a Minister, who for any period of six consecutive months is not a member of the Legislature of a State shall at the expiration of that period cease to be a Minister."⁴ This provision, on the one hand, ensures that the Council of Ministers should be constituted only of the members of the legislature and, on the other, leaves the doors of the Council of Ministers open for the entry of outsiders as well. Under the present circumstances, it would be easy for a Chief Minister to include his "favourites" in the Ministry, no matter if they have been defeated in the Elections or they have not contested the Elections at all.

Besides other defects inherent in it, the above provision is full of ambiguities and may create numerous problems. The Constitution allows six months, time for the continuance of an outsider in the Ministry, but it does not impose any limitation on the number of Elections that a Minister, thus appointed, may contest within this period of time. Hence, there is every possibility that such a Minister, even after being defeated at the polls, may not resign from the Ministry and re-seek election from some other constituency. Thus, he, without violating any provisions of the Constitution, may go on contesting Elections till he is elected to the Legislature and his appointment as Minister is regularized.

Similarly, the Constitution does not lay down any restriction on the re-appointment of a Minister appointed under the above mentioned provision of the Constitution. Owing to this lacuna of the Constitution, the Chief Minister can carry on an outsider in his Ministry for years without asking him to face the electorate. It is obvious that such a Minister would automatically cease to be a

Minister after the expiry of six months 'period. But the Chief Minister may go on re-appointing that Minister after every six months with a gap of one or two days between each spell. Thus, the above provision, which by itself seems to be undemocratic, may further be misemployed only due to lack of clarity in the Constitution.

Functions of the Council of Ministers :

The Constitution provides that "there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions." Thus, the function of the Council of Ministers is "to aid and advise" the Governor and not to dictate or command him. The Governor under no provision of the Constitution is bound to abide by the advice given by the Council of Ministers. He may accept it or reject it and, legally speaking, the advice given by the Council of Ministers, in any case cannot be a "must" for the Governor. An advice is after all an "advice" and not an "obligation" or "duty". Every "reasonable Governor" is expected to accept every "reasonable advice" of the Council of Ministers. But, what is reasonable or what is not reasonable is a matter to be decided by the Governor himself.

Not only that the Governor is legally free to accept or reject the advice of the Council of Ministers but from the practical point of view too, he should not follow blindly the advice of the Council of Ministers. The political problems which arose after 1967 in West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are sufficient to justify the contention that the Governor cannot be bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers and he must apply his own mind at least in crucial political hours. The Governor is not merely a silent spectator, he is the Head of the State and has to keep a vigilant eye on the government and adminis-

tration of the State. It was, most probably, because of this fact that the appointment and removal of the Governor are the matters to be decided by the Central Government alone and the states have no say in these important

Removal of Ministers :

The last part of Article 164 (1) makes another vague declaration that "..... The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor."⁶ What does this provision actually mean is again a question of interpretation of the Constitution and opinions are bound to differ on this point also. The word "pleasure" is confusing and difficult to define. Can the Governor remove a Minister on his own initiative against the wishes of the Chief Minister? Should the Governor necessarily remove a Minister or Ministers if the Chief Minister advises him to do so? The Governor Uttar Pradesh had to face a critical situation in 1970, when Mr. Charan Singh, the then Chief Minister, recommended removal of 13 Ministers and advised the Governor to remove them from the office. On the other hand, the Congress Party, a major constituent unit of the coalition Ministry withdrew its support and consequently demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister who, according to them; had lost the majority in the legislature. This conflict between the Ministers and the Chief Minister placed the Governor in an awkward position. The Governor, violating a parliamentary convention, refused to accept the advice of the Chief Minister for removing 13 members of his Ministry, and asked the Chief Minister to tender his resignation. This act of the Governor could not satisfy many of the political parties and they blamed him for working under pressure of the Centre. It was simply owing to the vagueness of the Constitution that the Governor became a target of hectic criticism. Such a controversy would have been averted had

there been a provision in the Constitution to the effect that if the majority of the Ministers express lack of confidence in the Chief Minister, the Governor shall ask the Chief Minister to seek confidence of the House forthwith.

Dismissal of the Ministry.

The dismissal of the Council of Ministers is another important question which created a controversy in West Bengal in 1967, when Mr. Dharam Vir, the then Governor, dismissed the Ministry, headed by Mr. Ajoy Kumar Mukerji. This action of the Governor was questioned on the ground that the Council of Ministers, being collectively responsible to the Assembly, can be dismissed only if the latter registers a no-confidence against the Government.

The Constitution provides that "Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor",⁷ which implies that the Governor has every right to dismiss a Ministry, since a Ministry is nothing but an aggregation of Ministers. The opponents of this view argue that since the Governor has not specifically been empowered by the Constitution to dismiss a Ministry, he has no right to do so. Even if this contention is admitted, it remains true that nowhere in the Constitution has the Governor been forbidden from dismissing the Council of Ministers. From this point of view too, this is an implied power of the creator of the Ministry—the Governor, to dismiss a Ministry whenever there are reasonable grounds for the same.

Though the right of the Governor to dismiss the Council of Ministers may be justified further by making a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution, it is not clear as to why did the Constitution not specifically make a provision in this respect? A conflict between the Governor and the Council of Ministers is inevitable, if the powers of the Governor are not defined by the Constitution categorically.

Discretionary powers of the Governor

Article 163 has ambiguously granted certain discretionary powers to the Governor. No specification of the functions in which the Governor can exercise his discretion has been made anywhere in the Constitution. Hence, it is also a matter of discretion of the Governor to determine as to what are the functions in which he should exercise his discretion. Thus, his discretion is to be defined by himself in his own discretion. Further, the Constitution has strengthened the position of the Governor by providing that ".....the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion."⁸ It means that the Governor can exercise his discretion in all those matters about which the Constitution does not have specific provisions, and the dismissal of the Ministry would be one of such matters. Why should not this ambiguity in regard to the discretionary powers be removed by specifying the functions in which the Governor is supposed to exercise his discretion?

Conventions and the Constitution

It is generally argued that since the Indian Constitution has established a Parliamentary system of Government, the conventions of the British Parliament should be followed in India also. But, it is in itself debatable whether all the conventions of the British Parliament can fit in our constitutional framework. Even if it is admitted that the Governor, being the head of a Parliamentary government, should honour the Parliamentary conventions of England, a question remains to be answered: what can the Legislature do to the Governor if he does not care for the conventions and is bent upon exercising his constitutional powers personally? It should be pointed out that the State Legislatures have been denied the power of removing a

Governor from his office, while the Governor does have the power to dissolve the Legislative Assembly.

Any way, if the intention of the Constitution makers was to import the conventions of the British Parliament en-bloc, they could as well have given it legal sanction by adding only one sentence in Article 164: "all the matters for which the Constitution has not made specific provisions shall be decided in accordance with the conventions of the British Parliament." The Constitution has adopted such a procedure in Article 105 where after enumerating certain privileges of the members, the Constitution has provided that "in other respects the powers, privileges and immunities of each House of Parliament, and of the members and the committees of each House shall be such as may from time to time be defined by Parliament by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and Committees....."

The above discussion makes it clear that most of the controversies relating to the Governor and the Council of Ministers have arisen mainly due to the ambiguities of the constitution itself. No controversy with regard to the formation or dissolution of the Ministry has so far arisen at the centre, because the Central Ministry has hitherto been homogene-

ous and the Congress Party has enjoyed a majority in the Parliament. However, the consequences of constitutional ambiguities were experienced in those States where coalition Governments came into existence after the fourth General Elections. Consequently, the powers and position of the Governor in relation to the Ministry and the legislature have become a subject of hectic controversy and bitter criticism. Since the pattern of the Central Government is identical with that of the States, and the provisions relating to the President and the Council of Ministers are almost analogous, the possibilities of such controversies cannot be ruled out in the case of the Central Government as well.

The chances of such conflicts between the two parts of the Executive may be reduced, if not eliminated, if the Constitution is made clear on the points mentioned above. It would be better if the Constitution is made self-sufficient instead of looking towards other constitutions of the world. The Constitution, therefore, deserves a thorough revision.

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1. Article 163 (1)
 2. Article 164 (1)
 3. Article 164 (1)
 4. Article 164 (4)
 5. Article 163 (1)
 6. Article 164 (1)
 7. Article 164 (1)
 8. Article 163 (2)



SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

At last Moscow.

From the Urals (Orenberg town), Moscow is about 2000 Kilometers. This is European Russia and as we approached Moscow we could see more signs of white people, white culture and white civilisation, in towns and also in villages. It was of course all covered with a white sheet of snow. The snow was deeper but that could not be seen and only imagined. The towns were bigger and better with better streets and houses and the villages also with better houses, huts and farm houses and with better fences in the fields. The peasants looked better fed and clad, with better physique compared to the people of the steppes of Central Asia we had passed just before. On enquiry from the guard of the train, we learnt that we would reach Moscow in the morning at about 9 a. m. We all felt happy, as mornings are always pleasant. The night before seemed to be everlasting and very slow in coming to an end. We were all very eager and as usual I could not sleep after 4 a. m. I found all others in deep sleep. But one by one all started getting up and getting ready, changing from night dress to European day clothes and by 6 to 7 a. m. we were all up, shaved, beddings bundled and tied up, ready to get down at the Revolutionary City of Moscow.

At last the train stopped at one of the terminus stations in Moscow (there were several terminus stations in Moscow we learnt later on) at about 9 a. m. but it was still quite dark and looked like almost midnight. We got down in great excitement. It was end of December and the day then was from 11 a. m.

to 1 p. m. and the rest was all night. Further north for several days, it was twilight for half an hour or so and the rest of 23½ hours were all night. Further north it was 6 months day and 6 months night. This I had not the good fortune to see.

As the train steamed in I was impressed by the hugeness of the station, but it seemed more dead than alive. Even at that unearthly hour some fairly big people of Soviet Govt. came and received us with warm hand shakes. Moulana with two others were taken in a car to our destination, the Lux Hotel. We were told to wait for other transport to come for us.

I wondered why 2 or 3 cars could not take us all together. It was explained that Taxis were not available and some of us had to wait at the station for the second trip by car.

Moscow Station.

After Moulana was taken away in a car and we were assured that we would be taken to Hotel Lux soon, we waited at the platform with our luggage, rather impatiently. It was very cold, must be at least 10 degrees below zero. The worst part was that there was no tea shop on the platform and within 15 minutes of our arrival, the lights on the platform were put off. It was economy measure of the New Economic Policy. We had actually to skip and jump to keep our blood from freezing. We had the first taste of the Moscow cold of General Winter before whom both Napoleon and Hitler, the two great world conquerors had to admit defeat.

We had to wait about half an hour which seemed to us to be eternity. At about ten,

we were taken with our luggage to Lux Hotel in cars and our goods in a truck. It was about 10 a. m. and still there was no trace of the Sun in the sky. In the station platform, it was quite dark, after the lights were put off. But the streets were fairly well lighted. It was snowing outside and before we could get into the waiting cars, the falling snow made us quite white in the street of Red Moscow. The roads were white and so were the buildings on both sides of the streets. The streets were very broad and the buildings imposing though only three or four stories high. The sky was grey and not very attractive.

Lux Hotel

In a few minutes we were at the Lux Hotel. We entered by the revolving front door, inside the Hotel, where our friends were waiting for us. Our passes were made out and given to us. No one could go to the Lux Hotel without a pass. We were taken to our respective rooms on the third storey by means of a lift. Once inside the hotel, we no longer felt any cold, as it was properly air-conditioned and centrally heated by steam pipes running throughout the Hotel building. Our luggage were taken in by another broad door and another lift and in a few minutes we found them all in the Moulana's room.

One room was reserved and occupied by the Moulana and his nephew. There were two other rooms—one for the elderly people, like Iqbal Sadai, Noor Md., Ahmad Hossain, Zaffar Hossain and myself and the other was for the youngsters.

The rooms were big and there was good furniture, sofas, chairs, tables, almirahs or wardrobes and cots. The floor was made of wood, and wonder of wonders, each room had a phone and we could talk to one another in the different rooms. To most of us the phone was a very uncommon luxury, not much used by most of us before.

We had managed to get a cup of tea each in the tea shops just outside the station, but it got cold before we could finish the tea. Our first demand and also great need was for tea which was brought into our rooms and in plenty. It was so very refreshing. Our mood which was rather gloomy on alighting from the train, became cheerful with the stimulating cups of tea and we could look around the Hotel rooms and furniture etc. and our spirits rose very high. It rose still higher when we were treated to a sumptuous (European) breakfast.

We sat down in the Moulana's room to take stock of the situation and it was quite pleasing. The immediate plan was to see the city, after lunch. But before that we had very good shaves and refreshing hot baths with running hot water in bath tubs fitted with sprays. All these were new to most of us, but we enjoyed them very much, specially as we had no real bath in the two weeks we were in the train since leaving Tashkent. We got rid of most of the white lice stricking to our bodies and tormenting us. We had read of delousing of the soldiers in war literature. Now we understood the meaning and the necessity of delousing.

We did not know Russian, but we had no difficulty as we were taken charge of by two Russian Communists, who spoke English very well. One elder Com. was Tivil, with a goatee beard and the other was Com. Goldberg, younger and clean shaved. They always went out of their way to be helpful to us and would oblige us in all possible manner,

Roy was not there

One of our disappointments was that Com. M. N. Roy was not there. He left for Berlin or Paris immediately after the sessions of the Fourth Congress of the Third International were over. We, specially, the Moulana had

expected that Com. Roy would wait till we arrived and discussed matters with us.

It is no doubt, true that most of the leaders and delegates of the 4th Congress had left Moscow for their respective countries or regions, where they were working for hastening the revolution, which they considered inevitable and even round the corner. Roy was in charge of the entire colonial East, Near East, (Egypt etc.), Middle East (India etc.) and Far East (China etc.). He had been in Moscow for over two weeks for the Congress and he thought it urgent to go to Berlin to attend to important work, such as editing the Vanguard (and Masses) and also to dispense with the money and deploy the men to different parts of the world for urgent work. I personally did not mind it much but the Maulana did, and justifiably so. However there was nothing else to do but to send an S. O. S. to Roy to come to Moscow for urgent consultations and discussions.

Lunch

We had our lunch in the huge dining hall which could accommodate 250/300 people. It was only half filled. One table was set apart for us; the Maulana Party, which Coms. Tivil and Goldberg and a few others also joined. The lunch was in perfect Oriental style with Pillaw, Chicken roast and curry, curds and sweets. The eatables were all arranged on the table and there was no service by anybody. It was self service. There was a speech welcoming us as revolutionaries from India to Moscow, the centre of world revolution, and there was a suitable reply by the Maulana. Then we started to do justice to the Royal or Imperial or rather to the revolutionary or super revolutionary lunch. There was wine on the table but none of us touched it. We had lemonades or pure water. It was the best lunch, we ever had after leaving Kabul. The lunch was finished with

pots of tea. Usually the lunch in Europe is a simple affair. But only for this occasion, it was made a grand affair.

After lunch we took some rest and gathered in the Moulana's room to plan for the rest of the day. But the time we finished our heavy lunch in a leisurely manner, it was about 2 p. m. and it was already night-starting at 1 p. m.

We were all for going out on the streets on foot to see Moscow. The three rooms allotted to us were all inside rooms and we could not see the streets from there. There were several lounges, by the side of the streets from where the streets and the passers-by could be seen, but we did not know the geography of the Lux Hotel properly. And so we decided to go out on the streets in two batches. We were quite comfortable inside the Lux, as the temperature was kept at the usual temperature of the body. It was so throughout the corridors and lobbies. The temperature in the rooms could be regulated.

At about 5 p. m. we had another cup of tea each and went down by the lift. It was alright upto the Reception Room and the revolving door. Once we were in the street, it was quite different and a freezing cold encountered us. We were most warmly clad, with over coats, mufflers, monkey caps and all, but the cold was defying all clothes.

Bathing with Snow

It was snowing and the roads and building were all white with a coating of snow. We ourselves became white with snow, but found to our pleasant surprise that you can brush the snow off and you are none the worse. But if you don't, the snow may melt over your garments.

Snow Walk

But the most baffling problem was walking on the snow. Snow is soft and your feet sink into it and there is no difficulty to walk. But

when a number of people walk on the snow, it turns into ice under pressure and ice is extremely slippery. We had this experience of walking on snow pressed into ice while crossing the Hindukush. There we had made a long chain of men and horses to avoid slipping.

In Moscow we tried to walk and before one could go a few steps, one would slip and fall on the snow covered streets. We saw the Russians were also slipping and falling, inspite of their walking in chain formation each one holding the next by the waist by passing round his hand. This way, two, three or more persons would walk together, holding fast to the next one side ways. If one slipped, the people on the side would help him to gain his balance and not allow him to fall, or pull him up. We tried to follow this object lesson and were fairly successful. We tried to help the Maulana, to walk also in this manner by two of us holding him from two sides, keeping him in the middle. But inspite of this precaution, after he had half a dozen falls, we persuaded him to go back to the warmth and comfort of the Lux Hotel. Some others followed suit. But I continued to walk and fall along with three other youngsters.

We managed to reach the Pushkin Boulevard which was about 200 yards from the Lux Hotel. While the Russians were falling, both males and females, they were giggling. We tried to imitate them even in their giggling after every fall, inspite of the acute pain we experienced.

The Boulevard was very wide and there were two parallel tram lines along the Boulevard. There were big trees and bushes and rows of benches, which were occupied by pairs of lovers, even though it was snowing. However, as the Boulevard was wide and not all snow was trodden into ice as in the streets and more so on the foot paths, it was easier to walk there.

Radhe Kristo.

At the junction of 'Tiberskaya Ulitsa (Road) and Pushkin Boulevard', there was the Strasnaya Church. Out of curiosity we went to the front of the Church and some poor old women were begging for alms. That was not unusual as it was in the Christmas week. But what intrigued me most, was the request made in Russian which sounded very like Radhe Kristo. I wondered whether the cult of Radhe Kristo had reached godless Moscow. It was not at all feasible or possible but the sound was unmistakable. At last I asked one of our friends who knew Russian, to tell me the meaning of the word, 'Radhe Kristo' ! I was told it was not Radhe Krsito but Radi (for the pleasure) Krista (of Christ). I enjoyed the joke born out of similarity of sound of two different words in Russian and Bengali.

On my return to Lux, I told the Maulana of the incident and he enjoyed it immensely. I was the only Hindu in the group.

Dinner in Lux.

After our return from the snow-walk (more fall than walk) we assembled in the room of the Maulana where some extra chairs were provided. We were gossiping and keenly feeling the want of English newspapers, the last of which we had seen in Kabul about two months back. Soon we were called for dinner. Dinner was usually very early in Russia viz., between 5 and 8 p. m. The Dinner was not a formal affair as the Lunch was, but we assembled round one table and had our Dinner together. It was the same as was served to all others and not a special one, as the Lunch was. The Dinner in Lux was quite substantial and delicious compared to what we found elsewhere in Russia.

The Lux Hotel was one of the best Hotels in Moscow at the time of the Imperialist Czars. It used to be patronised by the big

Capitalists and Diplomats of Russia and abroad and hence the standard was much above the average. After the Revolution, it was taken over by the Soviets and was specially reserved for International Communists and Nationalist leaders. It was indeed a great honour bestowed on us i. e. the party of the Maulana.

Indians in Moscow.

The news of the Maulana's party reaching Moscow and living in the Lux, went round and several persons came to meet us and specially the Maulana. Coms Karban, Safdar and Warris, who were all students in the Eastern University came. They were all Mahajareens and had left India in Hijrat and were somehow or other connected with the activities of the Maulana. They were keenly intested in what was happening in India. They were all working under the guidance of Com. M. N. Roy. There were some others, viz, Abdul Haque, Abdul Quayum and some others who had worked in the rival party of Abdul Rab, a merchant of Peshwar, who also came to show respect to the Maulana and to find out who were the now comers. They had settled in Moscow and were teaching Urdu in the Military Academy. By the time we reached Moscow the Rab Party was non-existent or remained only in name, but their inner loyalty was still with the Rab Party. Some of them married Russian wives and were well settled there.

The talks and discussions were at times acrimonious, but the Maulana very tactfully avoided them and on the whole, over cups of tea, the evening passed quite pleasantly. He wanted to know more about Moscow, Russia, Soviets, Communism and other Indian Revolutionaries and they were quite willing and even eager to tell us of their versions. We found a cross section of India there, but almost all of them had started as religious fanatics who

migrated from India as Mahajareens. Now some of them were fanatical Communists but others were non-communists but pro Soviets.

They left at night with promises to come again and show us round and tell their stories.

The first evening was very pleasant and in fact the whole day was pleasant, except the morning. Thus at least on this occasion, the wise saying morning shows the day-proved to be incorrect. The night was as pleasant as the day and we had very sound sleep, which was quite natural after such good meals.

Next Morning

From early days, I had and still have the habit of getting up at about 4 a. m. which is usually known as 'Brahma Muhurta', the most propitious time for saying one's prayers. I had given up prayers, but the habit of getting up at about 4 a. m. was there and by virtue of the habit I got up. The irony was that Brahma Muhurta was just before Sun Rise, and the Sun would rise here at 10 a. m., if at all, and not at 4.30 or 5 a. m. However, I got up but for fear of disturbing my room-mates I did not put on the light. I kept lying on my bed and was planning for the future.

Thoughts-Past Present and Future

I had taken about two months to reach Moscow from Kabul. It could not and should not have taken more than half the time that it took. We had to negotiate many difficulties, face many dangers and privations also, but the experience gained in 60 days, was well worth the experience of 60 months.

But at last we were in Moscow, the centre of World Revolution and given a very favoured and honoured position in the Lux Hotel not because the food etc. were extra-ordinary, but all the International World Revolutionaries were also lodged there and we could rub shoulders with them, without any extra effort, specially at break fast and dinner time. Most of them took their lunch in the places of their

work, to economise the time in coming from and returning to office from the Lux Hotel. The future the Indian Revolution could be organised from Moscow as centre with all the support that the Communist International and Soviet Govt. could give,

Future

Lying on a soft bed in a warm room in the Lux Hotel, Moscow, when the outside temperature was a few degrees below zero, the future seemed to be very bright. But for that it was urgently necessary to study hard and know all about communism and world revolution. I decided to request Com. Ahmad Hossain or Com. Goldberg to supply me with the relevant literature and to study them before Com. Roy would return to Moscow, so that I could talk with him as a fairly informed revolutionary. My studies so far did not go beyond Nationalism and National Independence.

6 A. M.

At about 6 a. m. some of my room mates got up and I also got up and after performing the ablutions etc. went into the room of the Maulana to find out how he was, specially after half a dozen falls on the streets of Moscow due to slipping on ice. He was already up and was in the best of spirits. For him also it was the end of an episode and beginning of a new one, which was so much more difficult for a man nearing fifty, compared to one below thirty, specially when the elder one had all his politics deeply intertwined with religion. However, he tried heroically to understand and adjust with the new world forces.

Though the Sun would rise at about 10 a. m. the people were getting ready to go their offices or work places by 8 a. m. after taking their breakfast which was ready by 7 a. m. Similarly in the evening, it was dark or night by 1 p. m. but work continued for

eight hours i. e. upto 4 p. m. or 5 p. m. depending on when they started work at 8 or 9 a. m. Sun rise and Sun set, by which we are accustomed to fix our time have no relevance in Moscow. Similarly in Summer, the sun rises at 1 a. m. but the work starts exactly at 8 or 9 a. m. and finishes at 4 or 5 p. m. when it is practically midday, Sun set being at 11 p. m.

This was quite a new and novel experience. We went for breakfast at about 8 a. m. allowing the people working in offices to finish their breakfast and go to their work.

Maulana, however, decided to take his breakfast, lunch and dinner in his room and not in the common Dining Room, unless there was any special occasion. This was perhaps to avoid any undue publicity or display of importance, due to his dress as a Moulana. Thus he avoided also the public gaze of the inquisitives. It had both a positive and a negative side.

After breakfast some of us decided to go to the Red Square and the Kremlin, the seat of power of the Soviets, where under the leadership and guidance of Lenin, the Soviets ruled over one sixth of the land space of the world. It was a straight road from the Lux Hotel by Tiberskaya Road. The Kremlin is the walled fortress from where the Czars of Russia used to rule. There are many churches with golden minarets and it looks more like a Feudal palace, which it really was, rather than the International Centre of World Revolution. In the Red Square of Cobbled Stones, there is a beautiful and artistic Church. It is said that the church was so artistic, that the Czar who got it constructed got the eyes of the artist taken out for fear of anyone else, constructing an equally beautiful church. So goes the popular saying and anything was possible in those feudal days. Just near this Church is the guillotins on which many heads had

been cut off. The Kremlin is on a small hill and by its side flows the small Moscow river. We went round the Kremlin, but it was a most heavily guarded place and entrance into the enchanting interior of the Kremlin, was practically forbidden except to one specially invited. We came back for lunch and after a little rest went to the house of Com. Roza, wife of Com. Abani Mukherjee. Com. Mukherjee was not in Moscow then, but Com. Roza received us in the most friendly manner. We saw their young son less than a year old. He was named Gora, undoubtedly after the name of the Poet Rabindranath's favourite hero Gora. We also met there Com. Polia Katz a cousin of Com. Roza, who agreed to teach me German in return for my teaching her English. My original plan to go to Germany after a short stay in Moscow had not been given up yet. This mutual teaching continued till she left for USA in about one year as she could not get a job to her liking in Moscow. Perhaps she was disillusioned by what she was in Moscow, as compared to what she had expected to be. She was a blond and of small size compared to the usual Russian type. Both Roza and Polia were from Jewish origin. So also were Coms. Tivil and Goldberg. In fact 90% of the personnel in the Lux or Communist International were Jewish. People used to joke—Lenin was the only Russian and all the rest of Communist International were Jewish. No wonder, people thought like that, as Trotsky, only Second to Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and many other noted Communist leaders were Jews. Stalin was another exception, but he was not Russian at all. He was Georgian.

I was supplied books by Com. Goldberg and the first book I read was the Communist Manifesto. People say that the Geeta is the quintessence of all that is contained in the Mahabharata. Similarly the Communist

Manifesto is the quintessence of all Marxism. I did not try to tackle Das Capital, which is terse writing, but I read other books by Marx and Engels. I also got hold of all the discussions of the Fourth Congress of Communist International which had just concluded, when we reached Moscow. The proceedings were published in Russian, German, English and French and all these were available from the Com. International's local office in the Lux. I read them from A to Z, with special reference to the Colonial Problem.

Com. Zaffar Hossain and myself arranged to get a pass for the Comintern International office, where we could read Indian Newspapers. The Comintern's (shortened form of Communist International) office was near the Kremlin, but just outside it. The newspapers were usually three months old, but then we could follow what was going on in India. For daily news we got somebody to translate daily the head lines of Izvestia (News) and Pravda (Truth). The opponents of Comintern used to say in fun, there is no news in Izvestia and there was no truth in Pravda. It was indeed a slogan. But Indian news was published very rarely in the Izvestia or Pravda. So after all, we had to depend on 3 month old newspapers to get the latest(?) news. It was better than no news.

Comintern Library

When we were in Kabul, the Indian Newspapers were bought through the Maulana and sent to Moscow. This took more than a month. The Kabul outpost being out of action with the Maulana's departure, the Indian newspapers used to be bought in London—6 copies of each, but this took about two months by sea mail.

My knowledge of Russian increased rapidly as I did not care much for grammar, but went on adding to my vocabulary. I secured a map of Moscow, which was difficult in those

days for security reasons. With the help of any one who knew Moscow, I went out morning and evening to see places of interest mostly from outside. I went to the Revolutionary Museum, where Com. Roza used to work. Went to Moscow river which was frozen about 2 feet on the surface and below this the water used to flow. The ice was so strong that not only could people walk on it, people actually played ice-hockey there. The players, iron skates under their shoes, developed tremendous speed. Some times two or three players would fall together and continue to roll over 10 or 12 times. Horse drawn cabs go across the frozen river, without any difficulty. Only the tyres have to be of rubber and not of iron, so that the tyres may get a good grip over the ice, otherwise the wheels would rotate at the same place, making no progress or forward motion.

People, specially washermen cut circular holes in the frozen ice and used the running water below for washing clothes. These are, however, very dangerous. When left unprotected after use, then a layer of ice is formed in the open space and if one puts his feet in any of them inadvertently, the foot will break the thin ice and go into the hole and may be the whole body will follow and be carried away in the under current leading to inevitable death by suffocation.

In the Beel or marshy areas in Bengal we used to remove the grassy top and decomposed straw and found fresh and cool water underneath. And some times fishes would raise their heads out of the decomposed straw to get fresh air and get caught in the hands of vigilant and expert catcher. I have myself done so in my teen age. People must be doing so there even now. If the holes were not properly marked or covered unwary people would fall in the holes and some times cows grazing on the floating upper surface or

'Dhap' would fall in the holes and if not rescued would sink in the slough and die. But the holes cut were usually 6 to 8 inches square and the danger to the people or to cows falling in them were negligible. The holes on the ice reminded me of my boyhood days. Walking across the ice bonnd river in darkness was thus always a risky affair. But the ice dug up usually stayed piled up near the holes, which acted as warning posts to the ice walkers.

In this connection one could not but admire the scheme of nature. If water getting cold settled at the bottom and freezing process started at the bottom, then as winter progressed the whole mass of water would turn into ice and no fish or other creatures could survive and all would be frozen to death. But water is the heaviest at 4° centigrade and goes to the bottom and all water between 0° and 4° go to the top by the rule of gravity and water starts freezing and becomes ice from the top. Thus the fish and other creatures, living in water, escape freezing and losing their lives. It happens in the North Sea and South Sea regions where the ice top is many feet deep, but below all these, however cold the temperature may be, 50 or 100° below zero, there would be life giving clear running water.

Then one day in April or May, the Ice on the surface of the river would break up with terrible deafening crackling sound and the big chunks of ice would flow down the river. Generally Govt. gives 2/3 days warning, but if anyone disregarded the warning and found himself on the crackling ice he would be doomed. People wait for hours to see and hear the crackling of the ice-surface of rivers. There were two such occasions, once in 1923 and again in 1924 when I was in Moscow, but I somehow failed to see it on any of the occasions.

Lenin Hill

When you cross the river Moscow and go west $2\frac{2}{3}$ kilometer you see a small hill about 200 ft. high. It used to be called sparrow hill, may be due to the large number of sparrows, who lived there in early days, safe from the depredations of man. When I had gone there in 1923 it used to be called the Lenin Hill. Napoleon had reached this hill with his army, but to his surprise he saw the whole city of Moscow in flames, not caused by the French Army, but by the retreating Russian Army, who had been experts in following the policy of scorched Earth. Napoleon could not go further west than this and had to retreat from here. Hitler's army also reached the hill, but they also could not occupy it and the tide of battle turned and they too had to retreat. The only people who in recent memory did not retreat but captured Moscow, were the Red Army or Soviets of workers and soldiers who in 1917 overwhelmed the guards of the Kremlin and captured it. It was a few days after the Soviet Govt. was formed in Petrograd and took about a week to storm the ancient seat of the Imperial Czars.

In 1963, when I went to Moscow for the May Day Celebration, we found the grand

building of Moscow University rising 200 ft. above the Lenin Hill. It is mainly a Residential University and said to be the biggest in the world so far. But in 1923, it was nothing but a hill covered with shrubs and used for picnic parties or for lovers to roam about. We exhausted seeing almost all the common objects of sight seeing, Bolshoi Theatre, the hall of pillars or the trade union hall, the world famous art galleries and also the Great Moscow Bell, supposed to be the eighth wonder of the world. It was a huge affair when it was on the top of a Church, its peaks could be heard for several miles round Moscow. A fire destroyed the Church and the Bell fell and broke. Only a chunk came out which itself weighs 3 tons. The rest of the Bell is quite intact and is kept for show. The Maulana was not much interested in sight seeing and unless transport was arranged he was not in a position to move about by Tram and Bus. Cars for transport were very few as we could see for ourselves. He spent the time in meeting Indians living in Moscow and learning from them what the Soviet system was and how it worked. In the evening after dinner we were also usually with the Maulana to report about the experiences gathered by us.



THE IMPACT OF HINDU-BUDDHIST CULTURES

BUDDHADASA P. KIRGHISINGHE

The upsurge of Hindu-Buddhist cultures and philosophies is not entirely a new phenomenon in America and Canada. This is due to a long period of gestation in North America since World War II. The fertilized eggs for this impact were laid by the Japanese and Chinese Buddhists and a few Hindu settlers in America and Canada since 1900. Around 1957 there developed a fascination in Zen Buddhism and now, due to the influence of the Beatles, the Maharishis, and Ravi and Uday Shankar, there is a deeper impact of Hindu culture than ever before.

To the West, as a whole, India, Ceylon, Tibet to Japan were once thought of as bizarre, mysterious and exotic lands. These ideas are gone forever. In the great universities and colleges of America, Canada, Britain, France, Germany and Russia, there are Chairs on Hinduism and Buddhism, where their histories, civilisations and languages are carefully investigated and studied. Some of these learned professors are American, European, Indian, Chinese, Japanese and even Ceylonese and Vietnamese. Vast amounts of literature and art books on Buddhism and Hinduism are produced by American, French and British publishers, which have a wide acceptance throughout the West.

When Ravi Shankar gave a class in Indian music in 1967 at the City College of New York, the classes were filled to capacity and many a student had to be turned away because of lack of space. In 1967, Madame Amala Shankar, wife of Uday Shankar (brother of Ravi), who, with her husband, is famous as an exponent of Indo-Ceylon classical dancing, held classes in Chicago and Utah. Here classes were also filled to capacity.

The academic year, 1967-68, saw nearly 500 students graduate from Metropolitan New York universities in studies connected with Hindu-Buddhist civilizations, philoso-

phies, music and art. The Museum of Natural History will complete a new major section on India (and Ceylon) called "A Mother Civilization" by 1970. Besides these the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., as well as museums in all major American and Canadian cities, is re-evaluating its Hindu-Buddhist art collections, reflecting a widespread interest throughout North America.

Many American and Canadian graduates pass on to doctoral level in their studies of India, Ceylon and Japan. It is said these youths are searching for new values from Asia to replace bankrupt values and chaos. It is in this search that not even Tibet's mystical Lamaism has been spared. Many in America have turned to Tibetan Tantric Buddhism in the hope of leading newer, loftier and nobler lives.

American and Canadian graduates in Sanskrit, Pali and Modern Indian languages, Japanese and Chinese, are growing in number. This is an attempt by the West, particularly by America as the world's greatest power and Canada as a Commonwealth member, to grasp, understand and appreciate the Asian way of life—whether Hindu or Buddhist. After all, each society or culture from India, Ceylon, Tibet to Japan, has developed a personality of its own. For example, Ceylon is an ethnic, geographic, linguistic and spiritual entity of the sub-continent of India, yet it has developed a separate personality, a separate Indo-European language, a Buddhist culture and distinctive art forms.

Interest in India and Buddhist Asia has a genuine appeal to a large and divergent audience. It has inspired a genuine appeal in a large and divergent audience throughout North America. Besides the desire to learn about these countries, there has developed a fascination for Hindu-Buddhist music, art and even attire (dress). Boys wearing the Indian

Sarawani (Nehru coats) and girls dressed in Indo-Ceylon saris are commonplace among audiences attending Indian and other Asian art and music festivals, exhibitions and lectures, or anything connected with India, Ceylon, Tibet or Japan. This influence is felt in the main stress of American and Canadian life by doctors, lawyers, businessmen, academicians, actors, housewives and socialites.

Professor Richard A. Gard, formerly of Yale University, writes, "The relevance of Buddhist principles to societal and world affairs become evident when Buddhist concepts are interpreted plurally and explained further in meaningful, social science terms."

Nancy Wilson Ross, authoress of "The Three Ways of Asian Wisdom", believes that Hinduism and Buddhism, including Zen Buddhism, focus on precisely those mysteries that Christianity has avoided and that are tormenting many Americans today—who am I? What can I do? What are the important values to which I should commit myself?

Professor Hakada of Columbia University, an authority on Buddhism in Japan, states that Buddhism and Hinduism place the highest priority on the importance of finding the still, quiet center inside. In Buddhism one is asked to find this out by one's own efforts without the aid of a God, while Hinduism commits one to a God or gods.

Many in New York City turn to Hindu and Buddhist temples in search of respiritualizing forces to aid their quest for identity. Some of them travel from Hindu to Buddhist temples and back and forth in a pursuit of an Oriental philosophy that will suit their personality in the search for enlightenment. Dr. Margaret Mead, the well-known American anthropologist, thinks India, Ceylon, Tibet and Japan have much to offer on every spiritual level, and stresses Buddhism since it takes nothing for granted and advocates man to work out his own salvation with perseverance and diligence, with one's own personal efforts.

Dr. Kurt Leidecker, Professor of Philosophy, Sanskrit scholar, American authority on Hinduism and Buddhism, and a practising Buddhist, says, "Hinduism and Buddhism give a serene new way of looking at life. They offer us ways to deeply understand ourselves --the successes and frustrations of human beings, their joys and sorrows, birth and death." He further states that the youth revolution has greatly contributed to intensifying this interest in India, Ceylon and Japan, and that there was a genuine interest in India's way of life, particularly that involving the Buddha, for many decades in the United States of America and Canada.

The Beatles, widely publicized for their entry into Indian music and meditation, have been wrongly credited for opening the doors to Indian culture. The Beatles' interest served as a catalyst which made for rapid progress of cultural exchange between the East and West, particularly in England and North America. Kipling's statement that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" has been falsified before our eyes.

In North America the Jodo Shin-Shu, Nichiren and Zen sects of Buddhism were introduced into the United States from Japan by immigration. From China, the Pure Land and Zen sects of Buddhism were received. There were a few hundred Hindu and Sikh immigrants to California and British Columbia in Canada. All immigrated to North America in the 1900s. There are over 100 Buddhist temples scattered all over America and Canada and a few Sikh temples in British Columbia.

In the year 1915 there were 50,000 Buddhists in North America and today there are one million Buddhists. This includes 100,000 living in Hawaii, the fiftieth state of the United States. There are hundreds of Caucasians and a few Afro-Americans who have embraced Buddhism since World War II. Some of the latter do not belong to any

temple or any special group. Chinese Buddhists have established three beautiful temples in New York City and one beautiful temple in San Francisco. Kalmuk Buddhists from Russia have temples in Philadelphia and Freewood Acres in New Jersey (U. S. A.).

There was a deep interest in Zen Buddhism in the West, particularly in America around 1957. Some intellectuals were interested in this school of Buddhist meditation. There was also a large following of Zen faddists. The latter group never practised Zen, but read books in the hope of sudden enlightenment. They were called Neo-Zennist, and this fad has faded away. A number of Zen books were written and there were preachers who preyed on the innocent public. These ignoble parasitic Zen preachers have lost their lustre and some of these "gurus" have become LSD (hallucinatory drug) users and advocate the use of drugs to produce temporary "enlightenment." It must be stressed that Zen Buddhism is a serious and noble sect of Buddhism and that there are a number of serious Zen Buddhists in America, including a Zen Institute in New York City.

In the meantime Ceylon has established her first missionary society in Washington, D. C., in 1966. The largest non-sectarian group of Buddhists in the American Capital is called "The Washington Friends of Buddhism," and the proposed Buddhists Center of America is in the able hands of Dr. and Mrs. Kurt Leidecker. The Leideckers, being Buddhist, have a deep and dedicated attachment to the peoples of India, Ceylon and Southeast Asia.

Around 1960 New York saw increased interest in Hinduism. Hindu groups have grown all over the Metropolitan New York area. One of the pioneers who preached Hinduism in New York City, at the American Buddhist Academy, was Dr. Mistra. This Maharastrian, with a group of followers, established an ashram in the north of New York State in 1957.

Leonard Bernstein, the great composer and conductor, thinks that it was Ravi Shankar

who introduced and popularized Indian music in America. In rain or snow thousands flock to hear Shankar's music. He is undoubtedly a genius. But before Ravi appeared on the scene, his brother Uday Sankar and his able wife, Amala, spread the charm of Indo-Ceylon dancing in the West. It is a phenomenon to watch exhibitions on music, art, handicrafts and textiles from India, Ceylon, Southeast Asia and Japan crowded with spectators.

Art objects from Tibet, which were worth \$100 in 1957, cannot be bought for \$1,000 today in New York City. This applies to Indian art, as well as art from other Buddhist lands. There is a large demand for Indian, Tibetan and Southeast Asian bronzes, miniature paintings and wood carvings. The value of these objects has risen 200% to 300% in 1968 from values in 1958.

Indian exports to the U. S. A. have increased by 50% since 1965 states V. Varadarajan, director of the Handi-Craft Corporation of India. The Kandyen Art Association of Ceylon—a government supervised organization—states a 200% rise in its exports on Art goods to the West, particularly to America. In 1965 Americans paid \$15,000,000 for Indian handicrafts, such as carved teak chests and Kashmiri rugs sold in New York City. Today this trade has risen to \$24,000,000.

Although art objects cannot be imported from mystical Tibet, supernatural objects such as tankas (banners and paintings) and mandalas (magic circle paintings) incorporating the Buddhist teachings, are deeply respected and treasured by some Americans who like Tibet's mysticism. Their value has had a phenomenal rise recently and this art is only within the reach of the affluent.

This impact of Hindu-Buddhist cultures on the West, particularly on America, Canada and Great Britain, is a potentially good omen for mankind. Good will between the world's greatest super power, America, Asia's friends, Canada, the Commonwealth's Mother Country, Great Britain and the world's most populous democracy India, and Buddhist Asia, where nearly one quarter of mankind lives, is a welcome and imperative need.

Current Affairs

Set Back for Communism in Arab Countries

Russia has a habit of being friendly to ruling parties in many countries in which they also assist the communist organisations which may or may not be supporters of the established government. In fact where communists are pro-government they are so only for policy's sake ; for their real objective is always the overthrowing of governments by revolution. If any communists either say that they believe in adopting democratic methods to gain political power or in collaborating with governments for any purpose whatsoever such declarations should be suspect. For the ultimate objective being the setting up of an autocracy of a single party consisting of a clearly defined minority ; any moves signifying a desire to build up friendly relations with non-communist political organisations, can only be a feint to disarm opposition and to be in a position of advantage for delivering surprise attacks when the time for starting revolutions came. The Russians therefore do not object to, rather they encourage and support, development of friendly relations with bourgeois organisations with a view to make infiltration and fifth column work easy and free from suspicion.

Russia has followed these methods in the Arab countries and that is why we find the Russians helping the governments of U.A.R. and other countries, while the presence of communist parties in these countries pointed to possibilities of these governments being overthrown some time or other by revolutions or otherwise. Recent happenings in the Sudan point to an attempt at starting a revolution by communists in that country which did not

succeed. Abdul Khaliq Mahjub, leader of the communist party of the Sudan was shot in the last week of July 1971 for trying to effect a coup which failed. Bubakr El-Nur who was also executed was told by President Numeiri that he had acted as the President of the Revolutionary Council under orders of Abdul Khaliq Mahjub, who was the secretary of the communist party of the Sudan. Numeiri said he had liquidated that party. He also had some other important persons tried and shot. They were Major Farouk Hamdullah and Col. al-Uur and others. The Sudanese revolution attempted by the communists failed, though the communists had wide following in the Sudan. We can not say how this has affected Russia's relations with the Arab governments ; but, we believe, the Russians are good at cutting their losses and begin their plans of revolutions anew without bothering about loss of face or followers.

The Arabs are basically capitalistic, believers in aristocratic connections, Pan-Islamists and worshippers of power. We do not know whether Arab communists are workers, peasants and soldiers or intellectuals with dynastic connections. Whatever that may be, one thing stands out clearly and it is the dislike of Arab leaders for any "taking orders" from Moscow and Peking. They do not mind taking money or arms or even technical assistance ; but they do not like any moral domination by the Godless governments of Russia and China. The Arabs have oil and a strategically important position on the map of the world. But they are not very fond of giving anything in return for what they very eagerly take. The assistance

that they get from Russia and China is never very whole hearted and generous. For these countries know how to make political investments pay. They are not blind believers in anything or anybody, though they have blind faith in what they call Marxism, which perhaps inspires them to protect their own interests first. But the Arabs have proved to be a bad investment for the Russians. We shall have to wait to see how they take it.

The coup in the Sudan took place on a Monday and the people of the Sudan did not rally round Major Hashim al-Atta the leader in the coup in the manner that he expected. There were hostile pro-Numeiri crowds at every stage and the counter coup the following Thursday was popular and swiftly successful. In 90 minutes the pro-Numeiri soldiers captured the republican palace. Some supporters of Major al-Atta held out till Friday. The Soviet Ambassador to the Sudan had, it is thought, called upon the rebel Major and now after the counter coup he certainly went to congratulate President Numeiri on his victorious return to power. The President, naturally would not think that the Soviet Government were his ardent supporters, but he would not break with them. The President was considered to be a leftist by the conservative elements in the Sudan; but after the anti-communist counter coup, he came to be assessed as a friend of the conservatives. He has therefore now got more supporters than he had before. There shall be a purge of communists from the services in the Sudan. But will that make Russo-Sudanese relations any the worse in that country?

These incidents should help Indian politicians to see things in their proper perspective and not depend on the friendship of this state or that, as they now habitually do.

Pakistani Genocide in Bangladesh

Abba Eban, Foreign Minister of Israel, referred to the barbarous massacre of civilians

in East Pakistan and other terrible atrocities committed by the Pakistan army, in the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), towards the end of June 1971. We are reproducing portions from his speech as reproduced in *News from Israel*:

"I welcome the initiative of members of the Knesset to bring to full expression Israel's deep shock at the terrible acts perpetrated by Pakistani Army in East Bengal. It is important and necessary that we should express our sympathy for the sorrows and tribulation of the people of East Bengal and the refugees escaping hungry and sick, across the Indian border. I welcome this initiative on this important problem. It is difficult to measure precisely the size of the catastrophe which has swept that country but there is no doubt that this is the largest and most terrible human spectacle on earth at this time. The regime of Yahya Khan has so far prevented foreign observers and journalists from investigating the true situation freely or reporting upon it in public. News of events in East Bengal are therefore drawn largely from eye-witnesses and the stories of refugees, and while the full details of facts are not known, the general picture is as clear as it is terrible. There is a dark and cruel tale of death and destruction, persecution and torture which has overtaken young and old, men and women.

Without elaborating on the long and sorry background to these events, I would note only that ever since Pakistan was established, inhabitants of the Eastern wing have felt discriminated against. The feelings of bitterness and frustration which this maltreatment caused over a long while found expression in the results of the recent elections. The Awami League, the national Party of East Bengal, own a majority. In defiance of generally accepted principles of democratic society, President Yahya Khan rejected the

demands of the leader of the Awami League to consider the result of the elections, when establishing the Government and determining the internal regime of the Province. In the face of this refusal, the Awami League declared the independence of Bangla Desh. The Pakistani Government replied immediately and harshly. Its army, well-equipped with modern weapons, took over the disputed area and the rebel fighters, inexperienced and unequipped, were unable to stand up against the regular army of West Pakistan, which did not shrink at using any means of terror in order to put down the Bengali population.

According to all information, we are witness to a human tragedy amounting to genocide. Warriors who know no bounds have murdered defenceless civilians, have violated women, tortured old men and children and turned many millions into helpless refugees. These poor people torn from their own are now reaching refugee camps in India, weak, having lost all, destined for hunger and disease.

In the face of the terrible disaster which has come to East Bengal, the enlightened world, the United Nations and International organs have shown ineffectiveness and inability. True, of late there has been some response in granting large-scale aid to refugees but in no way does this aid match the size of the disaster. It has come to light among other matters that the United Nations is not arrayed for immediate and forceful action even within the scope of alleviating distress of this nature. Furthermore, the problem is not simply one of aid alone, in the face of persecution and torment of a population of 75 million. The conscience of the world has not moved. No International Organisation has convened to debate the matter as an emergency issue. The same

Pakistan which daily harangues from public and international platforms against so-called and imaginary misdeeds of Israel, that same Pakistan is guilty of this most terrible devastation. *There is no need even to mention that Governments of the Arab States have maintained silence, not even expressing any sympathy or concern in the face of this wanton persecution of their fellow Muslims and their political allies.* To my deep sorrow, once again we stand faced with the clear conclusion that it is only the strength of a people capable of defending itself which is ultimately the only guarantee of its very survival.

Jews in Russia.

Anatol Dekatov writing in *The observer* (quoted in *News from Israel*) tells us.

What is the situation of the Jew in Russia today? Does he really want to leave the Soviet Union? These are the questions I am going to try to answer from 28 years of life in the USSR.

According to the Soviet authorities I am an 'assimilated Jew'. For 50 years they have been suppressing my culture, my religion. For 50 years they have been indoctrinating us, trying to cut us off from fellow-Jews in the outside world. I am meant to be the result—the Jew from whose heart every vestige of Jewishness has been eradicated.

And yet it is precisely the Jews of my generation who have brought the old question up again, who have publicly claimed to be Jews and who, as such, have demanded to leave the Soviet Union and go to our real homeland, the Land of Israel. One of the most important causes of this Russian-Jewish miracle is anti-semitism.

Almost always the Jews have been outsiders in Russia. Under the Tsars Jews were restricted to certain areas, to certain occupations. At one point in the last century it was decided to remove Jewish boys from their background,

baptise them by force, and compel them to do 25 years' military service. Later there were the pogroms.

In reaction, the Jews became Zionists or revolutionaries. Trotsky, Radek, Sverdlov, Litvinov, Kaganovich, Kamenev, were among the more prominent.

Everyone expected the 1917 Revolution to settle the Jewish question once and for all. Anti-semitism was outlawed and books and newspapers were published in Hebrew and Yiddish.

But basically the Soviet solution to 'the Jewish question' was assimilation. As good Communists, the Bolsheviks did not recognise religion; nor did they consider the Jews a 'nation,' in spite of the fact that a Jewish department was set up in Stalin's Commissariat of National Affairs. They were merely a trouble-some 'ethnic group' who must be absorbed into the great Russian people.

After nearly 50 years it looked as if this policy had succeeded. The Jews had almost lost their national consciousness. They were Russian-speaking, Russian-educated, Russian-thinking. For many, their Jewishness was a misfortune they had been born with, like a hump on the back. One of my friends looked Russian—broad face, snub nose, heavy feature—but he came from a very Jewish family who

still spoke Yiddish at home, and his name, Kogen (in English, Cohen), was typically Jewish. Several times he told me, 'I wish my name ended in "ov".' For a time I thought I had converted him. When I started learning Hebrew he started learning Hebrew, too. He had relatives in Israel, and perhaps could have got permission to go there more easily than I. But he hesitated between Zionism and assimilation, and in the end he chose assimilation.

But for the majority, assimilation was not an answer, even if they wanted it. There are two sides of assimilation, the Russian as well as the Jewish and the Russians did not really want to assimilate the Jews. It was no use registering as a Russian. People knew you were a Jew.

Jews in the Soviet Union are notably among the skilled (it is a tragedy for many Jewish parents if their children fail to get higher education). Ambitious, highly skilled, hard-working, the Jews are comparatively prosperous. I have heard them make a virtue of this. 'I may be a dirty Zhid,' they say, 'but I'm on the top and the Russians are on the bottom.' That is not quite accurate. You will find Jews staffing hospital, in technology, in engineering, even in communications. You won't find them making policy in the party or the Government.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous Issue)

* * * *

—Fatik, Oh Fatik !

Shibani went and unbolted the front door. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was surprised to see the house-wife opening the door.

He said—Why you ? Is Fatik asleep ?

Shibani said nothing and closed the door again.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said as he walked in—You know Baro-Bou, I used to think science was gross materialism, but it is not so, my dear. In fact what they aim at is the same as what we endeavour to achieve. In our Book of Rhetoric—

Gour Bhattacharjee put the exercise books on the wooden bedstead and hung his cotton wrap on the clothes rack. Then he proceeded to change his clothes.

—This Shibendu who has come as a teacher to our school, I found him teaching the boys till quite late in the evening, you know. I was amazed. Didn't I tell you that all the teachers avoided work nowadays ? No, my dear, it certainly did good to my heart. I was with him so long.....

By then he had taken up the brass water jug and had washed his hands, feet and face. Having done all that he had sat down to eat.

—We studied logic and the Smriti texts at Navadwip ; but I found Shibendu had not studied any less. He is an intelligent and studious young man. I used to think so long that everybody was teaching at the coaching

classes and trying to make money in a cunning manner.....

The Pandit Mashai went on with his talk while he ate.

He said—It depressed me very much Baro-Bou, to find the Government removing compulsory Sanskrit from the curriculum and introducing the materialistic sciences. But I found.....

At last Shibani spoke. She said—You better hurry up and finish your meal, you can talk later. I shall have to have my meal after you finish, you know.....

The Pandit Mashai woke up now to realities.

He said—Yes, yes, I got delayed through my discussions with Shibendu, you know.....

So saying he hurriedly finished eating.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had stretched himself out on his bed. What Shibendu said still agitated his mind. The young fellow was extremely good, teaching the boys till so late—

—I say, did Fatik sit down to-day to study ?

Shibani was lying down in the adjoining room by Fatik's side and was awake. She was not sleepy yet. May be Fatik too was not sleeping. But no one answered his query. It was silent all around. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai stayed awake for a long time. Shibendu's words came up in his mind again and again. Shibendu was most probably quite right in his assertions. Slowly, and without knowing when, he fell asleep.

There was a knotty problem that had escaped their attention. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was unconcerned as nobody had noticed it. He used to work hard from morning till night for the school. Did not even look after his wife as he should have done. Did not even do anything for his daughter. Had not thought of making money by writing books of annotations for the school texts. And even when other teachers had made money enough to have their houses built and achieved prosperity by doing tuition work and running coaching schools ; he only worried and worked for the school and the students.

That day Nimai Shaw, the President raised the point at the committee meeting.

Nimai Shaw said—You all know about the problem of income and expenditure of the school. Our expenses have gone up due to various reasons. On top of that all the teachers have applied for increasing their salaries. If we have to increase the pay scales of all teachers at this stage, we shall have to make some arrangements for increasing our income too. I suggest that we increase the school fees by one rupee per head, that might help us to get over some of our difficulties—

One member said—But would it be right to put pressure upon the guardians at a time when prices have reached terrifying heights ?

Nimai Shaw said—Only an increase of a rupee. That should not be a great weight. And what has not risen in money value ? I am in business since by birth. Our shop has been running from the days of my grandfather. Prices are now three times compared to those days of old. But the school fees have remained the same as were fixed by the Pandit Mashai right in the beginning. I do not think this increase will be objected to by the guardians—

Everybody kept silent.

The Secretary Naren Chakravarty said—Then, shouldn't we call the Pandit Mashai once to come over here ?

This time there were signs of agreement among those assembled.

They said—That is not a bad idea. In fact one should say it was his own school. One should not take an important decision like this without his knowledge.

Nimai Shaw said—Why his own school ? So long as the committee is there, the school is under the committee. All policy relating to the school will be fixed by the committee. Is the committee in power or is the Pandit Mashai above it ? Are sentiments superior to realities ? One cannot manage worldly affairs by reference to sentiments—

Naren Chakravarty was not liking these developments. He said—Why don't you call the Pandit Mashai once. Whatever one may say, he also worries about this school—

Eventually Nimai Shaw agreed to what the others said. He said—All right, let it be so, let him be called up—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai came. Everyone welcomed him respectfully and requested him to sit down. He also heard all the arguments. Took stock of the revenues and expenses. Learned about the grants made by the Board.

He said—In my opinion the students' fees should not be increased—

Nimai Shaw said—Then how could we increase the salaries of the teachers ? Tell me that. And we would then act according to your advice.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Must we increase the pay of the teachers ? I am also a teacher of this school. I have never asked for any increments—

Secretary Naren Chakravarty said—No, Master Mashai, the fact is that the times are very bad now and everybody has to face increased expenditure, although incomes have

remained steady and unchanged. Therefore, an increase in fees should be in order.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have understood everything ; but how will the villagers pay the fees ? Have guardians obtained increments of salaries or enhanced incomes ? Do you know how many parents come to me daily ? They all come to get free studentships for their wards ! How could I make them understand the justice of increasing fees ?

Nimai Shaw said—I understand all that, Master Mashai, but how would the school run ? Formerly masons were paid three rupees a day and now the rate is seven rupees. We shall have to have two more rooms for the boys. There is no sitting accommodation for them. They all crowd up the rooms in jostling crowds of forty-fifty in a class. Then comes the question of the staff members. Haralal Babu alone can no longer handle all the work. He needs an assistant. Where will the money come for all these ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have understood everything. There was a time when I handled all this sort of things. I ran the school single handed. The number of boys was not insignificant even then. You were all pupils of this school then. You would know how many incumbents did the office work then. Shortage of funds had to be faced time and again ! But did I twist the necks of the pupils to get more money ?

Naren Chakravarty said—Master Mashai, those days were different. Then.....

Gour Bhattacharjee did not prolong the discussion.

He said—Why different ? You have a habit of avoiding right decisions by constant references to those days and those times. Why should the past days be different ? We ate rice then and we still eat rice. Men had two arms, two legs and two eyes in those days as they have now. Have we grown more hands,

feet and eyes now, my boys ? The rupee was of sixteen annas in those days and the sixteen annas still make the rupee. These are all your exaggerations. Work is done if there is any will to work. In fact we do not wish to work. We wish to sit with our legs crossed and draw our salaries. Then how will any work get done ? And how will money come ?

...You talk about money ! I had to face want even in those days. When I needed money I went to Mathur Shaw Mashai and stretched out my hand. I have gone to Chakravarty Mashai and done the same. They have advanced money at times of need and when the school found things propitious we paid back their loans. Now, if there is shortage of funds, you are there, Naren is there, you advance the required amounts—and when incomes increase, the Board gives more as grant in aid, you may take back your money...

Nimai Shaw said—But, Pandit Mashai, all the Committee Members want that the salaries should be increased.....

Gour Bhattacharjee began to blaze with anger.

He said—If your committee members want that then you do that. Then, why have you called me ? Who am I ? What need have you to ask me about anything ? I am not in anything with you.....

Suddenly a bell rang indicating class hours.

Pandit Mashai waited no longer. He went out of the room.

That day Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai suddenly noticed that some one was standing outside his room.

He said—What do you want ? Who is it ? Oh, Santosh Babu !

Santosh Babu was a householder, the bread-winner of the family with children.

He came in timidly.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—What is

it? Is it free studentship? I cannot do anything about all that; those days are over Santosh Babu. Now people have grown four hands, feet and eyes. Now you will find no sympathy, kindness or fellow-feeling anywhere. So long as I was there I sympathised and displayed compassion. Now the school has more expenses and less income. I cannot do anything now. You better go to the Secretary Babu or to the President Babu—

So saying he tried to devote himself to his work.

But Santosh Babu was still standing there.

He said—By your permission, Pandit Mashai, that is not the case.

—Not the case, then what is it?

—Sir, my son has not been promoted this time.

—Why has he not been promoted? What subject has he failed in?

—Sir, he has failed in three subjects.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai lost his temper.

He said—What sort of brains have you Santosh Babu? Is this a school or a children's playground? Your son has failed in three subjects and you have come here seeking promotion for him? Your son cannot get promotion anyhow. He will have to work as a weighman in Nimai Shaw's grocery. Let him study a further year. Failing and not getting promotion will do him good. Let your son suffer, then he will learn—

Santosh Babu said—Sir, my son could not attend to his studies due to illness—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, no, I cannot do it, I cannot arrange his promotion, you go to the Head Master—

Santosh Babu said—Sir, if you speak to the Head Master he will agree—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why should I speak to him? Why should I speak for your son? Did he come for his studies to me before his examination? You go now, I am

very busy with my own work. I have no time to indulge in pointless talk with you—

So saying he bent to his own work.

Santosh Babu was a person who had to look after a family. A quiet and peace loving man who was a clerk. He went to work from Balarampur as a daily passenger. He went back disappointed. Returned walking towards the fields. There was an orchard of mango and coconut trees in the field and the large pond was there. Balai Babu was standing by the side of the pond and he said—What happened Santosh Babu?

Santosh Babu came up to him and answered—No, Balai Babu, it did not go my way—

—Why? What did the Pandit Mashai say?

Santosh Babu said—Oh, he was terribly angry. Said—Go to the Head Master, who am I? I am nobody to the school—

Balai Babu said—My dear sir, I have been telling you to put your son in our coaching school. You would not have to worry about passing. You did not listen to me—

—But there will be that loss of one year?

—You cannot help that loss, what will you do about it? But if the end is not one of success, then what?

—Where is the coaching school?

—Oh, you do not know Sasadhar Babu's coaching school? You know Sasadhar Babu's house, don't you?

Santosh Babu said—Yes, I know—

Balai Babu said—The school is situated in that house itself. We all teach there.

—What are the charges?

—Thirty rupees.

When he heard thirty rupees Santosh Babu nearly jumped out of his skin. Said—How can I pay all that money every month, Balai Babu? I have to bring up children and I earn two hundred and fifty rupees per month. That thirty, then there are school fees, clothes,

food and other expenses. If all that money goes after one boy what will happen to the others? They have expenses too.....

Balai Babu took out a cigarette and lit it. He expelled smoke and said—You should have thought of all that before you had the children!

Santosh Babu did not wait any longer. He left the place.

History has no hard and fast rules and regulations to follow, but there is one fundamental rule. That rule inevitably fills the place of one who departs by another who comes in. But Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said things without actually meaning to go away from that school; nor would he have enjoyed such departure. He could only find peace when after going here and there he returned to his own room in the school.

If anyone came to see him he could be found in that room.

Rani used to say—Grandpa, you only come home, then, to eat and to sleep?

Gour Bhattacharjee would say—No, my dear no, I have built it with my own hands, and so, I have got rather attached to it.

Rani said—Is that so, and I suppose you are not attached to us?

Gour Bhattacharjee laughed and said—Oh, you are my granddaughter, I shall be attached to you naturally. Then you have your father, mother and I am there too; we all love you. But what has the school got? The school has no father, no mother, nor a grandfather, has it?

Rani would say—Oh, but the school has you with it!

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I am old and I cannot look after the school as I used to in days past. Do you know Rani, there is no one to look after my school. Neither the teachers nor the students.

Rani said—No, my father looks after it, he is the Secretary.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes he is the Secretary, but what of it? He is very young. All the committee members are young. And they all have their own work to do. They have no time to think about the school. When they have any time in hand after doing their own work they think of the school. And what work have I? If I did not look after the school, these youngsters would make things upside down—

Rani said—Oh, my goodness! Is my father a youngster? He is an old man.—You do say things, don't you!

Gour Bhattacharjee played lovingly with Rani's locks of hair and said—Yes, my darling, they are all youngsters to me. Our Naren, Nimai, Bhaba, I remember when they were all born, you know—I am old as the hills—

Rani exclaimed—If father is a youngster, then what am I?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You are my mother, my own mother—

Rani said—Oh, go on, why should I be your mother? I will not be your mother; you will spend all your time attending to your school, will not even trouble to look after me, why should I be your mother? You do not look after grandmother, so—

Grand mother did her sewing at times sitting nearby.

She would say—My dear, you do notice things! You are clever—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—She will be very intelligent when she grows up—

Rani said—Well, well, am I a fool now? I am quite clever even now, otherwise how do I come first in my class at school?

Basanti would arrive there on occasions at such moments.

She was amazed at all this. And said—Oh, here she is holding forth, and I am going all over the place in search of her.

Shibani said—You know well, Bouma, she comes here, then why do you worry?

Basanti would say—Let her come by all means, Aunt, but she should tell me before coming over. She is a grown up girl and it is not proper for her to stay out at all hours. He gets angry and speaks strongly to me—

Shibani said—Oh, do tell Naren, that he should not scold her—

Rani said—You know grandma, my mother always calls me old and outsize.

Basanti said—Well, you are grown up and old enough and I cannot call you a little baby.

Rani said—If I am huge and ancient, why don't you buy me Saris?

Shibani would laugh and say—Well said my dear child.—Now you answer her Bouma.

Basanti could only say—She has only learned to talk like a grown up person, no sign of any work of any value, only words that she has picked up—Come on, it is late, let us go home—

Rani put her arms round grandma. She said—I won't go home now—

Shibani would say—Let her stay, she can stay on here.—Don't hustle her along.—Why must you?

Basanti said—Why must she bother you the whole day, sitting here for hours? She just does not allow you to do your own work—

Shibani would say—No, Bouma, why do you talk like that? I find great pleasure and relief because she comes here and makes it possible for me speak to some one.

Basanti laughed and said—Oh, my Aunt, has found a very fine person to converse with!

Shibani answered—Yes, yes, you do not know, how she brightens my days. I certainly like to listen to her. Your uncle spends the whole day after the school. No difference between holidays or working days. Rani comes and I do my work, also listen to her

while picking out bits and pieces from the rice and lentils. Had she not been there, I would not know what to do.

Rani said—Tell mother, what a lot of work I do for you, don't I?

Basanti said—Oh, I see, she has developed great capacity for work—

Shibani said—No Bouma, your daughter is very capable, she does a lot of work for me; she cleans the food grains and lays out the *Bari* paste for drying—

—Oh, really, is that so? Can she really make the *Baris*?

Shibani said—You would not believe it, she is extremely clever in making *Baris*, I was just amazed. They are so delicately pointed on top! She does lots more for me. My eye sight is gone and she threads my needles for me.....

Rani would suddenly exclaim—I can also cook the rice grandma, can't I?

These were all tales of days gone by. Since then Rani had progressively adopted this house as her own.

Basanti habitually came to call her and had to go back without her.

She said—All right, let her stay on with you Aunt, I am off—

Shibani said—Do not worry my dear, I shall feed her and after a while send her home to you escorted by Shambhu's Mother; or may be your uncle will take her along.

Basanti left for home hurriedly.

But so many things happened since those days. The daughter of the house died at Dildarpur. Fatik came to Balarampur. He joined school here. Rani grew up by then. That school, which was such a headache for Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai, that school developed into such a large institution. One day Sanskrit came off the list of compulsory subjects and was lowered to the level of optionals. The rule that was made about

reciting a Sanskrit verse when school began was also discontinued one day. Why? Because this is a secular state and who knew what would suddenly hurt the religious susceptibilities of some one or other?

* * * * *

That day Gour Bhattacharjee was examining exercises etc. intently in his room.

Suddenly some one came and stood near the door.

—My respectful salutations to you, Pandit Mashai!

Unknown man. Pandit Mashai enquired—Who are you? What do you want?

—Sir, I have a petition to make.

—What about?

—There is an amount of two hundred and fifty rupees due to me on a bill.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Money for a bill, well, why have you come to me? Am I the authority to give money? You go to our cashier Haralal. Or go to the Head Master Bhabaranjan, he is there—

The man said—Sir, I have been, I have seen both of them.

—What do they say?

—They say there is no money.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was amazed. He said—No money? They have not two hundred and fifty rupees? Well, may be there is no money, you wait for some time, people may not have money at times, come later on.

—Sir, it is nearly one year, the payment has been held up for a long time.....

—One year? What do you say? They are not paying two hundred and fifty rupees for one year?

So saying he stood up. Said—Come along, come with me. I shall take you to Haralal—

Haralal had his office upstairs. Next room to the Head Master's. He was working and smoking a leaf cigarette held in his left hand. Seeing Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai he swiftly put the *Biri* underfoot to put it out.

—Haralal, why are you not paying this man? He is coming and going for his two hundred and fifty rupee bill the whole year. Shouldn't the bill be paid off?

So saying he took the bill from the man's hand and held it out. Some Trading Company's bill. They supplied some apparatus for the Laboratory.

Haralal said after looking at the bill—Why has he gone to you with this bill? I had told him to come after two months or so. There is not enough cash just now.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was astounded.

He asked—Not even two hundred and fifty rupees?

—Pandit Mashai, sir, we had to make some very heavy payments and that is why there have been slight difficulties.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai could not stand it any more. He said—What has happened to you these days, you hold up a two hundred and fifty rupee bill for one year? This never happened in my time!

So saying he left that room and went into Bhabaranjan's. Haralal too went with him.

—What kind of thoughtlessness is this Bhaba? Just see, this bill of yours has not been paid in a whole year? The man is having to come and go month after month; what sort of management is this? What has happened to you all? This sort of thing never happened in my time.

Bhabaranjan looked at the bill and said—Yes, he had been to me too. But there has been difficulties, Pandit Mashai, Haralal has been experiencing a shortage of funds—

—Shortage of funds is not a good thing. Only the other day Shibendu was saying, his section needed some apparatus which you could not arrange to provide. How will the boys carry on their studies if such things happened? Do all of you want to close down the school? Will the school survive if things like this happened?

Then he said—What will you do about it?

Bhabaranjan looked at the man and said—You come about the middle of next month to me. I shall pay off all your dues and outstandings.—Do not worry—

The man saluted with folded hands and left with his bill.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—All this is very wrong on your part Bhaba. I do not understand where all the money goes. The man has been made to run about for one year for his paltry two and hundred fifty rupees, does this not give the school a bad name? Why, this sort of thing never happened in my time. Mathur Shaw Mashai disapproved of all such things. He said—Everyone should be paid right on time; that improves work.

Bhabaranjan said—You know Master Mashai, there is now great shortage of funds, teachers' salaries cannot be increased, the students' fees too cannot be enhanced—

Gour Bhattacharjee exclaimed—Well, if nothing can be done, then why is there a Committee? Is it there only to partake of refreshments? The days you have meetings you consume sweets worth many rupees. Tell me, do you have shortage of money for such expenses? Well, if profits were the objective then why set up a school? A shop selling steel products, mustard oil; or perhaps stationery goods would yield much greater profit. Why did I not do that instead of starting a school? Tell me that!

So saying he did not stay there any longer. He briskly walked out of the room.

Haralal was still standing there. He said after Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had left—It will be impossible to carry on, Head Master Mashai, if such incidents are repeated.

Bhabaranjan said—You go Haralal Babu, I shall see the Secretary and tell him how things stand—

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The work was not only of one kind. How many things could Gour Bhattacharjee take charge of? He was not in charge of any particular branch of school management, but all things somehow came to involve him every now and then in painful headaches.

Shibani used to complain—Why do you have to worry about these matters in your old age?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai answered—I should be anxious, shouldn't I? I built up the school with great difficulty, not to see it being destroyed by a bunch of irresponsible and inconsiderate persons.

Shibani said—You would not live for ever. Would the school not run then?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—Run to total collapse! Everything will be upside down in great disorder, I am telling you. The few good teachers they have will not be allowed to work devotedly. There is no money, they say! Where does the money go?

Then he would give it up entirely. He would say—Let it be destroyed, what does it matter to me, I shall not be here very soon. They will see things in their proper perspective when I go. Everything will fall into shreds, thanks to them. They are already doing it. It will be worse then. Well let it be, what is it to me? I am not here for ever—

He says these words but his head remains overcharged with anxieties. He would not digest his food if he had no worries regarding school matters.

—Is the Pandit Mashai in? The Pandit Mashai?

He lost his temper utterly, did Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. Must be some publisher, or some guardians come to get his son a free studentship.

He shouted out from inside the house—No, I do not see anybody at the house. Go and

see the Head Master at the school. I am nobody to the school.

—Sir, if you saw me only for a minute, I have some very urgent and important work—

Pandit Mashai said—No, not in the house, no, I cannot get anyone promoted -

The Pandit Mashai had become quite exasperated in the end. Get everything for the convenience of everybody, arrange for all those who have failed to pass their examinations ; sanction remission of school fees for some and satisfy other demands by others. No end to requests. But if one could get

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai to help, one could hardly do any better in any other way.

People said—Whatever you say, in fact you are all-in-all Pandit Mashai.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I am all-in-all, what does that mean ? How have I become all-in-all ? Isn't there a Head Master ? And a Secretary, a President and a Committee ?

People said—Let there be ; but you go away for a day or so and see how the school runs—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai laughed and said—Ha, if the king dies the kingdom goes on ; I am, after all, utterly negligible—

(To be Continued)

Bara Bau : Eldest daughter-in-law of the house. *Bari* : Paste of lentils and spices.

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for Israel, where they can maintain their Jewish identity. The long-range objective may be to crush a larger-scale nascent Jewish national consciousness among scores of thousands of Soviet Jews.

All the available information leads inexorably to the conclusion that last spring a high-level policy decision was made to undertake a nationally co-ordinated, concerted K.G.B. (secret police) action against militant Jews. It employed entrapment and provocation and involved large-scale searches and seizures, confiscation of printed matter, interrogation and, ultimately, forced confessions that can be used as incriminating evidence in public trials.

The known facts are these: at 8:30 A.M. on June 12, 1970, nine Riga Jews were apprehended at Leningrad's Smolny Airport as they were walking from the terminal to an airplane. That afternoon *Vecberny Leningrad*, the main afternoon paper, carried a brief announcement of the action, indicating that those arrested had planned to hijack the plane out of the country. The same item appeared the next day in *Leningradskaya Pravda*; the main morning newspaper. The Soviet press, as a matter of policy, rarely publishes crime news and even then it is not until long after the event. The fact that these papers carried this report within less than twenty-four hours suggests that they were alerted in advance. The fact, indeed, that Jews were arrested while walking on the tram is a sure sign of the K. G. B.'s advance information and planning.

The probability of a meticulously co-ordinated police provocation is enhanced even further by the virtual simultaneity of other actions that day. At about the same hour of the arrest at Smolny Airport, eight Leningrad Jews were arrested in scattered places; at work, at home, on assignment some distance from the city, and even on vacation as far away as Odessa. Within a few hours searches were

carried out in dozens of homes in Moscow, Leningrad, Riga and Khar-kov; scores of people were detained for questioning and then released. Since June, there have been more arrests in Tbilisi, Kishiev, Riga and again in Leningrad, bringing the number of Jewish political prisoners at this date to thirty one.

The man in charge of the Leningrad case, involving at least the prisoners from Riga and Leningrad itself, is the chief city-prosecutor. S. Ye. Soloviov, well-known to local Jews as an anti-Semite. In 1961 he served as a judge in the city's criminal court and as such presided over two notorious trials involving Jews. In one case, he handed down a series of death sentences for alleged economic crimes to a group of Jews. In another, he sentenced Leningrad synagogue leaders, including an 84-year-old, to lengthy prison terms on charges of subversion—which actually reflected their determined efforts in behalf of Jewish religious observances and their active contacts with synagogue leaders in other cities.

Settlement in Pakistan

New Statesman Publishes the following.

"There is one thing that unites Pakistan's President, India's Prime Minister and Britain's Foreign Secretary as they contemplate the political and economic chaos of Pakistan. The desire for a 'Political Settlement'. Of course it means different things to different people. To President Yahya Khan it means the eventual concession of very limited power to politicians prepared to maintain 'the integrity and solidarity' of Pakistan. To Mrs. Gandhi it means the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his accession to power in Bangla Desh. It is hard to know what it can mean to Sir Alec Douglas-Home. For if there is one certainty about Pakistan's future it is that there is no hope whatever

of a political settlement thinkable to Yahya and acceptable to the Bengalis."

Equality for Women in Bulgaria

News from Bulgaria tells us how women are the equal of men in Bulgaria :

With its very first legislative acts, the Bulgarian People's Government proclaimed the full equality of sexes. The rights and privileges of women were confirmed and guaranteed by the 1947 Constitution. It was the first step of the emancipation of women. The next important task was the establishment of the economic basis of this equality. During the past quarter of a century our society was busy building its socialist economy. Women also took part in this construction and thus firmly established their emancipation. The problem of illiteracy among women and the restriction of their participation in various professions and spheres is no longer a problem to the women's movement in Bulgaria.

Women now represent almost one half of the workers in the country. They occupy almost equal positions with men in the field of science, public health, education. These new positions in society have created new problems. The further development of the women's movement in Bulgaria depends on the solution of these problems. It has become necessary to establish a body which would co-ordinate all initiatives and legislative measures concerning the economic, social, family and everyday life of women. The National Women's Conference of September 1968 elected a Committee of Bulgarian women which in contrast to the one existing until then, accepted new functions and was entrusted with new powers. Its organizational structure is in conformity with the tasks waiting for solution.

Reclamation of Land in Netherlands.

The Dutch are famous for their schemes of land reclamation. They have reclaimed wide

areas since 1200 A. D. Even in this century their land reclamation exceed 1000 sq. miles. The following description is taken from *The Netherlands* :

After about 700 B. C. the sea encroached so far that areas of peat behind the dunes were swept away. In the south-west and north-east of the country only islands remained. Lakes formed in the peat region in the Utrecht/Holland provinces. Lake Yssel (the former Zuyder Zee) was also formed in this way, attaining to something like its present size in about 1250 A. D.

The early inhabitants of the Netherlands helped the sea to encroach upon the land by digging peat, either with a view to salt extraction or in order to obtain fuel. The lakes grew larger and larger with the passage of time, especially those in the provinces of South and North Holland. In the 17th century it was decided to drain a number of these lakes, this being at the same time a form of investment. The legend indicates land reclamation during the period from 1200 up to the present day,

Reclamation activities were being carried out in the island areas in the south-west and north of the Netherlands as early as 1200, though the methods employed were different from those in use today. The sea would flow in twice a day at high tide and leave sand and mud behind as it receded. When this process had gone on for some time, these areas would have built up to above sea-level provided, that is there was no prolonged spell of rough weather. The ground thus formed would be protected against the sea by a dyke built by the local inhabitants. In North Groningen and North Friesland, a system was developed in the 19th century for accelerating this silting-up process; it consisted in constructing low dams in the sea behind which sand and mud would readily settle. The process continues even today.

After 1900 reclamation schemes were undertaken on a large scale. The Zuyder Zee formed a continual threat to the surrounding country. In 1916, for instance, extensive coastal areas disappeared under water during a storm tide. An ambitious scheme was devised for turning large parts of the Zuyder Zee into polderland.

The first polder (Wieringermeer) was ready in 1930 for agricultural use. Then in 1932, the Zuyder Zee was separated from the Wadden Sea by a 19-mile-long barrier dam. Of the five polders figuring in the Project, three have already been completed (Wieringermeer, North East polder, Eastern Flevoland). Work is now in progress on the Southern Flevoland and Markerwaard polders.

There are also plans to reclaim the Wadden Sea itself in the future, but nature conservationists and biologists are very much against this, seeing that the Wadden Sea, which is a saltwater tidal delta, is unique in the world as a bird sanctuary and recreational area.

British Periodical Press

We are reproducing the following from *The British Press*.

THE BRITISH PERIODICAL PRESS

THERE ARE some 4,260 periodical publications in Britain, classified as 'general and specialised' and 'trade, technical and professional.' There are also about 600 'house magazines' produced by industrial undertakings, business houses or public services for the benefit of their employees and/or clients. Most periodicals are published in London; many of them, in addition to circulating widely in Britain, have a considerable circulation outside the United Kingdom. This applies particularly to the trade, technical and professional journals, which represent an important export in themselves and play a large part in selling British goods overseas.

General and specialised periodicals include magazines of general interest; women's magazines; publications for children; religious journals for all denominations; home interest magazines; magazines dealing with sports and athletics, gardening and many other hobbies; humorous magazines; journals specialising in such subjects as politics, finance and economics, industry, science, farming, medicine, the arts and Commonwealth and international affairs; and the publications of learned societies, trade unions, regiments, universities, colleges, school and other associations.

The weekly periodicals with the highest circulation figures are *Women* (2,246,431); *Woman's Own* (1,854,645); *Woman's Weekly* (1,741,254); *Woman's Realms* (1,115,653); *Weekend* (1,330,607); together with the *Radio Times* (3,690,439); and the *TV Times* (3,212,697). The leading journals of opinion, which have circulation figures considerably lower than those of the popular magazines but which nevertheless enjoy a wide and influential readership, include *The Economist* (circulation 104,551), a politically independent publication covering a wider range of topics than its title implies; the *New Statesman* (circulation 77,539), which is a review of politics, literature, and the arts with an independent socialist political tendency; the *Spectator*, which covers much the same ground, but which is further to the right in its political outlook; *Tribune*, which has a strongly left-wing, but anti-communist, bias; *New Society*, which covers the sociological aspect of current affairs; and *New Scientist*, which reports on the progress of science and technology in terms which the non-specialist can understand. *Punch* (circulation 124,079), traditionally the humorous periodical, has in recent years devoted increasing attention to public affairs.

The publication of trade, technical and professional magazines began more than two

centuries ago and has grown in size and influence with the expansion of industry, until it is now perhaps the most important section of the British publishing industry, providing a coverage of subject matter as comprehensive as is available anywhere in the world. Some 500 subjects are now included, many in considerable depth by different specialist publications: for instance the engineering industry is catered for by over 150 journals; there are 64 journals dealing with electronics; 28 with computers and data processing; and 17 with nucleonics.

Trade, technical and professional magazines fall into three main categories: journals in the technical class, which deal with scientific progress and improvements in design, materials, equipment and production methods, communicating new knowledge as soon as it becomes available to various levels of readership within an industry; trade journals which are directed to the distributor and act in the capacity of supplementary specialist staff and as an information bureau on a wide variety of subjects; and the professional and

semi-professional journals, which cover such fields as the law, medicine, nursing, finance and management, and are directed to the knowledgeable amateur as well as to those commercially engaged in the particular activity. Many of these journals have a substantial readership abroad, carrying, by editorial and advertisements, the latest news of British technology, science, and products, and thus preparing the ground for exports of goods and services. There are, in addition, journals which are specially produced, usually in the principal appropriate foreign languages, for importers in other countries, and these give guidance, not only on products and services suitable for local conditions, but also on how to procure such imports most easily.

The publication of trade, technical and professional journals ranges in frequency from weekly to quarterly. Each has a specialist editorial staff. Many employ a staff of specialised artists and photographers and draw on a selected team of experts contributors; they also offer an enquiry service, of especial importance and value to overseas readers.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Gandhi and International Politics ; compiled and edited by P. C. Roy Chaudhury Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Demy Oct 300 x XIV, paper bound. Price Rupees Eight only. The editor says in his foreword, "There is no single compilation giving the important writings and speeches of Gandhiji on foreign countries and international politics. In this book many of the important writings and extracts of speeches of Gandhiji on foreign countries and international affairs have been collected." The book is divided into six sections 1) Africa dealing with Abyssinia, Congo, Egypt, Kenya, Mauritius, Morocco, Rhodesia and South Africa. 2) America with the subsections Canada, USA and Negroes. 3) Asia with the captions Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, China, Fiji, India, Japan and Pakistan. 4) Europe subdivided into Britain, Czechoslovakia, Europe, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland and Sweden. 5) Middle East covering Arabia, Iran, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and Turkey and 6) USSR limited to USSR. There are explanatory and introductory comments by the editor before the chapters in each section.

Research Bulletins (Arts) of the University of the Punjab published during 1959-1968 by the secretary Publications Bureau, Punjab University, Chandigarh-3 (India). The Bulletins are as listed herein ; Early Victorian Verse-Novel by Dr. A. Bose M. A., D. Phil (Oxon), Braj-Bhasha Ke Do Punjabi Kabi by Shri Jai Bhagwan Goyal M. A., Main Trends of the Social and Economic History of the Maurya Empire by Buddha Prakash Ph., D., D. Litt., Third General Election in Punjab by Devendra Pal Verma M. A., LL. B., A survey of English Novels Dealing with the Indian Mutiny of 1857 by Dr. Gobind Singh M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., R. S., Leadership Roles in the Punjab Administration by Dr. A.R. Tyagi M.A., LL.B., Ph. D., Kant And The Synthetic A Priori by Shri Satish C. Chadha M. A., Anglo-Sikh

Relations. British Political Mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh 1800-1838 by Dr. B. J. Hasrat M. A., Ph. D., D. Phil (Oxon) P. E. S. and Feminist Image in the Novels of Ellen Glasgow. The Early phase by O. P. Shama, Pictorial Poetry by M. M. Bhattacharjee M. A. Ph. D., The Changing Role of the District Officer 1860-1960 by Devendra Pal Verma M. A., LL. B., The Authorship of the Two Italian Gentlemen by Dr. H. S. D. Mithal M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.

Census of India 1961 Vol. VI Part VI No 25 Jammu and Kashmir. Village survey monograph of Parole (Nagri), Tehsil and District Kathua Field Investigation by J. Kay Nanda B. K. Palli, socio-economic surveyors. Village surveys now carried out by the Indian census authorities are proving to be socio-economic documentaries of great value. They are something much more informative than a mere parade of statistics.

Kharboo A village survey census of India Vol. VI Part VI No 13 Jammu and Kashmir Tehsil Kargil, District Ladakh, Field Investigation by B. A. Farooqi socio-economic surveyor. *Textile Dyeing and Hand-Printing in Madhya Pradesh* census of India 1961 Vol. I Monograph series Part VII-A(iii) Investigation, tabulation and Draft by C. G. Jadhav M. A., M. Com.

Census of India 1961 Vol. XI, Mysore part VI Village Survey Monographs no 15 Kurupathur village Manjarabad Taluk Hassan District Editor K. Balasubramanyam, No 18, Hadnoor village Shorapur Taluk, Gulbarga District, Editor as in no 15 ; No 19 Kamalnagar village Aurad Taluk, Bidar District, Editor as in nos 15 and 18 ; No 20 Turnur village Ramding Taluk, Belgaum District Editor as in nos 15, 18, 19. All these nos. are published by the manager of publications, Delhi 6 and are priced as follows : No 15 Rs. 2.70, sh 6-4-1 or 98 cents; No 18 Rs. 3.30, sh 7-9d or \$1.19 cents ; No 19 Rs. 3.25, sh 7-7d or \$1.17 cents and No 20 Rs. 2.80, sh 6-7d, or 99 cents.



Pen and Ink Sketches (drawn in 1894-95)

By ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

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CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 1971

WHOLE No. 777

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 161 |
| Twenty Years of Sarvodaya—Suresh Ram | ... | ... | ... | 169 |
| The Spring time fair of Makar Chandi of Makardah—Bholanath Bhattacharya | | | | 173 |
| Dhvani and French Symbolism—K. Subrahmanian | ... | ... | ... | 177 |
| Vidyapati and Bengal—Subhash Chandra Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 179 |
| In Memorium Sri Devapriya Valisinha—Buddhadasa P. Kirthisinghe | ... | ... | ... | 182 |
| Entrepreneurs for Public Sector—Y. R. Singh | ... | ... | ... | 186 |
| Technique of Farm Planning for more Production—H. Mahabaleshwariah | ... | ... | ... | 190 |
| Tanzania and China—Sunil Kumar Sahu | ... | ... | ... | 196 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 203 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 207 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 211 |
| Family Planning—A fresh approach—R. H. Jaiswal | ... | ... | ... | 222 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 225 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 233 |
| Book Review— | ... | ... | ... | 240 |



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NOTES

Floods

Floods are nothing new in India. West Bengal gets extensive floods at times which destroy crops, village housing, cattle and causes deaths among the villagers too. Bihar gets her share of devastating floods quite often and her losses usually assume terrifying proportions. These floods had to be controlled, thought the builders of independent India and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru discussed the matter with his experts who nurtured their minds in Moscow, London or Washington and thought little of anything they could discover in India. As soon as, therefore rivers and floods were mentioned they thought of the Tennessee Valley Authority of the United States of America which had set up a standard in the world for flood control, power generation, production of fertilizers and general industrial development by use of power and other resources made available to the public by the TVA. What the Indian planners set up after their scrutiny and study of flood control and power generation schemes carried out by foreign countries was considered by them to be a great plan which would save Indians from floods and produce enough electrical energy to modernise the economic structure of those areas of underdeveloped India which were as

yet not provided with power and other facilities for setting up and profitably operating small industries in those areas. What has actually happened is nothing like the developments assured by the plans. Floods continue to inundate the villages of the riverine zones of India, the average income of the people of the area has not improved noticeably and the organisation runs (?) at a loss if considered as a national venture.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was established by Act of Congress in 1933 ; that is some years before India commenced her plans for the economic regeneration of India. The TVA served an area of 41000 square miles, which compares well with the area that India planned to save from floods and provide with power. The areas in India were not so contiguous as were the counties served by the TVA. The TVA also gave aid and assistance to fewer people, as may be expected from the over populated nature of the Indian country side. The TVA put up and helped to put up 32 major dams and a navigable channel which was 600 miles long. What India had done could hardly be compared with the TVA's performance. The TVA's generation of hydel and thermal power exceeded 90000 million kwh and the net income from this was \$50.7

millions in 1969. General economic growth was remarkable in the region served by the TVA. In the year 1933 the per capita income in that area was \$168. The national average was then \$375. In 1967, after 34 years the national average had gone up to \$3,412 (8 times) while the TVA zone average increased by 14 times to \$2410. We have no knowledge of what increases the per capita incomes have shown in the regions served by India's flood control and power generation schemes. The increases if any, would be accounted for by the growth of large scale industries in those places, which industries have developed without having anything to do with the flood control and power generation schemes. Moreover the increases would be very slight compared to what happened in the TVA area.

The TVA is managing its flood control, power generation and navigational transport of heavy commodities in a very profitable manner. The capital put in by the Government in this project is being paid back by public subscription to interest yielding bonds and millions of dollars are being earned regularly. Our flood control has been a failure. The power generation has not been so profitable nor so extensive. The industries in the rural areas have not developed. They say we have not built enough dams. Why haven't we? Our experts seem to suffer from a wide spread mental black out whenever it comes to a question of making national investments productive and profitable. Why? Our experts appear to be experts in incurring expenditure without looking at the productiveness and profitability of the economic machinery they set up for national development. Is it not time for us to look for better experts?

We are told that in olden days when Indian engineers had no facilities for drawing inspiration from the outside world, they used to have inlet channels for flood waters to flow

into very large size reservoirs scattered all over the countryside and connected by canals. When the rivers swelled up during heavy rains the mouth of the inlet channels were opened and the water flowed into the great "Bundhs" which were connected with one another and the surplus water was stored in the "Bundhs" of which there were hundreds. Channels leading out of these "Bundhs" irrigated the fields for agriculture. The kingdom of Vishnupur had numerous "Bundhs" like this, of which many are still there with the inlet and outlet channels, lockgates etc. extant. These systems of flood water storage and irrigation should be carefully studied.

Power Cuts in Calcutta

It is common experience now a days in Calcutta to have a sudden power cut and to be landed into serious difficulties in the homes, in offices and in shops, nursing homes, schools colleges, cinema houses, restaurants and hospitals. Peoples refrigerator's stop functioning and so do cooking ranges, air conditioners, lights, fans and other electrically operated appliances. These power cuts are over and above the great fluctuations in voltage which damage valuable apparatus and instruments. Lifts may stop half-way and cause great suffering to persons thus caught in an ill ventilated shaft with fans out of action. Persons who are under treatment in nursing homes suffer physical injury when fans, air conditioners, lights etc. suddenly stop working. People living in the 10th or 15th floor of multi-storied buildings have to climb hundreds of stairs and may suffer from heart attacks. The point is that these stoppages are not acts of God but are deliberately caused by responsible persons in charge of distributing electricity. If these people have not enough power for all the consumers then they can either disconnect a large proportion of consumers permanently or generate more power. If they disconnect

the installations of some people, then such persons should be free to obtain their electricity from other sources ; that is the electric supply arrangements will cease to be monopolies of the state or business companies if public needs cannot be fully met by their production of power. The public are being exploited very badly as it is by the high rates they are made to pay by the companies or the state. This must stop. Such exploitation is caused by bureaucratic mismanagement of public utility concerns. The state does not gain any greatly increased revenues by the working of these monopolies and the public firstly pay high prices and secondly they suffer much inconvenience through short supply and irregularities connected with supply. Whenever the state cannot manage any public utility concerns properly, state monopolies must be broken. Monopolies can exist for raising revenues ; but not in public utility concerns. The state should choose luxury trades for such profit making. And the profits must be there in the Government treasuries, and not in the pocket of bureaucrats, contractors and political contact makers.

There is another serious obstruction to the full and proper supply of public utility services and of essential commodities which the people must obtain in order to maintain their basic standard of living. This obstruction comes from the side of the workers who produce the goods and services referred to. The public cannot permit employer employee conflicts or political sabre rattling to interfere with their normal every day life. There should also be a just settlement of all disputes. As things are now disputes are settled by bipartite or tripartite discussions. Failing such settlement the disputes are referred to specially set up courts of law. But two or three parties are the employees, the employers and the Government. The public who are the consumers of

the good and services do not come into the picture at all. There should be provision for the public to take part in these discussions for settling employer employee disputes. The formation of consumers associations should precede any arrangements for public participation in these multipartite discussions.

Collecting Donations from People

Some time back, after certain members of the public had been assaulted, grievously injured and even murdered for refusing to give a specified amount (usually a big sum) as donation to a Puja or festival fund ; there was agitation for making collection of donations illegal and punishable, unless the collectors registered their names with the government and took out a licence for making such collections. But the agitation led to nothing. The collectors of donations continued to indulge in their strong arm tactics for getting money out of persons who in their opinion had money. The festival season is now coming closer. Gangs of youngmen are beginning to go about with printed receipt books to raise funds. Some of these youngsters are quite civilised and are not trying to extort money. Some are not so and make demands which are neither reasonable nor fair. Those who donate to such funds should be allowed full freedom to pay or not to pay as they choose. And in no case should donation collectors dictate to the donors. The police should be able to find out quite easily who are collecting donations where and for what purpose. These collectors can be warned by the police to keep within the law when they collect money from the public. Collectors who are not genuinely organising any festival should be punished for trying to obtain money on false pretences.

Western Seekers After Eastern Truths

Whenever we discuss Western scholars who have by deep study, profound reasoning and meditation tried to understand the philosophy

of the East and to realise the spiritual truths which the Rishis sought after in their forest Ashramas; we come to think of the great men who presented the shastras of India to the Western academic world. The names of Max Muller, Georg Buhler, Julius Jolly, Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg, Hermann Jacobi, Thibaut, Winternitz and many others come up as the connecting links between the West and the East. The study of Eastern philosophy and of the various abstruse cults have been carried out in a well planned scholarly fashion and there is no scope in this field for any meaningless jugglery with incantations nor for any hoodoo and black magic. Latterly, however, a large number of intellectually uninitiated Europeans and Americans have descended on our Ashramas, temples and places of pilgrimage in search of release from earthly bonds and self-realisation. They have unfortunately got mixed up with the wrong sort of people and have learnt to smoke Ganja and to shave their heads for a clearer understanding of the intricate philosophy of the Hindus. Some have set up their own temples and carry on non-stop Kirtan and Bhajan with drums thundering and cymbals torturing the ears in order to achieve Moksha of the sort that come to those who are dull of wit and dazed of vision but have the advantage of Western muscles which enable them to roar out of tune for hours or thump on the floor in dancing steps of their own invention, in order to be fully conscious spiritually or to be unconscious of their human responsibilities. These people should be sent back to their country of origin by the Government of India as their presence in India will increasingly teach us to develop contempt for Europeans and Americans.

"Bundhs" without Rhyme or Reason

General closure of all shops, markets, schools, colleges, offices, factories etc. and

suspension of transport services by order of political parties, students' associations, trade unions and similar powerful organisations, which can let loose large forces of hooligans armed with bombs, guns and other weapons to enforce their will, constitute a "Bundh". There are minor and partial "hartals" or stoppage of service when trams, buses or schools and colleges do not function. Or some petrol stations stop supplies to the public in order to press the demands of their workers on their employers. "Bundhs" or general close down of almost all buying and selling, institutions and establishments usually have a political meaning attached to it by those who call for a "Bundh". Sometimes these meanings are quite clear to the public and at other times the reasons are obscure or paradoxical. The very recent "Bundh" in West Bengal was in protest against wanton killings in some parts of Calcutta. But those who protested against such killings were not blameless in the matter of uncalled for murderous attacks on their political opponents. They had been in the past, accused of carrying war to their enemies' camp on many occasions. In this particular instance they had been subjected to organised ruthlessness by another party who showed no respect for human life whatsoever and caused death and injury to hundreds of persons. The affair was utterly shameful and condemnable; but the public had no sympathy either with the perpetrators of this foul atrocity nor had they been very deeply affected by the fortunes of this fratricidal war which is now raging in West Bengal. One might say the public are highly critical of what is going on and they condemn wholeheartedly all these attacks and counter attacks of which the aim and purpose is establishment of party superiority. If one spoke the truth, all parties now stood accused of these awful crimes and no party was really earning public approbation by their actions.

which are objectionable in the extreme. West Bengal public do not approve of murders nor of securing party funds by lawless methods. They think that all political parties in West Bengal are destroying the fair name of the land of Rammohun Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda, Ramkrishna, Aurovinda and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, by their criminal activities and open association with professional hooligans and members of the underworld. It may be argued by them that they were not believers in non-violence and that they thought that fighting was a surer way of establishing political ideals than endless talks and press propaganda. But that would be a fit argument for serious consideration if the fight was against the established enemies of the people and not against fellow men who normally would be near and dear to one another ; but are now committed to each other's extermination at the instigation of the enemies of the people of West Bengal. These enemies were Indians as well as foreigners- And these people were not aiming at reestablishing India in the high place that she occupied in the past in the world in the sphere of culture and civilisation. Precious little is being done by any political party of India, with particular reference to West Bengal, to create new and improved standards of anything that really mattered humanly and in the field of intellectual and spiritual growth. We have never thought, nor do we think now, that material conditions of existence determined progress and development of civilisation. Increase in personal income did not make one a better member of human society. The greatest GNP did not make a nation the greatest among all communities of mankind. A gross materialistic outlook is a sign of degeneration and all nations should try to retain their ideals of life unsullied

by material greed, as far as possible. Intellectual and spiritual urges should be held high so that our people could once again attain those heights in thought and emotional realisations for which we had been known to be the "sons of the Immortals". Playing second fiddle to affluent members of other nations or subscribing to the gross outlook of groups and cliques which aim at the dazzling Neon street lights, ignoring the existence of the distant nebulae that illuminate the endless skies in outer space ; cannot be called national ideals by us. As for the fights that our misguided youth engage in without any worthwhile purpose, the sooner they stop the better. We should not draw attention to our faults by calling for "Bundhs". Rather, we should observe national days of fast in order to chasten our souls. The Government too should declare curfew everywhere on all such days so that we could feel we were atoning for our sins.

Price of Fruits

Not so very long ago the price of fruits was quite reasonable and even ordinary people whose income was in the low range could buy fruits for regular consumption. Now a days most fruits sell by weight, that being a simple and easy method of charging a high price. Apples now will be five rupees a kilogram. One kilo will have five apples, so that an apple will cost a rupee to buy. Twelve rupees a dozen ! That would be a fantastic price for apples. Oranges in the thirties sold at the rate of sixty to eighty to the rupee. Now the price would be three to four rupees a dozen. When mangos sold at the cheapest rate, it was two rupees a kilo. Mangos also sold at times at five or six rupees a kilo. That made them worth a rupee each. Bananas sold at two annas a dozen in the days before the second world war. They now sell, the cheapest variety of them, at two annas each.

Prices of fruits therefore have risen inordinately. We remember that the mangos which now sell at a rupee each in Calcutta used to be sold at Allahabad in the first decade of the century at a hundred for a rupee ! Fruits being an essential food article, and the prices being fantastically high, fruit growing should draw the attention of our planners more intensively than is happening at the moment.

Stadium for Calcutta

Football crowds in Calcutta often reach a hundred thousand mark when one counts all the people who stand on the elevated ground adjoining the Fort, all those who stand on the roof of cars and buses and cluster the branches of the trees in the Eden Gardens. Some of these people would pay for a seat in a gallery if they could do so, while some wouldn't for lack of funds. But the accepted theory is that a stadium with 85000 seats will be the right size for meeting the requirements of Calcutta's football fans. A cricket crowd is possibly smaller than what a football match between two popular teams attract ; but it would not be very much smaller. More than 50000 definitely and nearer 70000 when there are holidays. A stadium accommodating 85000 spectators would not remain visibly empty if one had a test cricket match. So that a composite stadium in which both football and cricket matches could be held would be a workable proposition excepting for the fact that a cricket pitch could not survive the stampeding that a football game provides. When a football ground has to be converted to a cricket ground the entire cricket pitch has to be returfed for the purpose. So that experts said that a dual purpose stadium should be used for football upto July 31st and thereafter only for cricket. But as many football matches are held after July, this idea cannot work. There are also questions of winter football played in an artificially

illuminated ground, which will possibly become fashionable in the near future in India, and that would make a dual purpose stadium of doubtful value. The idea that a composite stadium in which there will be arrangements for swimming tournaments too and for Basket Ball, Volleyball, Badminton, Boxing, Wrestling etc. will not be found workable ; for all these games will usually come on top of one another and most will not require arrangements for seating more than 20000 spectators.

It is said that a vast stadium for both cricket and football will cost 3 crores of rupees to build without counting the value of the land. This is a very large sum of money and the Government would be spending about 1725000/- rupees only on interest to incur such capital expenditure. If Government look after the management of a stadium like that their overheads will push up the total expenses to 25,00000/- rupees. This is several times the total amount the government of West Bengal spend on games and sports. One will readily agree that a stadium does not help the people to be sport minded, nor does it assist the people to learn to play games or to engage in physical culture. Its only value is that it provides entertainment to thousands and it popularises football and cricket.

From the point of view of social well being and the spread of sport and physical culture the Government should spend money to construct play grounds in all towns and set up gymnasiums, boxing rings and wrestling pits in all suitable places. Stadiums should be built by the Football Associations and the Cricket Associations with government assistance in the matter of securing land and ready finance. Any money advanced by government or by banks should be repaid by instalments quite easily.

In Calcutta there should be separate stadiums for cricket and football. These could be built back to back in the Eden Garden area.

The football stadium would go up to the road alongside the Calcutta Football Club ground. The road could be diverted further to the south. Swimming and minor games can be arranged for on the Chowringhee side and the sitting capacity there need not be more than for 25000 persons. Here also the Associations can manage to set up a properly fitted pool and play ground and repay any money that government may advance to them. This stadium should be for Swimming, Basket Ball, Volleyball, Boxing, Wrestling, Gymnastics and Kabaddi. The Rabindra Stadium near the Lakes can be converted easily to an Athletics Stadium with proper tracks and other arrangements. It has been used for many international meets and require little extra expenditure to be given those touches which it now lacks. The total assistance the government will require to give will fall far short of 3 crores if the work is undertaken by the Associations as their own ventures and the money will be recovered in a few years.

Constitution Amended by Minority

The constitution is a document which states the terms and conditions on which the government of a country is setup and it is codified and accepted as the law which determines how the nation will carry on its own affairs with particular reference to the people's rights and obligations. It is, so to speak, a bond which the entire nation has signed to abide by. It is therefore necessary that when the constitution is changed the entire nation should be consulted and made to express their opinion in a precise and clear cut manner. That is why constitutions should not be amended in a hurried and haphazard manner by casting of votes any how and by inconsiderable majorities of the number of votes cast. The larger the percentage of the voters who cast their votes the nearer is the truth of the assumption that the whole nation is agreeing

to the proposed change. If the number of voters who appear to be voting through the votes that their representatives cast, is less than 50% of the total and absolute number of voters in the country then the whole thing assumes a colouring which can be described as a minority amending the constitution. The recent amendments to the constitution for example cannot be called a nationally approved amendment in so far as the representatives of the people in parliament represented slightly more than 50 per cent of the voters. The Majority party in parliament who sponsored the amendment had about 40 per cent of the voters who voted behind them. That is their supporters were less than 25 per cent of the absolute number of voters. In the circumstances the majority party in parliament was in a majority only in Parliament. They had no majority in the nation as one might say. If therefore one arranged for a referendum in connection with the amendment, the majority party may theoretically be defeated by a 3 : 1 vote quite easily and even by a 4 : 1 vote if one stretched the point a little more. In any case Sm. Indira's action in amending the constitution by a majority vote in Parliament does not in any way rest upon any factual guarantee of a national approval of that action. She may be just imposing the will of 25 per cent of the voters upon the nation for all we know. We think all these amendments should be withheld until Mrs. Gandhi can go to polls again and win by an absolute majority—counting all voters.

Kennedy Condemns Pak Military Regime

Senator Edward Kennedy, speaking before the National Press Club of the USA was extremely critical of the arms shipments by the USA to Pakistan. He said he found evidence that West Pakistani troops are slaughtering East Bengal civilians. "We must end immediately" he said, "all further U. S. arms

shipments to West Pakistan, along with all other economic support of a regime that continues to violate the most basic principles of humanity." He emphatically declared, "We demonstrate to the generals of West Pakistan and to the people of the world that the United States has a deep and abiding revulsion of the monumental slaughter that has ravaged East Bengal."

Mr. Kennedy said he will hold a new series of Senate hearings on the problem "to focus the bright light of informed opinion on the nightmare of terror and inhumanity now being perpetrated in South Asia (East Pakistan)" Mr. Kennedy was refused a visa by the Pakistan government to visit East Pakistan, as, it is presumed, Yahya Khan wanted to keep doors open for more lies about his barbarous atrocities in that part of Pakistan; If Mr. Kennedy had gone and seen, first hand, what Yahya's soldiers had done in Dacca, Chittagong and other towns of East Bengal, Yahya would have found it difficult to deny the hideous facts.

The Trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman

The alleged trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in camera by an alleged military court may be just another of General Yahya Khan's array of mass produced lies. We were told by Yahya Khan's pressmen that when the Sheikh was produced before this alleged court he said he will take no part in the proceedings as he thought no Pakistani court of any sort had the right to try him. Later he was reported to have said that he was not guilty of any offence of any kind against Pakistan. Now we are told an ex-law minister of Pakistan is going to defend the Sheikh and he has had an interview with Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. All these, by their contradictory contents appear to be false news broadcast by the Pakistan Press to show how lawful their military administration was. In

fact we think at some stage Sheikh Mujibur Rehman will be found guilty of high treason and condemned to death; but his sentence will not be carried out until and unless Yahya Khan felt that it would be safe for him and his gangsters to murder this great Bengali leader of the Awami League of Pakistan. That safety will depend largely upon the success or failure of the Mukti Bahini in East Bengal.

Cricket Victory

India's change of policy in the matter of selecting a cricket team has yielded very good results. India has now won her recent two test tournaments in cricket by first defeating West Indies in the Caribbean and then by winning the Test at the Oval by four wickets. Whether captain A. L. Wadekar has been just lucky or has shown extraordinary ability in handling his team is a question which will be answered differently by different critics. Generally speaking the element of luck is always there; but no team can win a Test just by luck for the reason that in cricket sustained bowling and batting ability always remains a deciding factor. The batting averages of the Indian team were as given below:

| Name | Total | Average |
|-----------------|-------|---------|
| F. M. Engineer | 172 | 57.33 |
| E. D. Solkar | 168 | 42.00 |
| A. L. Wadekar | 204 | 34.00 |
| D. N. Sardesai | 147 | 29.40 |
| S. M. Gavaskar | 144 | 24.00 |
| G. R. Viswanath | 118 | 23.60 |
| Venkataraman | 61 | 15.25 |
| S. Abid Ali | 50 | 12.25 |
| A. V. Mankad | 42 | 7.00 |
| B. S. Bedi | 10 | 5.00 |
| Chandrasekhar | 4 | 4.00 |

The bowling analysis showed the following results in wickets captured and average runs conceded.

| Name | Wickets captured | Average Runs conceded |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Chandrasekhar | 13 | 21.00 |
| Solkar | 6 | 24.50 |
| Venkataraman | 13 | 26.95 |
| B. S. Bedi | 11 | 29.50 |
| Abid Ali | 5 | 53.80 |

TWENTY YEARS OF SARVODAYA

SURESH RAM

In the beginning of this century, when Gandhiji¹ while in South Africa, was travelling from Johannesburg to Durban, a friend, Mr. Polak, gave him a book 'for the journey'. It was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. The book, as he says, 'gripped me' and 'brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life'. Later he translated it into Gujarati, with the title 'SARVODAYA' (the welfare of all). Though this word is met with in ancient Jain scriptures, the credit for using it in our times goes to Gandhiji. On his return to India, he led the struggle in which the word 'Swaraj', as given by Dadabhai Naoroji, defined our immediate goal and 'Sarvodaya' set the pattern of new society to be built up in independent India.

Hardly had we been free for six months, when Gandhiji passed away. Leaders of the country met at Sevagram in March 1948 and decided, at Vinobaji's instance, to establish Sarvodaya Samaj to further the ideals and principles of Gandhiji. But how to give them a practical shape was the question before the nation? Would the execution of Constructive programme, including Khadi, village industries, Harijan welfare, etc., serve the purpose or some new programme had to be resorted to? There was no answer.

Ganga of Bhoodan

Suddenly, a strange event came to pass on April 18, 1951, when Vinobaji was going

round Talangana on foot. On that day he encamped at Pochampalli in the Nalgonda district. The local Harijan landless placed before him their request for eighty acres of land for subsistence. Vinoba called together the people of the village and asked whether they would fulfill the demand of their poor brethren. Fortunately, one gentleman expressed his readiness to offer one hundred acres in the sacred memory of his father.

Vinobaji was amazed at this development. He thought over the incident the whole night. He wondered whether it was an isolated gift or a token expression of a non-violent solution of India's land problem. He felt it was the latter. But it needed confirmation.

Next morning, he proceeded towards another village. People on a way-side village urged him to have some breakfast. Thanking them he asked, "Are there any landless in your village?". "There are many", came the reply, "Then give me some land for their sake," rejoined Vinobaji. They offered him 25 acres immediately.

Vinoba had two donations before him. As two points make a straightline, two offerings made him resolve to launch upon the campaign for the landless. During that 51 days' tour of Telangana, he received no less than 12,201 acres. Thus the Bhoodan movement was born.

But some sceptics quipped 'They donated land in Telangana because they were terror-

struck. If Vinoba is confident of the efficacy of non-violence, he should dare obtain land in other parts of the country". Vinoba smiled in reply. Just at that time Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru requested him to come to Delhi for discussing the Five Year Plan with the Planning Commission. Vinoba resolved to go on foot rather than by train. In his *Yatra* of 54 days (from 10th September 1951 to 13th November 1951) from Paunar to Delhi, he received 19,436 acres. This surprised many a doubting ~~N~~Thomas and Vinoba decided to cover one province after another with his call of Bhoodan. The Sarvodaya workers too accepted this programme as the spearhead of a non-violent revolution. They took a pledge in April 1952 to obtain 25 lakhs of acres within two years. By 25th March 1954, the land-collections had reached the figure of 27,63,465 acres. Thus the movement went on gathering momentum.

From Bhoodan to Gramdan

Vinoba walked throughout the length and breadth of India for thirteen and a quarter years. The movement spread all over the country and gave a new meaning to the entire Constructive Programme. The idea of Shanti Sena (or Peace Army), first enunciated by Gandhiji in 1938, also took a living shape. Over and above, Vinoba placed the concept of Gramdan seeking for land-revolution. Its four conditions are :

- (i) One-twentieth of land is offered to the landless ;
- (ii) Ownership of his land is voluntarily transferred by the individual to the village community ;
- (iii) A village assembly (Gram Sabha) including all adults is set up to conduct the affairs of the village ; and
- (iv) A village fund (Gram Kosh) is established to which the land-holder

contributes one-fortieth of his produce and to wage-earner one-thirtieth of his wage.

This too met with a wholesome response. From September 1965 to October, 1969, Vinoba again stayed in Bihar and launched a special drive for Gramdan.

Challenge of India's Landless

The poverty of India is proverbial. Slogans for removing this poverty are resounding in the Indian sky these days. A population of 6.17 crores lives in conditions of severe destitution and 10.44 crores in those of destitution while 16.16 crores in those of abject poverty. The average expenditure of seventy per cent of our total population is less than one rupee per day. The root of this poverty lies in landlessness. Out of our total rural population (1969) of 43.4 crores, no less than 10.3 crores are landless and 18.5 crores have less than five acres per household. This is at the bottom. As regards the top, one per cent of rich households hold sixteen per cent of land. With this pattern of land distribution millions in India are bound to lead a miserable existence.

The various Five Year Plans have stressed the need of land reform and urged the States to enact measures for the same. But never has ambition been more unfortunate. All land legislations have hardly brought ten lakhs of acres of land to the landless and none knows how much of it is under their actual possession. On the other hand, 41,66,809 acres have been received in Bhoodan, of which 12,15,795 acres have been distributed among 4,61,681 landless. Again, people in no less than 1,68,058 villages have opted for Gramdan, having Bihar (with 60,065 Gramdants) at the top. For the last one year, confirmation work is vigorously afoot in Bihar. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has gone to the

Muzaffarpur district and efforts are afoot to make the Gram Sabhas function effectively.

The Sarvodaya movement claims to bring about a non-violent revolution and set up a classless and state-free social order. When will it reach the goal? If it cannot be bound by time-limit, how does it differ from ordinary social reform? Will it be able to achieve the desired revolution at all?

The question is not easy to answer. Russia has had fifty years and China twenty-two. And yet they have not succeeded in wiping out disparities and inequalities. True they have attained some progress, but they are far from their goal. In the name of Socialism or Communism, there has sprung up a 'new class' (to quote Mr. Djilas, former Vice-President of Yugoslavia) of exploiters, which commands the authority of the state, the organisation of the party and the resources of the nation. Consequently, those at the bottom, the peasantry or the proletariat, continue to be exploited and if they try to revolt by arms, they are crushed by the superior violence of the State. Thus it is easy to see that true socialism or communism is impossible except by non-violent methods.

Questions before Sarvodaya Movement

The question, then, is: how long will Sarvodaya take to fulfill its aim? The time-spirit is in its favour. It has inherited the legacy of Gandhiji. It has a leader of Vinobaji's eminence at its head. And yet it is not moving forward with the desired speed. The movement has failed to identify itself with the masses and is confined to its workers. It does not represent the hopes and aspirations of the landless peasantry whom it professes to serve. How many youths are attracted towards it? What is its impact on the political situation of the country? Will it not convert

itself into a sect in course of time and let other agencies take up its gains? It has little or no voice in the press.

These are some of the main questions which the Sarvodaya movement has to answer. Doubtless there are in its fold devoted workers prepared for every sacrifice. Their honesty and integrity are beyond question. Yet they have little hold over the body-politic of the nation. Nor are the forces of reaction and vested interests afraid of them. On the contrary, the avidity for large land holdings goes on unabated.

Faults in our Working.

Surely, there must be something wanting in our very method of working. In the public eye, Sarvodaya organisations are associated as tame limbs of a particular party and that too of a certain section of it. We have never been able to stand up as a reliable force independent of Government. Barring a few of us we have never lent support to radical movements and programmes which have come from time to time before the nation all these twenty years. Except in some parts of Tamilnadu we did not take up the causes of the evicted landless and preferred meek silence to bold action. Let us honestly confess that the fault is ours, of our leadership. So far as the people are concerned, they continue to have faith in us, which is evident by the fact that donations to Vinoba Gram Swaraj Fund have reached the target of about one crore rupees. But do we trust the masses to the same extent?

During these two decades, we have made some glaring mistakes, the more awful being our entrusting the responsibility of Khadi programme to the Government. This made the entire army of Constructive workers depend on the State. Their initiative was

killed and they lost their lustre. One may argue that in a democracy, it is for the State to carry out the Constructive Programme. True, we then ought to have created such a force as would have compelled the Government to offer due protection to the various programmes therein. Little wonder that Khadi, Village Industries, Nai Talim, etc., grew feeble and our workers lost their zeal and strength.

The Three Criterions

But all is not yet over. Time has come when a new orientation should be given to the whole Sarvodaya movement, It must be transformed into a solid expression of the People's

Power (Jana-Shakti), It must wipe out all landlessness from the country. It must have three criterions before it :

- (i) Price of land should continuously fall until land ceases to be a marketable commodity ;
- (ii) The youths should join it in large numbers ; and
- (iii) The landless millions should adopt it as their own.

The more the movement satisfies these three tests the more will it attain glory and succeed not only in winning economic and social independence for India's millions but also in convincing the civilised world of the efficacy of non-violence as an instrument of social change.



THE SPRING TIME FAIR OF MAKAR CHANDI OF MAKARDAH

BHOLANATH BHATTACHARYA

Fairs and festivals are still one of the most lively expressions of the folk culture of Bengal. The traditionally ceremonious observation of festivals for rejoicing over the glory of the seasons or the crops or social events provides the occasion for the holding of the fairs where the common people get an opportunity to get together in order to participate en masse in the ritualistic, cultural and economic life of the community. The Bengali term for fairs is 'Mela', which etymologically implies a congregation, in more a spiritual and emotional sense than a merely physical one. Used as an adjective, the word denotes 'many', and when used as a verb, it means 'to extend'. In fact a fair or mela in this land indicates an occasion for many to unfold themselves in an open-air exhibition which offers a scope for a free and spontaneous communication among the members of the community, if only in the form of an economic exchange in the main. Hence the importance of a fair is as a faithful mirror of the folk life and folk culture.

Fairs, however, have since long ceased to have a purely cultural or religious significance. They are today very much an economic affair being an indigenous system of providing a net work of occasional colossal markets at regular and appropriate intervals, by way of supplementing the periodical hats or rural markets. They are chiefly intended to provide an outlet for the stockpile of products in the numerous branches of folk arts and crafts as well as folk entertainment services, which provide livelihood to a large section of producers in the underdeveloped

rural economy with its imperfect and backward marketing organizations. Indeed the very structure of the rural economy of Bengal is traditionally based on the hats and melas. In course of time the towns and suburbs too followed the example of villages by introducing their own individual festivals and fairs connected with festivals.

Religious and seasonal festivals readily provide a popular occasion for holding a fair. Sometimes annual worship of a local deity inspires a fair. A combination of these factors seems to have occasioned the famous fair of Makarchandi at Makardah, a village in the district of Howrah. Every year the Pancham-Dol ceremony of goddess Makarchandi is celebrated on the fifth 'Tithi' or lunar day of the gay spring time festival of Holi or Doleyatra. On this occasion an impressive fair is held for about ten to twelve days, which is one of the most important fairs to be held near the metropolitan city of Calcutta. Only about eight miles from Howrah, Makardah is well-connected with that city by bus and until recently also by the Martin light railway.

The temple of the deity is about 150 years old and the fair too is almost of an equivalent age. The temple was founded by one Ramkanta Kundu, a landlord of the nearby village of Andul-Mauri. But the worship of the deity can be traced back to a much more distant past. According to a local legend, Srimanta, the merchant-navigator of Chandi Mangala literature fame, took a fancy to this lovely spot on the bank of the river Saraswati

where he introduced the worship of Chandi, the favourite maritime goddess. The old settlement records refer to this locality as Rameswarbati or the abode of Rameswara. It seems to have been named after Rameswar Chowdhury who is reported to have been entrusted with the worship of the goddess Makarchandi more than five hundred years ago. He appointed one Rajendranath Chattopadhyaya, a Brahmin from Bally, a place on the river Hooghly a few miles from Makardah. The Brahmin families residing in the neighbourhood of Makardah are mostly the descendants of the original house of priests. A reckoning of the generation that have passed since then tends to confirm the aforesaid age of Rameswar. But the deity is still older.

A stone slab with no other distinct features than the eyes painted with vermillion, the icon is typologically akin to that of goddess Shitala, the presiding deity of the epidemic of small pox. A legend ascribes the shortened stature of the icon, which is believed to have once been large enough to require the priest to climb a ladder in order to perform the daily workshop, to an attempt on the part of the goddess to sink into the earth and disappear being aggrieved by the resentment of the priest for the inconvenience caused by the height of the image. The goddess however finally yielded to the supplications of the repentant priest and stayed in the present stubbed form. Makarchandi seems to be temperamentally free from the vigours associated with either a Shakta or a Vaishnava deity. Her most favourite offering is 'Rashbada' a kind of fried sweetmeat, typically associated with the Vaishnavas. She is, however not averse to animal sacrifices in accordance with the Shakta tradition. There is a sacrificial altar too where goats are sacrificed. A 'Rathayatra', or car festival too is held in honour of the deity. A great public feeding, attended

by about ten thousand people, takes place three days after the inauguration of the fair. All this goes to indicate the remote antiquity and the consequent importance of the deity in the life of the community.

Makardah derives its name from the deity Makarchandi. Another ancient name of the place is Mapurdaha, probably derived from the word 'Matripur', that is, the town belonging to the mother. Daha implies a pool and appears as a suffix to the names of several other places on the bank of the river, which is prone to change its course and create stagnant pools or marshy lands. Mapurdaha may later on have changed into Makardah. Some say again that when Saraswati was close by there used to live in it a huge Makar or a crocodile like legendary animal, associated with Chandi as her carrier. It is after this resident Makar that the place is believed to have been named. The Makar-Samkranti festival too is celebrated here.

The Pancham-Dol ceremony together with the fair commences on and from the fifth day of the Holi festival in March. The festival is inaugurated by an extravagant firework on the previous night, which is witnessed by many people for its splendour. There is a peculiar custom associated with this part of the festival. Three large jars are placed in front of the temple in the evening. It is not until these empty jars become full to the brim with coins offered by the devotees who assemble there that the display of firework starts. By that time the night is far advanced.

The fair presents a spectacle of crowded stalls all around with thousands thronging the mela ground. The nearby highway and lanes as well as the open ground near the temple are clustered with improvised stalls and wayside shops, displaying a large variety of wares mostly comprising local handicrafts and edibles. This district in general and the locality

around in particular can boast of an exquisite variety of mattings and also handicraft made of sola pith. At the fair one finds mattings of a coarse variety called 'Shitalpati' side by side with an extremely fine type of matting which is thin and flexible enough to be folded like a handkerchief and kept inside the pocket of one's shirt. Cane baskets and trays, called Dhama and Kulo respectively, traditional handicrafts manufactured by the village iron-smiths over a long period in anticipation of a promising market, agricultural products including rice, modern plasticware as a substitute for the traditional toys—these are some of the articles sold at the fair which are worthy of mention. Entertainments usually associated with a fair such as target shooting at rubber balloons, magic shows, and the like add to the attractions of the fair. But by far the most noticeable item is perhaps the foodstuff and particularly the sweetmeats and fried snacks for which this area is renowned. All the local varieties of sweetmeats are represented at the fair including the irresistible 'Amriti' and 'Jilipi'. The tubular juicy delicacies have a rather deceptive appearance. Contrary to one's expectations, the flacid variety will easily melt away into one's mouth without any explosion while the hard-boiled ones will cause him a good deal of embarrassment by spouting the clammy juice on to the cheek of unsuspecting persons standing ten metres away only to invite their instant and sharp rebuke.

The participants at the fair come not only from the nearby villages but also from distant places. Although the occasion is distinctly Hindu in character, Muslims too form a considerable proportion of both the buyers and the sellers. Similarly, the Muslim fair at the nearby village of Gayeshpur in commemoration of Pir Giasuddin is attended by both the Hindus and the Muslims. In fact the

fairs and festivals of Bengal are more a socio-economic institution than religious.

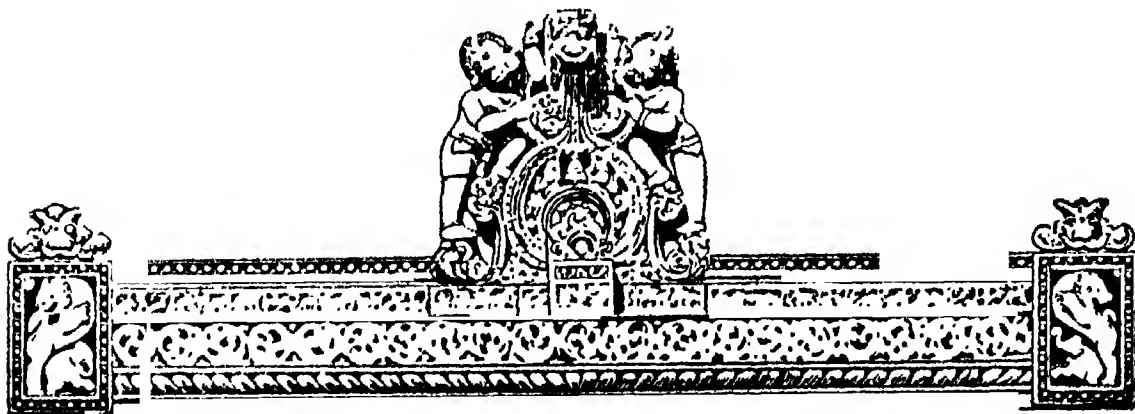
As the stipulated period of the Makarchandi draws to a close, a stir becomes noticeable amongst the sellers some of whom get ready for the next fair at the nearby village of Hapardah or the Charak fair at Rudrapur, while others are bound for the fairs at Wadipur, Bancra or Pakur. The fair in honour of goddess Shitala at neighbouring Begri is attended largely by the womenfolk so that the intending sellers keep a shrewd watch for articles favourite with the housewives.

In course of his repeated visits to the fairs held at the places of West Bengal, the present writer came to know from many of the sellers regularly participating in them that the very structure of their individual economic activities is perfectly geared to the countrywide network of fairs which are held throughout the year at one place or another. The entire rural economy of lower Bengal may be divided into several zones or cycles, such as the Howrah cycle, the Hoogly cycle, Radh cycle and the South Bengal cycle, on the basis of which the producers stock and release their articles at the various fairs by turn at periodic intervals. A valuable insight into the local economy may be gained if a meaningful and comprehensive analysis is undertaken by the social scientists to find out the nature and quality of the commodities brought for sale at the fairs, the extent of the transactions carried on, the prices charged as compared to the prevailing market rates (usually the prices charged at the fairs are much lower and are a bargain for the customers) the profits earned, the places of manufacture and ultimate consumption of an article in relation to the place of residence of the seller, the pattern of demand registered by the consumers and and response matched by the suppliers.]

the repercussion of the traditionally static character of the pattern of supply on the evolution of the consumer's behaviour, the interdependence of the traditional rural arts and crafts and the bearing of the fairs on the same, the relationship of the fairs with existing rural markets of various other types, the impact of the fairs on the lives of the fair-based people and particularly the rural children, the bearing of the fairs on the pattern of habitation in the immediate neighbourhood, and so on and so forth. What is most interesting to note about the fairs like those at Makardah is that they did not come into existence by a process of conscious and organised effort on the part of some authority but in fact grew up spontaneously in response to inherent local needs.

The fact that such self-generated and natural fairs have survived environmental

changes for more than a century, as in the case of the Makarchandi fair, goes to indicate their stamina and their ineffaceable and integral place in the rural community life, cutting across barriers of religion, caste or creed. On the other hand the importance of quite a few of the fairs has increased in the new context of economic and social changes. The fairs are essentially an institution through which is expressed the simple traditional rejoicing of the Bengalis at the advent of pleasant seasons or some other festive occasions. One can therefore justifiably expect the Government in its relevant departments to make a serious effort and co-ordinated effort to appreciate the significance of the fairs in the economic and cultural life of the rural community and accordingly extend to them the necessary help in order to make them a greater success ; for instance, by providing better transport facilities for the participants.



DHVANI AND FRENCH SYMBOLISM

K. SUBRAHMANYAN

The word for suggestion in Sanskrit is **dhvani**; it literally means 'an echo or overtone'. **Dhvani** is an important concept in Sanskrit literary criticism and the **dhvani** school consider **dhvani** or suggestion as the soul of poetry.

The primary text that deals with **dhvani** is a Sanskrit work called **Dhvanyaloka** (A Survey of Suggestion) by Anandavardhana who is presumed to have lived in Kashmir in the ninth century A. D. Though he was not the first to formulate the **dhvani** theory, he was the first to systematise it. Abhinavagupta wrote an excellent commentary on **Dhvanyaloka** called **Locana**, a century later.

The main point of the theory of **dhvani** is that suggestion is the soul of poetry. The denotation of words used is subordinated to their connotation, the deeper meaning. This "unsaid" suggested meaning is the **dhvani**, overtone, resonance or reverberation. The suggested meaning is more important and more essential, as a source of aesthetic appeal, than the surface meaning of words. All poetry of the first order is **dhvani**. If the suggested meaning is less important than the expressed meaning, it is poetry of a second order.

Anandavardhana says that poetic meaning is different from conventional meaning and cannot be explained in terms of denotation. He compares the expressed meaning to the various parts of a woman's body, and suggestive meaning to charm which is over and above the parts.¹ While the body of poetry can be scientifically studied with a knowledge of grammar, prosody etc., its soul which is

dhvani is understood only by those who have an insight into the true significance of poetry.

"The poetic meaning is not understood by a mere learning in grammar and dictionary. It is understood only by those who have an insight into the true essence of poetry."²

In a truly good poem, the explicit meaning becomes secondary and the suggestive meaning primary. The importance of a poem lies not in what it gives, but what it gives off. Words have two senses: the direct sense and the oblique sense. Poetic beauty lies in the predominance of the oblique over the direct sense. But suggestive poetry is not the same as poetry with figures of speech. 'Suggestive poetry is quite distinct from that of the sources of charm in explicit meaning, such as the figure simile, on the one hand, and that of the sources of charm in distinctive words, such as the figure alliteration, on the other'.³ **Dhvani** can suggest an idea (**vastu**), a figure of speech (**alamkara**) or a mood or sentiment (**rasa**). The centre of appeal in all poetry is **rasa** or aesthetic sentiment. **Rasa** cannot be described directly in words but can only be conveyed by hint and suggestion. **Dhvani** which suggests **rasa** is considered the best of **dhvanis**. The figures of speech or the literary excellences of structure or style should contribute to the realisation of **rasa**.

Thus the function of poetry according to Anandavardhana, is to suggest and not to describe. The French Symbolists also aimed at an art suggestive and subtle. Paul Valery said that the function of poetry was not to communicate 'some definite notion' as it is in the case of prose. Baudelaire and Verlaine tried to convey meaning through images which

assume the role of indirect statement. "The multiple meanings contained in words and objects are ingredients of the mystery and mood of the poem. There is never the sense of triumph of comprehension ; the message remains as ambiguous as it is succinct, like the vision that comes in the dream state."⁴

According to Mallarme the function of poetry was to evoke, not to describe.

"To name an object is to do away with three-quarters of the enjoyment of the poem which is derived from the satisfaction of guessing little by little ; to suggest it, that is the illusion."⁵ Paul Verlaine also says : "Don't go and choose your words without some inexactitude ;.....For we still want Nuance, not colour, nothing but Nuance".⁶

Thus both the French Symbolists and the *dhvani* theorists emphasise suggestion as the soul of poetry.

Dhvani theorists felt that a poet should work with significant sounds. According to them, the resonance of words cannot cancel out expressed sense. The direct meaning is transcended, but not altogether superseded by the oblique meaning. "Just as a man interested in perceiving objects (in the dark) directs his efforts towards securing the flame of a lamp since this is a means to realise his end, so also does one who is ultimately interested in the poetic meaning first evince interest in the conventional meaning. Just as the purport of a sentence is grasped only through the sense of individual words, the knowledge of the poetic sense is attained only through the medium of the literal sense."⁷ *Dhvani* theorists differ from French Symbolists in that the latter hold that poetry should aim at the

condition of music in which the content is merged in form. Mallarme felt the constricting influence of words. He tried to acquire for words the power of direct suggestion that music has ; he envied the technical exclusiveness of the other arts and desired for poetry "une langue immaculee". Music exercised a profound fascination for Mallarme as the musical sound sheds all denotation and functions as pure expression. He was not merely after the sound of music but after the very form of music. This led to great technical innovations which led sometimes to obscurity. Obscurity was anathema to Anandavardhana. "The full definition of suggestion in all its varieties includes clarity of manifestation and principal importance of the suggested element."⁸

French Symbolist aimed at music while *dhvani* theorists aimed at *rasa*. Both aimed at the ideal reader.

Footnotes

1. Anandavardhana, *Dhvanyaloka*, tr. K. Krishnamoorthy, (Poona : Oriental Book Agency, 1955), I. 4.
2. Ibid, I-7.
3. Ibid, I-13.
4. Anna Balakian, *The Symbolist Movement*, (New York : Random House, 1967), p. 49.
5. Mallarme, "Le Livre, Instrument Spirituel", (*Ouvres*, Pleiade), p. 380.
6. Paul Verlaine, "Art Poetique" in *French Poetry from Baudelaire to the Present with English Prose Translations* ed. Elaine Marks, (New York : The Laurel Language Library), p. 122.
7. Anandavardhana, *Dhvanyaloka*, I. 9.
8. Ibid, II-33.

VIDYAPATI AND BENGAL*

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Vidyapati is a Maithil poet. But he is as much popular with the Bengalis as with the Maithils. Indeed the love lyrics of Vidyapati form an inseparable part of the Bengali Vaishnav devotional literature. Almost from the time of Vidyapati, he has been widely read and sung in Bengal till today. It is stated in the **Chaitanya Charitamrita** of Krishnadas Kaviraj (who was himself a contemporary of Chaitanyadeva) that Chaitanyadeva was greatly fond of Vidyapati's lyrics. And that was in as far back as the sixteenth century. Since that time Vidyapati has been both an inspirer and entertainer of the Bengali mind. The great Vaishnava lyricist Govindadas publicly acknowledged Vidyapati as his guru. Many other poets of distinction in Bengal in the past centuries took the name of Vidyapati to popularize their writings.

Vidyapati's padas are to be found in the Bengali anthology of the seventeenth century. Since then Vidyapati's poems have been included in dozens of anthologies. Vidyapati's literary contribution was discussed in an essay on Bengali literature written by Raja Rajendralal Mitra in 1858-59. Mr. Harimohan Mukhopadhyay also dealt with Vidyapati's poetry in his book **Kavi Charit** published over a hundred years ago, in 1869. Three years later Pandit Ramgati Nyayaratna also presented a comprehensive evaluation of Vidyapati's work. This account was the basis of a longish dissertation on Vidyapati by an Englishman John Beams whose article was published in the **Indian Antiquary** in 1873. Vidyapati was so much part of Bengali literature that for a long time the Bengali writers considered him to be Bengali. It was in 1875 that for the

first time Mr. Rajkrishna Mukhopadhyay—a Bengali writer himself conclusively proved in an article in the monthly **Bangadarshan** (which was edited by Bankimchandra Chatterjee the great novelist)—that Vidyapati was not a Bengali but a Maithil. This was an instance of disinterested scholarship which was interested in establishing the historical truth and to do which the author (and also the editor of the magazine) did not mind going against the traditional Bengali view of Vidyapati. Immediately after the publication of Mr. Rajkrishna Mukhopadhyay's article, his views were accepted as authoritative and were incorporated in another article in the **Indian Antiquary** by John Beams. It was not until several years later that Grierson's article on Vidyapati was published.

About a hundred years ago several anthologies of Vidyapati's poems were brought out by the Bengali scholars in Bengal. In 1873 Mr. Jagabandhu Bhadra published a volume of Vidyapati's poems. The first critical edition of Vidyapati was brought out by Mr. Saradacharan Mitra in 1878 (Mr. Mitra's collection became the forerunner of further work on Vidyapati in Bengal). In the same year (1878) another annotated edition was brought out from Chinsurah by Akshay Chandra Sarkar. Several other collections followed in rapid succession. Grierson's collection of eighty-two padas of Vidyapati came out in 1881. In 1900 Mahamahopadhyay

**Vidyapati Sameeksha* by Niranjan Chakravarti. Bharati Book Stall, 6 Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta-9. 1970 Pp 204 Rs. 10.00.

Haraprasad Sastri brought out a collection of Vidyapati's padas as found in the court of Nepal. In 1909 the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad brought out a critical edition under the editorship of the late Nagendranath Gupta. This collection was subsequently revised by eminent scholars and the last edition came out eighteen years ago in 1953 under the editorship of the late Professor Khagendranath Mitra and the late Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar. In the meanwhile Dr. Muhammed Shahidullah had also brought out a collection of hundred poems of Vidyapati.

It is thus clear that even after it was established that Vidyapati was a Maithil poet and not a Bengali poet, the interest of the Bengalis in Vidyapati and his work not only did not decline but grew in dimension and intensity. Indeed it was again a Bengali writer, Mr. Tarinicharan Mitra, who had translated into Hindi Vidyapati's book entitled "Purush Pareeksha" from Maithili. That the interest of the Bengali scholars in Vidyapati and his work has remained unabated all the time is further given by Dr. Niranjana Chakravarti's study of Vidyapati which won him a D.Phil degree of the Calcutta University in 1967.

The wide popularity of Vidyapati in Bengal gave rise to two problems. Many poets wanted to popularize their poems by signing their names as "Vidyapati". In the poems current in Bengal which are attributed to Vidyapati the aliases used are Kaviranjana, Kavishekhar, Nava Kavishekhar, Shekar, Shekharay, Bhoopati, Champati, Nripati and Bhallabh. In the manuscripts of Rambhadrapur, Tarauni and Grierson the aliases used are Kavi-Kanthahar, Saras Kavi Kanthahar—which are not found in any of the poems current in Bengal under the authorship of Vidyapati. In the Nepal manuscripts the aliases used are Saras Kavi Vidyapati, Saras

Kavi or Saras Van. In the deed of Bisfi Vidyapati is also described as Abhinava Jayadeva. Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar, who has done valuable work on Vidyapati, has drawn attention to the fact that the aliases Kavishekhar, Shekhar, Navakavishekhar, Champati and Kaviranjana are not to be found in any of the poems of Vidyapati in the manuscripts of Nepal or Tarauni or in the Ragatarangini or in the collection of Grierson. But these aliases are frequently to be met in the poems of Vidyapati found in Bengal. On the other hand the alias "Kanthahar" found in the Nepal and Mithila texts is not to be found in the old collections of Vidyapati's poems in Bengal.

Dr. Chakravarti in his study has given an introduction to the past poets of Bengal who used to call themselves Vidyapati. Here one can see the true extent of his researches and his analytical skill. In the process he had to question the opinions held by scholars in the past. Nay, he even differed from his own research guide, the venerable Professor Janardan Chakravarti to whose credit the fact stands that as a true teacher he has commended the work of his courageous pupil in a scholarly and warm-hearted Forward to Dr. Niranjana Chakravarti's book! He also differed from his other research guide, the late Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar, who not only did not take exception to Dr. Chakravarti differing from him but encouraged Dr. Chakravarti to proceed along his independent course! I have personally heard Dr. Majumdar speaking to me very highly of Dr. Chakravarti's work. Those who might marvel how could serious scholars differ on such important questions have to be aware of the fact that in olden times there was no printing and the poems remained extant only as personal collections of individuals and kings. Indeed as Dr. Chakravarti has so ably pointed out, there

is no identity of the text of the same poems found in different collections. He has demonstrated this difference by quoting text of the same poem in the Nepal manuscripts, Ragatarangini and Grierson's collection on whom too much of emphasis is given by a section of scholars (Pp148-151) Dr. Chakravarti thus regards the texts found in Bengali also deserving of serious consideration by non-Bengali scholars working on Vidyapati and his times. What Dr. Chakravarti writes deserves to be quoted : "There is no question of the original texts of Vidyapati's poems. Since even the oldest texts do not agree among themselves and do not maintain any one sequence, it is not possible to say which is the original text, nor can one say with authority that a particular version represents the original text. Almost everywhere Vidyapati's poems have undergone a transformation. In this transformation is to be seen the handiwork of of several able poets who have superimposed themselves on this great poet. Then there is the irresistible movement of time whose touch never allows anything to remain unchanged and makes the old appear in a new form to retain attractiveness. Old words change and appear as current words. The padavalis of Vidyapati have undergone transformation in this manner. The Maithil poet has been enshrined in the heart of the Bengalis as their own dear poet. In this poetic transformation the poetic cravings and creations of many Bengalis have been intertwined. Those poets can no more be distinguished. There is no doubt, however, that, in the evergreen grandeur of Vidyapati, if they do not adorn his crown they definitely adorn his body by

their poetic wealth", writes Dr. Niranjan Chakravarti (Pp 150-151 translated from Bengali by the writer of this article).

Dr. Chakravarti has done excellent work by tracing the transformation of some of the famous padas of Vidyapati in Bengal. Then he has discussed the other poems in Bengali literature which have currency under the alias of Vidyapati. In this process of scholarly pursuit Dr. Chakravarti has discovered seventyone new padas under the authorship of Vidyapati which no scholar could discover before. Dr. Chakravarti is of the opinion, however, that these padas could not have been written by the Maithil poet. A number of persons in Bengal used the alias Vidyapati to write poems. Dr. Chakravarti identifies a few of them, Kaviranjan, Kavishekhar (again a common cover for the identity of several poets), Champati, Bhoopati, Kaviballabh. Besides a considerable literature developed in Bengal on the love of Vidyapati and Lachchima Devi (of which the historical basis is extremely tenuous). Dr. Chakravarti discusses that literature in an interesting chapter.

There is a select bibliography at the end of the book, on the literature on Vidyapati in English, Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Sanskrit and Gujarati. The book is tolerably well-printed but the printing mistake of the second word of the sixth line from top on page xvi is extremely unfortunate. These blemishes do not touch the essence of the work which is an example of genuine scholarship based on careful study and independent and unbiased approach to history and literature. It is this type of work that can enable us to reach truth, if we ever can, about Vidyapati's writings.

IN MEMORIUM SIRI DEVAPRIYA VALISINHA—INDO-CEYLON BUDDHIST LEADER

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Three personalities shine in the resuscitation of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent, and particularly in the Buddhist cultural renaissance in Ceylon, India and South-East Asian lands. They are Col. Olcott, the Ven. Dharmapala and Siri Valisinha. Col. Olcott was definitely the torch bearer of this movement and he was guru of the Ven. Dharmapala, and the Ven. Dharmapala was in turn guru of Siri Valisinha, and each played a master rôle after the other's death. Siri Valisinha had no especial shisha (pupil) but left an internationally recognized world Buddhist movement when he died in 1968 as General Secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society with its headquarters at Calcutta.

Siri Valisinhahad an attack of paralysis on December 18, 1965. After long treatment both in India and Ceylon he was slowly recovering, when unfortunately he had a second attack to which he succumbed on August 3, 1968, in the Colombo (Ceylon) General Hospital. Expression of sorrow for this bachelor (Brackmachariya) crusader for peace and justice for mankind was universally felt upon his death. World leaders like Premier Indira Gandhi, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Princess Poon of Thailand, Prime Ministers of all Buddhist lands and Buddhist leaders from Europe, America to Asia sent in their messages of remorse and condolences.

Although the Maha Bodhi's Society's work was originally confined to India and Ceylon, its influence is felt over a great part of the world except in the Muslim lands. Not only have many new Maha Bodhi Societies sprung up in the major cities of India, but also in

London and Japan. This was possible due to the able leadership of Siri Valisinha who had no trace of racial or parochial prejudice. To him every human being was a brother. As Buddhist he occupies a high rank unsullied by blemishes of religious bigotry and narrow-minded nationalism. It is needless to reiterate here that Valisinha personified all that is noble in the Buddhist cultural traditions of Ceylon and India—a universal man imbued with a spirit of service and self-sacrifice in the cause of suffering humanity.

The Rev. Dr. Dharmaratana states :

"It was the year 1912. The name of the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala was echoing both at home and abroad. On the one hand he had started the great mission of propagating the sublime message of lord Buddha in these continents—Asia, Europe and America. On the other hand, he was travelling up and down his homeland rousing up the people from their deep slumber with a lion's roar. In the course of a lecture tour he visited Apalatotuwa near Kandy. There was a large gathering of people including students. The words of the Ven. Dharmapala worked like magic on his audience. His oration continued for one hour. He spoke on the wonders of science, material prosperity of the Western countries, the necessity of propagating Saddharma in the modern world, glory of independence and the necessity of cultivating self confidence. The people listened to him with rapt attention.

After the lecture the Ven. Dharmapala addressed the students and asked if there was anyone who would like to go with him and

work for the propagation of Buddhism in Jambudvipa. There was a pin-drop silence. After five minutes a smart boy of about twelve years came forward and said that he would like to go with him. It was this boy that later on came to be known as Sri Devapriya Valisinha, the General-Secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society.

Now there was the question of taking the consent of the guardians. It goes without saying that a child is dear to its near and dear ones. This is all the more true of a promising one. But then dedicating a child for a noble cause is regarded as meritorious act. And this child had to be the pupil of the Ven. Dharmapala and work in the land of the Buddha. So there was no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the guardians."

After completing the programme at Kandy, the Ven. Dharmapala returned to Colombo with the boy and entrusted him to the care of his mother Srimati Mallika Hevawitarne. Like his late beloved father, she too used to support him in his noble mission both morally and financially. Devapriya Valisinha, now under her care, was admitted to a good school at Colombo. After some time the Ven. Dharmapala returned to India with the boy.

There was intimate friendship between Ven. Dharmapala and the poet laureate Rabindranath Tagore. By then his Ashram at Santiniketan had also come into existence. The Ven. Dharmapala entrusted him to the great poet. Santiniketan had already made a name as a centre of Indian culture. So in addition to acquiring general knowledge and the study of Indian languages, Devapriyaji got the opportunity of becoming familiar with Indian culture at first hand.

Therefore it is correct to assert that Siri Valisinha was a shisha of two noble figures—the Ven. Dharmapala of Ceylon and the genius son of India, Rabindranath Tagore.

And from poet Tagore he imbibed the spirit of universalism. An average Singhalese looks like a Bengali in appearance and the two cultures are alike, therefore when Valisinha used to put on Bengali dress, speak in Hindi, Bengali or Singhala, many thought he was a Bengali,

In 1921 Valisinha passed the matric. (university entrance) with distinction and joined the famous Presidency College, Calcutta, and began his college career.

In 1922 Ven. Dharmapala left for Ceylon, and Valisinha became the chief worker in charge of the Society at Calcutta. When it was proposed to build M. Lagandhakuti Vihara in Saranath in the famous Deer Park where the Buddha preached his first sermon, the society had some trouble created by the then British Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler of U.P. But this was tactfully overcome by Valisinha and the Vihara was built according to the plans of the Indian architect Mr. Khanna near the famous Dhammek Stupa, the spot in the Deer Park at Saranath which the Buddha frequently visited in his lifetime.

The influence of Siri Valisinha on the great Indian leaders, Poet Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Premier Nehru, was remarkable. In 1927 Mahatma Gandhi himself presided over the Waisakha Fullmoon Festival (Buddha's birthday celebrations) at Calcutta. When the Vihara was opened on November 11, 1931, the function was presided over by Premier Jawaharlal Nehru himself. Besides the big dignitaries, it was attended by over 20,000 people.

Ven. Dharmapala passed away on the 29th April, 1933, leaving the whole burden and responsibility of running the Society to Valisinha. He was named as one of the executors of the estate and a trustee by the Founder's will.

and codicil. The Society, at the time was growing rapidly as an international organization.

To Valisinha's mind his greatest achievement has been the recovery of the sacred relics of Sariputta and Moggallana Arahats, the two chief disciples of the Buddha, from London, where they were kept over a hundred years ago. He successfully negotiated with the British Government through the Archaeological Department of India, and restored the relics to the Indian Maha Bodhi Society. Previous attempts by various organizations had failed to secure the relics and it was a great credit to Valisinha to have had the distinction of getting back the holy relics from London.

The relics were brought to Ceylon after World War II, in 1947. They were displayed to the public for two months and no less than three million people visited them.

When the relics of Sariputta and Moggallana Arahats were brought to India they were given a memorable welcome with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru taking the leading part. Valisinha as General Secretary of the Society had a strenuous time. The relics were taken to Burma, Assam, Bihar, Utter Pradesh, Nepal, Ladakh, Sikkim and Tibet, where they were enthusiastically welcomed by the people. Valisinha, along with Dr. M. R. Soft—a Vice-President of the Maha Bodhi Society—accompanied the relics.

Valisinha also took a leading part in organizing the opening ceremony of the Sanchi Vihara in 1952, where Emperor Asoka had enshrined these relics in the 3rd century B. C. in the famous Sanchi Stupas. The opening ceremony was attended by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Hon. U. Nu, Prof. Tan Yun-Shan, Dr. Char Liang Chow, Dr. Chou Seong Kung and many other notable personalities. The Diamond Jubilee of the Maha Bodhi Society was also celebrated along with the opening of the Sanchi Vihara.

Valisinha was one of the invitees of the Government of India to the Convention held in New Delhi in connection with the Buddha Jayanti celebrations. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Holiness the Panchen Lama and other dignitaries from all over the world attended the Convention. After taking part in it Valisinha left for Sanchi to welcome Their Holinesses the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. These are memorable events in Valisinha's life.

For many years Valisinha had been in correspondence with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the famous scheduled caste leader who expressed to him his intention to embrace Buddhism. Valisinha got many books on Buddhism sent to Dr. Ambedkar and induced him to contribute articles to *The Maha Bodhi*. In 1956 Dr. Ambedkar decided finally to become a Buddhist and asked his followers to join him. A mass meeting was, therefore, organized at Nagpur for the purpose. Valisinha was invited to the meeting. He attended the historic event with several Bhikkhus of the Society and helped in arranging the religious ceremony. He presented to Dr. Ambedkar an image of Lord Buddha on behalf of the Society. Five lakhs of his followers embraced Buddhism on the occasion. Valisinha addressed the gathering and later on spoke at numerous public meetings in Nagpur and adjacent villages on Buddhism and the duties of the new Buddhists.

In 1958, the Government of Thailand invited the society to send two representative of the Society to attend the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Thailand, and Valisinha was elected along with Sri J. M. Majumdar to represent the Society.

At the invitation of the Government of Cambodia and Laos, Valisinha went to Indo-Chinese lands to participate in the Buddha Jayanti celebrations there. From Phnom Penh Valisinha proceeded to Saigon where he delivered two lectures.

In 1959 Valisinha was invited by the Government of Japan to participate in the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations and the Cultural Conference organized on the occasion. He took part in the event and renewed his friendly ties with his numerous friends in Japan.

The last great event in the life of Valisinha was the centenary celebrations of the Ven. Dharmapala, his guru. With his organizing, this event was celebrated all over the world, even in America.

Dr. Gee Tsing Po states :

"For over 42 years Valisinha had been working at a stretch for the Maha Bodhi Society either in India, Ceylon or Europe. He did not consider any work beneath his dignity - an ideal taught to him by his guru. In fact he had been often dusting the almirahs of the Vihara, cleaning the images, painting windows, reading proofs of the Journal twice or thrice which he had continuously done from about 1922, except when he was away, writing and typing letters, attending to the personal comforts of the large number of pilgrims, visitors and guests arriving at the Society from various parts of the world, and doing everything needed for the progress of the Society.

Because of his strenuous activities he developed a heart trouble, but in spite of this he was active and did more work than many a younger man. He was one of those who could look back on his record of work with satisfaction, for he felt that due to the labours of many pioneers and his own humble contribution, Buddhism at last found a foothold in the land of its birth - a wish so dear to the heart of Ven. Dharmapala who sacrificed his life for the noble cause of reviving Buddhism."

Five of the greatest contributions of Sri Valisinha before he died were :

(1) Handing over the administration of the Buddha Gaya temple to a committee of Hindus and Buddhists under the direction of the Government of India.

(2) The international celebrations of the birth centenary of his guru.

(3) The founding of the London Maha Bodhi Society in 1965, which Ven. Dharmapala failed to establish in 1925.

(4) Bringing to the attention of the World Buddhist Communities that India is their heart and mind, being their holy land, which had a wonderful civilization under Asoka.

(5) Bringing India and Ceylon together as it was in ancient times.



ENTREPRENEURS FOR PUBLIC SECTOR

Y. R. SINGH

Objectives

Government enterprises have become a common feature of the modern economic system. These projects in the public sector have made significant contribution to the national economy. Development of large industries in vital sectors, savings and earnings in foreign exchange, increase in the industrial skills and employment are among the benefits flowing directly from these projects of the economy. The major objectives behind public investments are to create a sound socio-economic infrastructure, develop and diversify production in such vital sectors, where private enterprise would not be initially forthcoming, to ensure equitable distribution of available resources, to facilitate the growth of private industries and to contribute towards the fulfilment of national objectives like export promotion, import substitution, employment provision, price stabilization and finally to provide essential services such as, banking, insurance, transport and communications. In short the objective is to supplement private enterprises and not to supplant the private efforts.

Achievements

How far we have achieved these objectives is evident from the following table

| Return on Capital (only in running undertaking) | |
|--|-----------------|
| 1966-67 | 2% of capital |
| 1967-68 | 1% of capital |
| 1961-69 | 1.1% of capital |
| 1969-70 | 1% of capital |

It is now known to everybody and it is needless to emphasize that steps are required

to be taken towards achieving better planning, improved management and more purposeful guidance in this sector, in order to improve performances and profitability, in the coming years. Removing deficiencies, introduction of new measures to improve managerial and operational efficiency, is a continuous process and this is the task for which practical thinkers should come forward and suggest ways and means.

The Indian Planning Commission feels thus : "The public undertakings will be able to make expected contribution only if adequate steps are taken to improve their productivity and profitability. For this it will be necessary to allow greater initiative and autonomy to the management in the day to day operations of these enterprises. There is also a need for reorienting recruitment, promotion and related policies particularly those concerning to the top management personnel". The real trouble with the public sector is that it does not have managers equipped to take decisions on their own. Ideal enterprises should groom managers to perform decision making roles by progressively enlarging their responsibilities as they travel up the ladder. There was some hope that the bureau of public enterprises might serve as a check against political whimsicality, but this has not been fulfilled, though the bureau is located in the powerful ministry of finance.

Following reasons for the failure of public sector plants have been given by different experts associated with them :—

- (a) Lack of greater autonomy
- (b) Wrong personnel, promotion and recruitment policies

- (c) Lack of accountability
- (d) Idle capacity
- (e) Ill planning
- (f) Lack of individual initiative and enterprise
- (g) Lack of businesslike attitude
- (h) Wrong pricing policies
- (i) Heavy inventories
- (j) Lack of demand
- (k) Over staffing etc.

In the present paper an attempt is made to design a pattern for public sector plants which incorporates the good elements of free enterprise and public enterprise. This unusual combination will provide incentive to top managers and at the same time make them accountable. Workers will have to work hard and they will not be in a position to evade their responsibilities. The case of the paper mill at Raja Mundhry (Andhra Pradesh), a public sector project which was losing heavily is an eye opener. In this plant as soon as the management was changed and incentive element was introduced, the production was increased by 28 times. I suggest the following frame work for public sector units in future.

Selection of Site

Unlike all other public sector projects the site should be selected by a committee of experts keeping in view the priorities fixed by the parliament. There should be no political tug of war, and economic considerations should be given the highest priority i. e. 80% weightage should be given to economic considerations, while only 20% to the welfare and regional considerations, so that the cost of production is not very high as is feared about Bokaro steel where the cost of production will perhaps be the highest in the world.²

Entrepreneur

At present the investments in the public sector have touched the limit of Rs. 4000 crores, and by the end of 1974 it is likely to

touch Rs. 7000 crores mark. Therefore for such huge investments the President of India should have a Public Sector Industrial Advisory Committee, which should advise him on the matters relating to appointments in public sector, because politicians always can not give uncoloured advice. The committee should consist of leading industrialists from different types of industries. It is this committee which should invite applications from persons with vast experience in the line of work required for the proposed project. It should clearly mention the type of industry, its proposed location and the total investment. Out of these applicants an entrepreneur should be appointed by the President of India on the recommendations of the public sector industrial advisory committee. The salary of person thus appointed should not be fixed. During the period of construction he should be given a fixed salary say Rs. 3000/- per month, and if he gets the work completed before time he should be paid extra for his hard work.

As soon as the production starts the entrepreneur should be given a fixed percentage of profit and not the salary, only in case of loss he should be given say about 1000/- per month as subsistence allowance, that too for a limited period. Further if he fails, the industrial advisory committee should go into the details and recommend punishment or termination of contract. If the committee finds some thing serious, and deliberately done, it should recommend severe punishment and even rigorous imprisonment.

The entrepreneur, apart from his responsibilities, should be fully empowered to make all appointments. He should have full financial powers. He should be made personally responsible for his actions. There should be least interference in his work.

Sub-Entrepreneur

As regards requirements of the product,

the entrepreneur should be allowed to appoint sub-entrepreneurs of his choice. The work of production should be divided among sub-entrepreneurs and they should manufacture different components and parts of the product. The entrepreneur should be in charge of quality control and assembly. These sub-entrepreneurs should also not be paid a fixed salary. They should be paid in terms of piece work. These sub-entrepreneurs should be fully empowered to appoint persons of their choice as workers or supervisors on the shop floor. The salaries of the workers and supervisors should be fixed as per norms laid down by the bureau of public enterprise. Thus within this frame there will be incentive to the managers who will make the workers to do hard work.

Financing Bank

The money for the project should be given by a leading bank of the area. Since the 14 major banks are now nationalised, Government can ask one of the banks to finance the project. The money should be made available to the entrepreneur, as and when he desires, subject to an overall watch by the lending bank and the bank should also arrange for auditing etc.

Townships or Housing

The memorandum on public sector enterprises submitted to parliament in March 1969 by the then Dy. Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai states—"Costly non-municipalized townships have often weighed down projects even before they have gone into production." Therefore a serious thought should be given to this factor also. Small townships for accommodating the workers should be constructed in the beginning and, when production starts, it should be handed over to the workers by declaring it a notified area. The workers should develop it further with their own resources. This will save the Government

from heavy expenditure on its maintenance. The workers will thus develop a sense of belonging for the township and unit. The system of ownership of workers through instalment payment will also be very useful.

Sales Organisation

In case of government to government sale, there is no problem and in most of the cases, the public sector is so far confined to such items only. However where public sector has to compete with private sector the machinery should be quite efficient. A sales director should be appointed on the basis of subsistence salary, plus commission on total sale. He should be given full powers to run his department. This will make the sales organisation efficient. The salaries of the field staff of the commercial department should be fixed as per norms laid down by the bureau of public enterprise. Failure on the part of Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals is an example of this type where on account of other firms being in the market the sales were poor.

Pricing

Keeping the objective of these projects in the mind, returns do not seem to be the primary criterion, but this does not mean that the undertakings may not even produce surplus sufficient for their running cost, depreciation, wage bill and development etc. The pricing should be such that at least a 10% return is there on the investment as envisaged by the planning commission. The concept of profit motive has also undergone a radical change in socialist countries now. Profit is no longer a dirty word, it is but the surplus created, part of which goes to government as taxes, part goes to the employees as bonus and part is ploughed back into the business. For a resources-hungry country, this is a must.

Advantages

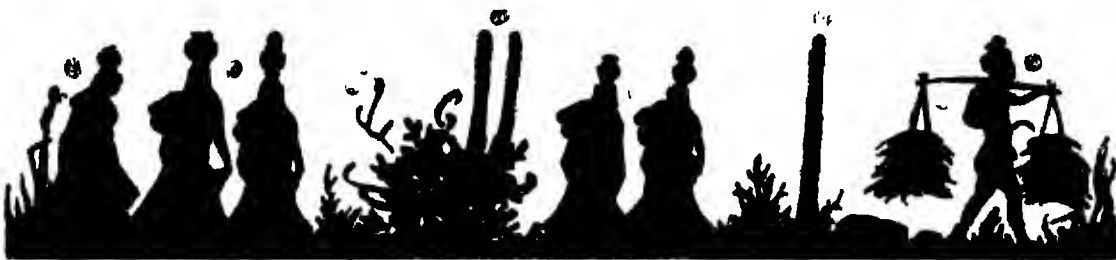
The frame work suggested in the present paper will enlarge individual freedom, avoid

huge bureaucracies, which are impervious to the needs of consumers. Centralisation and monopoly which gives birth to inefficiency, complacency and arrogance towards consumers will no more be there. The danger of private empires built by bureaucrats, who enjoy power without accountability will be done away with. The link with ministry officials will virtually be broken. The managers will not wait for decisions from Delhi.

On the other hand fear in the mind of managers will compel them to take quick and sound decisions. The incentive will force them to work hard. Thus top persons will be a guiding force for the workers. In India technicians are far better and quicker worker than the technicians of other countries. In the words of Shri S. S. Khera³—"The technical skills of the people in this country and their aptitude for such skills has been one of the causes of surprise, particularly to foreigners in India. They are always surprised how quickly the average Indian technician or average apprentice picks up modern technical skills." Therefore there is no reason why we cannot produce better results with such good skilled man power. If our managers in public sector are vigilant and they are not retired and spent forces, the day is not far when the public sector will produce good results.

The greatest hurdle in the way is non-implementation of progressive ideas, for example—as far back as in 1959 it was decided that no secretary or joint secretary of a ministry should head a public undertaking but till Feb 1969 i. e. after nearly 10 years no less than eight of them were still presiding over a wide variety of units ranging from a bakery in Delhi to **Bokaro** steel. Similarly at Mr. Skachkov's behest a cabinet committee headed by the Prime Minister herself was appointed in 1969 for taking quick decision and remove impediments to the efficient running of the public sector, but the effect is still not seen. Therefore what is needed is that progressive ideas should be given fair trial so that the things may improve, failing which people of India will have no faith in public sector policies. The public enterprises are only a few specimens of socialism. Whether the people will opt for further march along the road of socialism would depend a good deal on what they think about the performances of public sector enterprises. Thus in these plants socialism would be on trial.

1. U. N. I. 30.3.69 @ Editorial Statesman 13. 3.69
2. Hindustan Times 28.6.70
3. Shri S. S. Khera "Management and control in public enterprise.



TECHNIQUE OF FARM PLANNING FOR MORE PRODUCTION

II. MAHABALESHWARIAH

Introduction.

In India we are striving hard to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. Accordingly in the Fourth Five Year Plan the target has been envisaged to have 129 million tons of food grain production by 1974. To achieve this target, it is proposed to spend Rs. 2728.2 crores in Agricultural Sector. The task of raising food production is sought through many ways. Accordingly, the strategy has been worked out to increase production at the rate of 5 per cent per annum. The strategy of production lays stress on intensive agriculture and using the latest agricultural technology as a major input to achieve the self-sufficiency in the agricultural sector. To make use of the latest agricultural technology, demands the full use of all inputs and services such as improved seeds, chemical fertilizers, plant protection, implements and machinery, irrigation facilities, and agricultural credit. Institutional credit has expanded and has been made available easily to the farmers through many ways to secure the needed inputs and services. Efforts are made since 1960-61 in Intensive Agricultural District Programme and also in Intensive Agricultural Area Programme, areas to provide all favourable conditions for increasing production. The Intensive Agricultural Area programmes were concerned with the promotion of intensive agriculture. To make the intensive agriculture successful by

providing all inputs and services, Farm Planning Programme was taken up to assess the productive worthiness of the farmers in that area. Based on sound Farm Plans the inputs like seeds, fertilizers, plant protection, improved implements and credit etc., were provided to the farmers.

Farm Planning and Budgeting technique is simple sound scientific and an indispensable tool to demonstrate the use of new technology and innovations in the Agricultural production process. With the help of budgeting technique we can easily show how a farm income can be increased. Before an individual farmer tries new practices he needs to know how they would benefit him. An extension worker before he recommends new practices to a farmer should be armed with data to give a convincing answer to the farmer. One way to find out if new practices would pay on a given farm is to let the farmer try the practice and observe what happens to his income. But, if the wrong practice is tried, the farmer will lose money and lose confidence in the extension worker. This could be avoided by the study of budget of costs and returns for the farm with different set of practices.

Farm Planning and Budgeting.

Farming in the present day world is not an easy going vocation as it appears to be from the outside. It is competitive and complicated.

Farmer has to produce not only for himself but for the market. He has to produce more and more to meet his ever growing demand for the commodities and services that are produced in the non-agricultural field. It is not enough if he produces more but he should also know the technique of marketing so that he gets more money returns and he should produce more of the farm commodities at a cheaper cost. To be successful, in the present day farming, requires a wide range of knowledge of the life and growth habits of plants and animals and the economics of agriculture and the business world. Farmer has to take help of different applied sciences to make sound decisions on his farm. To help the farmer to arrive at a sound decision the Farm Management science comes to his rescue. Farm Management is concerned with the discussion of the many problems and procedures involved in organizing and operating a farm. It also incorporates the study of business principles in farming. All this aims at securing the greatest continuous profit and satisfaction to the farm family.

Farm Management is a continuous process where farmer has to make decisions to carry on the business of farming successfully. In India farmer is both manager and worker in the field. Most of the labour and management used on farms are supplied by the farm family. To make sound Farm Management decisions the farmer has to take help of the latest technical knowledge that is available in the field. It does not mean he should be a specialist in all branches of Agricultural Sciences. But he should be aware of the development that are taking place in different branches of Agricultural Science. The information of new innovations can be had from the extension people and different publications. Only thing he needs is to be alert and receptive to the new developments which will help him

to become a successful manager. And this in turn will get him more profits and satisfaction from the farming occupation.

Farm Planning.

Farm Planning technique is used to make sound decisions by the farmer. It is a procedure which helps the farmer to choose, plan for, and carry out the enterprises that will maximise his income and other satisfactions. In other words it is a process of decision making and helps the farmer to become a better manager. A farm plan identifies the enterprises that the farmer decides are the ones desirable for his farm, their size and location the production methods to be used, and the production supplies and credit that will be needed for carrying out his plan. It is always based upon an estimate of probable costs and returns, involving consideration of marketing plans and prospective prices for his products. Farm planning often will lead the farmer towards the introduction of new and more profitable enterprises and farming practices, and to discard those that are less profitable.

Farm planning helps the farmer to move step by step towards scientific method of farming in place of traditional farming. As the farming occupation has become complicated, it is difficult to remember all the activities that are going on, on the farm. Hence, it is required that the farmer should write down all the activities on paper. Already the farmer is having a plan for his farm in his mind. He knows what he wants to grow, how much and what seed to use etc. It is likely that he may forget certain aspects which may help him to arrive at correct decisions, if he plans in his mind. To avoid this, it is desirable to plan well in advance regarding different aspects of farming business in writing.

A farm plan is a scheme of action prepared

in advance. It is a scheme for the operation and organization of a farm business. The scheme may contemplate any change in the method or practice followed in the farm operation and/or it may mean the complete reorganisation of the farm business.

Budgeting.

Budgeting is used to assess the plan prepared in advance with regard to the probable costs and returns of the contemplated enterprises or changes in enterprises that are included in the plan. Budgeting is nothing but the process of estimating the plan. It is prepared to compare the cost and returns resulting from the adopting of a new method or the use of new equipment of farm structures etc. It may also be prepared to determine the probable expenses and income resulting from a complete change in enterprise and a complete reallocation of farm resources. Budgeting is used to evaluate a plan and it helps the farmer to adopt those enterprises and farming practices which would give him the highest net returns on his investments.

Types of Budgeting.

1) *Partial Budgeting* : It refers to an advance estimate of cost and returns of an enterprise or part of business or any one programme. For example an advance estimate may be made only for wheat, or jowar or poultry, without taking into consideration other enterprises, or an estimate may be made only for fertilizer application programme for all crops on the farm.

2) *Complete Budgeting* : The complete budgeting always makes an advance estimate of costs and returns for the whole farm including the estimates for reorganization of the farm and any other changes including those in

the farm plan. It takes into consideration the whole farming business.

To summarize, the two stages of farm planning and budgeting are so interlinked that they have become inseparable. A budget is used to evaluate a plan, and a plan is the basis of budget. We can prepare a plan without a budget, but we can not have a budget without a plan. Because of this planning and budgeting always go hand in hand.

Steps In Farm Planning

The procedure for preparing the Farm plan should be simple and easily understandable. The steps in preparing Farm plan as outlined below is simple and can be understood by farmers, extension workers and students without much difficulty. The success of any plan depends on the systematic procedure that has been followed. A good beginning will always end in good success. At the end it becomes easy to evaluate the extent of success achieved in implementing the plan also.

(1) Find out the present position of the following :

(a) Resource position or Inventory :

Detail information on the following should be collected.

Land : Number of acres of dry and irrigated land. Type of soil, topography, drainage facilities, bunding ; type of bunds etc.,.

Labour : Availability of family labour, permanent labour. Number of days the labour is available in a year. Type of labour, skilled and unskilled. Availability of bullock labour in terms number of days available.

Capital : How much capital in on hand. How much he can arrange to get in from different agencies.

Buildings and other structures : Types and

Number of buildings that the farmer has got and used in farming business. Buildings like bullock shed, pump house, store house etc., should be recorded. Wells used for irrigation, type of irrigation followed may be recorded.

Equipment : What are the different equipments that the farmer has got and how many days they are used in a year. List of all equipments to be made.

Livestock : What are the different types of livestock that the farmer is possessing and their contribution to farming business.

(b) Different crops grown :

What are the different crops raised on the farm to be recorded. The method of cultivation, type of seed used, fertilizer applied, plant protection measure used and any other practices followed may be recorded in detail. The cropping patterns, rotations mixtures followed may be recorded. This helps later in identifying the weaknesses of the present farming when we compare with the package practices.

(c) Extent of Resources used :

In this step we should note the amount of land, labour, and capital used for different enterprises. This will help us to know the unnecessary spending of resources on one crop or enterprise when we compare with standard norms later.

(d) Level of production :

Under this head what is the yield of main product and byproduct may be noted.

(e) Costs and Returns :

How much has been spent for raising each crop or enterprise and how much he has received in return for each enterprise has to be collected in detail, as far as possible.

(2) Identify the weaknesses in the present plan :

The weaknesses that are observed can be broadly classed under two heads. They are as follows :

(a) Structural weakness.

(b) Operational weakness.

(a) Structural weaknesses :

This is mainly related to the structure of the farm. By improving the structural weakness, the structure of the farm is changed. For example, Bunding, digging the drains, sinking of well, fencing or it may be construction of a small building which may add to the efficiency of farming business.

(b) Operational weaknesses :

This relates to improving the day to day operation of the farm. For example, introduction of new variety or fertilizer application or using of plant protection chemicals or better cultural practices. By introducing operational changes it helps the farmer to get better returns from that particular enterprise or enterprises. Here it is not concerned with the introduction of any major changes which may affect the structure of the farm.

(3) Prepare the enterprise budgets or the package of practices :

Farm Management science embraces all the applied sciences. It takes help of all the sciences to make better decisions on the farm. Farm Manager has to take help of all new innovations and prepare a comprehensive list of practices for each enterprise that is capable of giving good returns. This is often called a package of practices or enterprise budgets. The enterprise budgets should be prepared well in advance and kept ready before preparing the plan proper. The enterprise budgets can be prepared with the help of extension leaflets, publications and publications from research stations. In preparing the enterprise budgets experiences of the progressive farmers, and experiences of the farmer for whom plan is going to be prepared should be taken into consideration. Once these enterprise budgets are ready it becomes

easy to identify the weaknesses of the present farming practices.

(4) Prepare an alternative plan :

With the help of the enterprise budgets which are up-to-date and give the latest development in the field, it becomes easy to identify the weaknesses. Based on this an alternative plan should be prepared. In the first instance, the cropping pattern should not be changed. Keeping the same cropping pattern and by introducing only new varieties, fertilizers, and plant protection measures etc., the plan should be prepared. Always we should work out more than one alternative plan. In the second stage, the alternative plan may be prepared by changing the present cropping pattern and by introducing new changes in the farm. Always one should keep in view long range benefits while preparing alternative plans.

In the process of preparing alternative plans one should consider and keep in mind the characteristics of good Farm planning.

(5) Consider wants and preferences of the farmer :

Before preparing new plan for the farmer, we must take into consideration his family needs and his preferences. We should not suggest an enterprise that may go against his social custom and practices.

(6) Compare the present plan with alternate plans and find out the net economic gain :

After preparing an alternative plan, we must work out the expected net economic gain in terms of rupees. This will be useful to convince the farmer the benefit of planning and planned production.

(7) Implement the plan .

The real task of the planning lies in its implementation. A plan may be good on paper and if it is not implemented the efforts of preparing the plan will go waste.

(8) Evaluate the plan and see to what extent the plan has been successful :

After the plan has been put into effect, evaluation of the plan at the end of the year has to be made to assess the success or failure of the plan. This will help us to make better plans for the next year.

(9) Reformulate the plan in the light of the experience gained :

Based on the experiences gained the plans have to be modified and prepared afresh for the coming year.

(10) Thus planning is a continuous process :

The technology is changing, new innovations are coming in the field. Farmer has to make necessary changes to get good returns from his farming business. To be successful he has to keep abreast of changes and make and improve his plans so as to suit his farm and ultimately with the aim of getting better economic returns.

Benefits of Farm Planning and Budgeting.

Farm Planning which is prepared in advance helps the farmer to derive many advantages.

1. Helps to determine changes or adjustments which are needed well in advance.
2. Helps the farmer to identify the structural and operational weaknesses.
3. Helps to adjust his income in such way so as to get it regularly.
4. Helps to arrange and obtain required credit well in advance.
5. Helps to use the labour force productively and judiciously.
6. Helps to use the machinery and implements fully.
7. Helps to plan for marketing well in advance.
8. Helps to compare different sets of budgets and plans.
9. Helps to reduce production risks.

10. Helps to receive help from extension and technical workers easily.
11. Helps to evaluate the total farm economic conditions.

Conslusions

Planning is prethinking. In the process of planning we are using the scarce resources to the best advantage of the farming family. The planning will result in making use of the resources in a rational way and this will result in many changes on the farm and in farming enterprises. The probable changes that may occur in planning may be summed up as follows: The proportion of area under different crops may change and it will result in the introduction of new varieties of crops new rotations and new mixtures, etc.,. It may also result in the more intensity of cropping and change in the cultural practices. Planning will result in structural changes like bunding, drainage programme etc., on the farm. It also helps in the profitable use of scarce

resources, adoption of technical improvements on the farm. Over and above, planning and planned production will result in improving the farmers' ability in planning, decision making and executing the plan. Ultimately, it will result in the attitudinal change of the farming family.

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TANZANIA AND CHINA

SUNIL KUMAR SAHU

Tanzania, although in area and population the largest of the East African territories, was for a long time politically most backward of them. Thus when she became independent in December 1961 after 40 years of British administration, she was heavily dependent upon the former colonial power and the western world in general. For example at the time of independence 80% of her total trade was with the sterling area, the EEC and the United States; 85% of her development revenue came from British loans and grants and only one quarter of the senior and the middle grade posts in the civil service were held by the natives. However, China did not figure till 1964. Though China had initiated an intensive economic aid programme in the two Indian ocean islands of Zanzibar and Pembe even before 1964. Immediately after the independence ceremonies, Julius Nyerere, the then P. M., addressed the U. N. General Assembly. His speech there on 14 December 1961 outlined the basic foreign policy attitudes of Tanganyika, which have remained unchanged throughout the constitutional and other developments of Tanganyika and Tanzania. Nyerere in his speech laid down the four basic tenets of foreign policy :

1. To establish world peace. Hence to support, and to seek to strengthen, the United Nations in its search for peace and justice.
2. Basic and continued opposition to colonialism anywhere on the continent or in any other part of the world.
3. Attainment of African unity which depends on the complete freedom of the continent; and

4. To keep Tanganyika out of the automatic conflicts of the world.

These points were again emphasized by President Nyerere in his address to the TANU National Conference on 16th October 1967. He categorically laid down the attitudes and policies of Tanzania towards international problems and the foreign policy of the nation. The fundamental principles of Tanzanian foreign policy as laid down by him are the following :

- (1) To follow a non-alignment in the ideological and power quarrels of the world;
- (2) non-commitment to the great power alliance
- (3) to support, and to seek to strengthen the United Nations in its search for peace and justice,
- (4) to maintain the belief in African unity as a vital objective for Tanzania and the whole continent, and
- (5) to continue to support the movement for African liberation and freedom from racist oppression.

When we look at China we find that China's contact with Africa in general is now about a decade and half old. In 1956 Egypt established diplomatic relations with China. Since then the Chinese have come a long way in winning friends and influencing people in Africa. By now China has established diplomatic relations with nearly 20 African states and when we look at the policy objective of China in Africa we find that China has got mainly the following major interests in Africa.

- (1) To propagate Marxist-Leninist ideology;

- (2) to raise the slogan of anti-imperialism. The Chinese have always professed complete support to anti-imperialist struggles in Africa. For example: China strongly supported Egypt during the Suez crisis.
- (3) to discredit the Soviet Union in African eyes. Foreign aid, which the African states value considerably, makes the competition with Russians a tough affair. For example during the period 1954-65 aid given by Russia, USA and China is like this:

| | | |
|----------------|---|-------------------------|
| U.S.A. | — | 2,807.0 million dollars |
| Russia | — | 1,556.4 million dollars |
| Eastern Europe | — | 237.2 million dollars |
| China | — | 312.0 million dollars |

- (4) China's aim is to establish its credentials as the only lawful government of China as against the Formosan Government. This policy is paying dividends. In 1965, there was a tie in the U.N. General Assembly over the admission of Communist China. Again as late as November 1970 when Algeria tabled a resolution on behalf of 18 countries friendly to China calling on the UN General Assembly for admission of Communist China, 49 nations voted in favour of the resolution. (Tanzania and Zambia also voted in favour of it.) However, she failed to obtain 2/3 majority and was not admitted to the U.N.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations with Egypt in 1956, in March 1958 the Chinese Commission for cultural Relations with foreign countries was founded. The Commission organised a cultural and friendship delegation. This delegation visited Tanganyika, Uganda, Sudan and the U.A.R. In April 1960, the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association was set up to support the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Africa, to promote friendly Chinese-African

relations and to further cultural and economic relations. Finally there is the Chinese Committee of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation to keep up China's interests in Africa. Through these organizations and on a governmental level, regular exchanges and visits to Africa have been organized in the last decade. The first visit to Peking by an African Head of State took place in September 1960. This was the visit of President Sakou Toure of Guinea who was given a warm welcome and on his visit to Conakry he described himself as overwhelmed.

By 1961, broadcasts to Africa from radio Peking had begun and amounted to 50 hours a week. At first they were only in English, but gradually the range was extended to include French, Portuguese, Swahili, Hansa and other vernaculars. By 1968, the propaganda transmission to Africa totalled almost 250 hours a week and Peking could be received clearly throughout the continent. Russia and West were hard put to it to compete.

In the wake of 1964 China specially attempted to develop contacts and communications with Zanzibar, which had got independence in 1963. In April 1964 the Chinese Ambassador presented his credentials there. At the independence celebration in December 1963 the Chinese Ambassador to Tanganyika represented his country. In 1964, a government delegation led by the Minister of Education attended the May Day celebrations.

From Zanzibar a regular stream of visitors was welcomed in Peking even before the country became independent. In December 1964 a hydro-geological survey group went to Zanzibar. By 1964 Zanzibar had also established close relations with the communist world and with East Germany in particular.

Before the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar there were not much of trade rela-

tions of Tanganyika with China except for the exchange of cultural delegations. However, there was a trend in the foreign policy of Tanganyika to drift away from the complete reliance upon the West and to look forward for some economic aid to the communist countries; though not from China. Thus in 1963 Tanganyika began trying to attract aid from communist countries so as to offset the extreme dependence on Western aid. The Minister of Finance visited Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, although at this stage he was able to sign an agreement only with Yugoslavia.

Then came the union of Zanzibar with Tanganyika in April 1964 and it became Tanzania. Till this time Israel was the main model for development but now China began to replace Israel. By 1965, it was clear that the Chinese intended to concentrate their biggest aid efforts on Tanzania. They had in Dar-es-Salaam an Ambassador, one of their most adroit diplomats—Ho Ying. He was quick to grasp opportunities for goodwill gestures. And early in 1964 China extended a £5,000 cheque to help the victims of floods. When the Tanzanian ministers toured the rural areas, Ho Ying would often accompany them, and hand out money for clinics and schools. It was somewhat unorthodox for an ambassador but highly effective. A regular visitor to Dar-es-Salaam was Kao Liang, ostensibly a correspondent for the New China News Agency but generally regarded as far more than that. Some years earlier he was ordered out of India. According to a defector from the Chinese embassy in Burundi, Kao Liang was "one of the principal agents for subversion in East Africa."

In June 1965, Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai visited Tanzania. On this occasion Tanzania welcomed support from all people in the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism, be-

cause it was not fight against any people, but against an evil doctrine. The same year China gave Nyerere an interest free loan of (16 million pounds) £16,000,000. Later Tanzania broke off diplomatic relation with Britain over the situation in Rhodesia. In 1966, there was a further loan of £2,000,000 to help finance projects which the British had been committed to, until the diplomatic break. A £2,500,000 "Friendship Textile Mill" was built in Dar-es-Salaam. This textile mill which has recently been inaugurated is the largest in the country and one of the highlights of Chinese efforts in Tanzania. At the end of 1966 a 100-kilowatt radio transmitter went into operation. The Tanzanians and Chinese set up a joint shipping line. Mortars and machine guns were supplied for the Tanzanian army and there were handsome gifts of farming equipment. The number of Chinese in Tanzania rose noticeably. Further Chinese trade with Tanzania doubled during 1965-66. Economic aid were also given by China to build a farm implements factory, a brick works, water conservancy projects and for experimental agricultural farms.

There is a sizeable Chinese community residing in Zanzibar. They are engaged in various Chinese economic aid projects which cover a wide range. In addition now there are about 8,000 Chinese, including technicians and military advisers, attached to the Consulate at Dar-es-Salaam. Apart from the loan for the Tanzan Railway, the Chinese are known to have offered \$60 million in economic aid since the country attained independence. The Chinese have supplied six patrol boats to the Tanzanian navy and are training Tanzanians in their navy, army and air force. But whenever Julius Nyerere has been questioned he has dismissed the possibility of Chinese interference in his country's affairs. Even as early as 1965 when the British and America warned Nyerere

that his Chinese relationships were dangerous, he replied: "We shall not allow our friends to choose our enemies for us." Even during his recent visit to India he denied categorically that Tanzania was coming under Chinese influence. He said "we established normal relations with China. How could tiny Tanzania pretend that China did not exist? We began trading and discussed development projects."

Chinese Foreign Aid :

Chinese foreign aid efforts have been very modest compared to other foreign aid donors like USA and USSR. According to a Western estimate, China's total foreign aid commitments in 1969 were between \$55 and \$60 millions as against \$1.75 billion taken on by USA and \$1 billion by USSR and East Europe. Even before the cultural revolution the Chinese aid commitments to non-communist countries were very modest—they were \$59 million in 1965, as against \$653 million in 1966. China's total aid commitments to less-developed non-communist countries of Asia and Africa during 1956-65 totalled \$845.5 million, whereas Russian aid commitment was \$5 billion. Out of this total aid \$353.9 million went to Africa. However, there is a wide gap between Chinese aid pledges and actual aid disbursements. Actually only \$200 million were given to different African states during this period (1956-65). This amount represents a little over 10% of Soviet aid expenditure during the same period.

But what has aroused more curiosity rather suspicion in the minds of not only Europeans but every one, is the much talked about Tanzam railway. This is China's largest overseas project. With the signing of the two tripartite agreements between China, Tanzania and Zambia (one in Lusaka on 15 November 1969, and the other in Peking on 12 July 1970) China has finally committed itself to the Tanzam railway project. This will connect

the Zambian copper belt with the Tanzanian capital and port city of Dar-es-Salaam. This will cost £ 170 million.

The work on the railway was divided into three stages: preliminary survey, detailed survey and construction. The construction work has started since October 1970 and it is expected the railway will be complete by 1975.

Under an agreement signed in July 1970, China is to finance the railway project with a long-term, interest-free loan of £ 170 million. This loan is to be equally shared between Tanzania and Zambia, with repayments beginning in 1983 and spanning a 30-year period.

The local cost factor of the railway is approximately 52% and this is to be met by the governments of Tanzania and Zambia through the import of Chinese goods under a commodity credit agreement. This commodity agreement allows Tanzania and Zambia to meet the local costs of the project through the sale of Chinese goods which do not have to be paid for until 1983 at the earliest.

Since the Chinese are unwilling to spend more foreign exchange than absolutely necessary on the project, they have made Tanzania and Zambia agree to a barter arrangement for meeting local costs. Under this arrangement each year during the period of construction both countries will purchase the estimated equivalent of local railway construction costs in Chinese consumer goods which will be sold to the public through the State Trading Corporation of each country. The money derived from the sale will be applied to local railway costs while the purchase price will be debited to the railway loan account in China. This system has been put into operation towards the end of last year.

Already, 4,700 Chinese experts, working alongside some 7,000 local labours, have begun clearance and preparatory engineering work. Over 125 miles of track, including bridges and

embankments, have been prepared for rail-laying.

It is interesting to note that earlier an offer was made to the Western nations (including Britain and Canada) and the World Bank to build the line but they refused on feasibility ground. It was on 5th September 1967 that China for the first time formally offered to build the railway. And the initial agreement between the three countries was signed in Peking on that date.

Gains for Tanzania and Zambia

Both Tanzania and Zambia are to derive considerable benefit from the railway. The capacity of the line is estimated to be 1.75 million tons a year in each direction, which is believed to be more than sufficient to meet Zambia's transportation need for some time to come. It will not only be sufficient to take Zambia's copper to the sea coast but also leave plenty of spare capacity for Tanzania's planned universal and agricultural developments in the Southern highlands. The Tanzam railway, together with the U. S. aided Tanzam all weather road (which is to be completed this year only), and Italian built oil pipeline (which is already in operation), will also change their transportation routes of land-locked Zambia and end its dependence on the railway system of some of its hostile neighbours like Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. On the political plane, the railway will help in bringing Zambia and Tanzania closer within the East African community.

The leaders of People's China clearly regard the Tanzam railway as a great show of strength, capable of earning in Black Africa even more prestige than the Aswan Dam has brought to the Soviet Union among the Arab countries. The Tanzam railway and other associated aid projects in Tanzania and Zambia

are calculated Chinese steps to get a major foothold in "black ruled" Africa.

Now the question arises—What is China's interest in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular? Chinese interest is both economic and political. Economically China is likely to become one of the major trading partners of Tanzania and mineral-rich Zambia. Though there had been trade relations between Peking and Dar-es-Salaam but till recently (1967) her trade with Zambia was insignificant. Kaunda was quite suspicious of China. Under the new agreement of Tanzam rail way, the trade pattern has changed and it is making Chinese consumer goods popular in this region. Add to it, the completion of the railway would afford Chinese access to the Zambian copper resources, which are abundant. Zambia is the world's third largest copper producer after USA and USSR. It produces about 15% of the total world output. Completion of the railway would facilitate more Zambian copper being shipped from Dar-es-Salaam to the Chinese ports. The ultimate Chinese aim seems to be to deprive the West of the copper mining concessions in Zambia and ensure for itself a regular supply source of this strategic material.

The long-term political interest of China in Africa seems to be more important than the economic interest. Slowly but steadily China is trying to regain its influence in Africa which it had lost in mid-sixties. China seems to have learnt from her past experiences and there is clear indication of moderation and sophistication in her foreign policy. The statements made by Chou En-lai at Mogadishu in 1964 that Africa was "ripe for revolution", did make China a little unpopular in the middle of 60s and she herself realised that Africa was not yet ripe for revolutions, at least the type of revolution China intended to 'export' (through subvertive activities). In the last couple of years China has been more cautious in dealing

with African states. In the recent times she has never missed a single opportunity to aid the regimes whenever they happen to be in deep waters. During Portuguese invasion of President Sevon Toure's Guinea in November last, Peking lost no time in announcing to put \$10 million at the disposal of the Guinean Government.

The Tanzam Railway is the first and foremost manifestation of the new policy line of China. The successful completion of this project will help restore confidence in the bonafides of the Chinese. And once the confidence is regained it may not be difficult to achieve other political aims in future.

It is reported that Tanzania has long received arms from China. A Chinese military mission is known to be helping the Tanzanians in training their Army. A portion of the arms supplied to Tanzania is being smuggled through the border of the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola for use by FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) and other insurgent organisations. It is also reported that the Chinese are assisting Tanzania in building a naval base at Kigamboni in Dar-es-Salaam and have supplied six gunboats. Tanzania has had no navy of its own so far. There are also reports that China has offered to build an air base in Tanzania. China is to deliver two squadrons of MIG-17 fighter planes to Tanzania. The planes would serve her air force and be flown by pilots trained in the Canadian Air Force. These pilots are expected soon to go to China for further training.

However, Tanzania's increasing reliance on Peking is a natural outgrowth of President Nyerere's dedication to the termination of white rule in Southern Africa, for which the Chinese have extended strong support. China also knows it well that both Presidents Nyerere and Kaunda are staunch nationalists

and are not ready to purchase China's friendship at the expense of national interests. Hence we find cautious steps on the part of the Chinese. Even the Chinese workers engaged on the rail-road construction have been given instruction to keep away from the political propaganda; and Chairman Mao himself is reported to have assured President Nyerere that "any hint of subversion reported to him would be immediately dealt with."

Now there is a fear among the Western nations of the Chinese presence in Africa and particularly in East Africa. According to the French sources the Chinese instructors have so far trained more than 2,000 young Africans in how to make bombs and organise strikes and demonstrations at camps in Zambia and Congo (B). An article "China and the Third World" in *Le Monde* points out the growing Chinese interest in Africa. It added that Tanzania and Zambia alone received 50% of the foreign aid extended by Peking. In Tanzania Chinese aid was also being utilized for modernising agriculture and in constructing hospital, stadium and water installations. In Zambia, the Chinese have offered to construct a road between Lusaka and Mankoya and have provided several radio transmitters. We find a similar kind of reaction in the American and British press. One thing is clear that Chinese economic aid to Tanzania and Zambia has been over emphasized in the Western press. If we compare the aid given by the Western nations to Tanzania and the aid given by China to Tanzania, we find that except for the economic aid for the construction of Tanzam railway Chinese economic aid is very small.

Apart from the economic aid given in the past by U. K., Canada, Israel and U. S., in January 1971, Canada announced a \$4 million programme of technical and economic assistance to Tanzania. This will be an interest free loan. On Feb. 8, this year, a 7 million shilling

loan agreement between Tanzania and U. S. was signed. An agreement has also been signed in December last between Tanzania and an Italian state owned oil firm for a thorough study of oil in the country.

In December 1970, a financial assistance of about 30 million shillings was also given by Sweden and the World Bank for an electric power project to be undertaken in Tanzania. This project is designed to meet the rapidly growing demand for power through to 1980 in Tanzania's coastal region.

In Zanzibar last year a Technical College was built with U. S. aid housing some 200 students.

James Johnson, a British M. P., who led a parliamentary delegation in February 1970 to Zanzibar, reported from there that amid Chinese technical aid, East Germans are the most active and the biggest of the foreign missions on the island, and would appear to have no contact with the Chinese. Though of course, by now Chinese have replaced East Germans.

Even now Tanzanian economic dependence on Britain is considerable. Tanzania when

she broke off diplomatic relations with Britain over Rhodesian issue was brought to her heels within two years time—for her economic dependence on Britain and resumed her relationship with Britain. Thus Tanzania economically speaking, is still heavily dependent on Western nations and she cannot afford to antagonise the West completely though at the same time she will like to continue with China. This has been quite possible under the able and dynamic leadership of Nyerere. In the context of tropical Africa, where conditions for outright revolution hardly exist, there is no potential threat of Chinese presence in Tanzania. And add to it China also has been quite modest in her foreign policy because she does not intend to lose a great friend in Africa.

Finally, the reasons for the "disproportionate" investment of China in Tanzania and Zambia are two :

(1) It permits additional access and influence among the various African liberation movements which have their headquarters in these two countries.

(2) It lends legitimacy to Peking's claim of being the real China, a self-sufficient great power.



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

(25)

Soon after this, a few others came in to join the evening's gathering. While on the subject of the boy's education he remarked, "I enjoy the Fifth class—I like them very much." Those who were students of the fifth class there, in 1918, would undoubtedly be very pleased reading this. I had noticed myself that the older boys were obviously ill at ease with lady-teachers. When I said this, he smiled and answered, "I want very much to break this barrier between the feminine and the masculine world—but I have not been successful, so far".

An unmarried young woman had wished to be a teacher in the Ashram. The poet had almost agreed to her coming. All on a sudden we heard that she had got married. Rabindranath laughed and said, "No, this won't do. Someone decides to get married and my work suffers the consequences. I wouldn't mind if she were a widow." Now Santoshbabu gave us a vivid account of his experiences with his American lady-professors. The poet joked about the girl-students and lady-teachers of Santiniketan and their quarrels that led to complete non-cooperation. I do not really know when this had happened, but he always laughed when the incident was mentioned.

Mosquitoes held their sway over Santiniketan. We noticed a bottle of oil—called Mosquitol—placed near the poet in the evenings. He would pour a little bit on his palm, every now and then, and rub it on his feet. It had the faint fragrance of lemon-blossoms. He would look at us and say, "Don't think me a rheumatic old man rubbing oil on my joints. This is my defence against

mosquitoes. They are a polite crowd over here, always at my feet—so this is my only way out."

The journal 'Sreyashi' was still continuing. I had written an article for it called 'the fifth act of the play'. Listing several examples gathered from some English and American journals, I had tried to prove that physical ability remained in the human body upto quite an old age. Rekha and Nutu, the two young sisters of Santoshbabu, were the distributors for our journal and 'Sreyashi' would reach Rabindranath the moment it was ready for our readers. This time I found out that he read through the entire journal by the evening after its publication. When Hemlata Devi asked him what he thought of the latest issue, Rabindranath began to give a detailed commentary on each piece of writing there. He said, "I liked Sita's the best. It has given me such encouragement. I can count upon many more working days for myself. Haven't you given ninety years as the time-limit?" And afterwards he joked about it for several days, whenever we met. A couple of days later I went to him once more with father and my sister, and he mentioned the article again. "Why have you given so few names of the local elders?" he asked. My sister said, "It is rather difficult to know the exact ages of our countrymen." Showing mock alarm Rabindranath said, "But surely I am not hiding my age ! I shall give you the exact year and month and you can calculate. Aren't you serializing your essay?" An approaching storm sent us home earlier than usual.

The Ashram had experienced a medium-

sized storm a few days earlier. Some of us had gone for a walk in the meadows during it. Although we tried to return home soon, but the storm overpowered us. And what a lot of dust! We could hardly keep our eyes open, while the gusty wind made both walking and resting impossible.

We would have faced real danger, if we had taken some of the children with us. We were almost pushed back home by the storm's velocity. Midway we were greeted by a heavy downpour. When we came near Dehali we spotted Rabindranath and Andrews-Sahab sitting together on the upstairs verandah. Noticing our drenched and bedraggled group Rabindranath started to say something reproachfully but we fled helter skelter, without waiting for a scolding. The next day when I met him he said, "yesterday I mistook you for my daughter-in-law and gave you a good scolding." In such a storm there could be several such cases of mistaken identity. The storm broke the bolts from two of our doors while lightning struck the thatched-roof of Haricharan babu's tiny cottage and set it on fire. The prompt diligence of the school-boys soon put out the fire but we heard that a little girl had suffered a burnt arm and was stunned into unconsciousness. From then onwards we felt rather nervous everytime a storm broke.

One evening we were sitting with him when a group of girls went gigling and chattering down the road. Rabindranath said, "Now, I want you to solve this mystery for me. How can you talk continuously to people you see all hours of the day? Conversations never seem to stop between girls. Among us, all is silence after a political discussion." I answered, "Girls love talking about any trivial matter but boys refuse to join in any conversation that is not deadly serious." The poet said, "But conversation needs to be trivial. It soothes my nerves. That is the difference between a little girl and a little boy. Abhi

used to stand behind me and prattle away like that, all day," "Like the Kabuliwalah's Mini?" I asked. The poet answered, "My Bela was exactly that sort. Those are her words that Mini spoke."

Sri Gurusaday Datta came to visit the Ashram with his wife around the end of July. We were gathered around the poet on his terrace for our usual evening session when Santoshbabu came to announce the guests' desire to hear him sing. "How can I sing when I am no more able to?" said Rabindranath. But no one took any notice of his protests about these matters. Santoshbabu went to fetch the guests and the servant rushed out to bring some chairs for them. When he placed a chair behind Rabindranath, he said "Why do you push it towards me? I am not an out caste as yet." When we attempted to leave, he said "Please don't leave me alone just because you are scared of the magistrate." He began to talk to us about his boyhood and how well he sang in those days. He also complained about the present condition of his voice. I told him about my first encounter with him in Allahabad and the first time I had heard him sing. He laughed aloud, "Oh, yes! you crawled out of the house, didn't you?"

The guests were coming up the stairs. The poet said to us, "Don't run away. Wait here while I entertain them." Some others came in with Mr. and Mrs. Datta. Apart from some Ashramites, a nephew of Sri Bhupendranath Basu had come with his wife. Some songs were sung but the poet's voice was really in a bad state that evening. After some conversation the guests left the terrace. We also got up to leave, as it was getting rather late. When I touched his feet he tapped me gently on my shoulder saying "So you are going? All right, you run-away types—I won't be friendly with you anymore." I knew he had not forgotten our coming trip to Calcutta.

We came away to the city early in August. Before leaving we went to visit all our friends and to return the books we had borrowed from the library. This took all day. Kshitimohan Babu's eldest daughter was getting married and Thandi was busy with the preparations. Chatting with her for some time we returned home, after bidding good-bye to the other professors' wives. A little later we went to visit Pratima Devi. She was having her lunch, with her pet dogs sitting all around her. They were treated like children and enjoyed many privileges. We sat down to chat with her. The school boys used to be invited, by turns, for a meal with Gurudev. The Fifth Group was invited that day and they had come to her with a list of names of those who had accepted the invitation. The ones who had refused were Brahmins.

Rabindranath came in when the boys had gone. He discussed the preparations with his daughter-in-law and then turned to us. "Are you definitely leaving today?" he asked. I had to say, "yes"; the poet said, "Couldn't you wait till the feast was over? It is more worthwhile watching them eat rather than study. Some of them have warned us about their capacity to tuck in food. It is terrifying. Of course, I won't let them eat as much—it won't do, if they had to go straight to the hospital after a meal."

After chatting with Pratima Devi, we went upstairs to touch the poet's feet. He was reading a journal, lying on a make-shift bed on the floor. He welcomed us in saying, "Do come in." As we bowed down to touch his feet he asked, "you are going for a fortnight aren't you?" "I really don't know", I answered. The poet said, "But I have heard this from Andrews-sahib—he had gone to meet your father." After a short silence he said again, "You were quite happy here—you will catch some infection or other over there and

then think of me regretfully." We took his leave and went home soon after. The train was not crowded this time and we reached Calcutta in comfort. We did stay there only for a fortnight, as we had heard. We reached Howrah station in pouring rain. Bimal Siddhanta, Sriman Ashoke's class-mate and a friend of the family, went along with us. At Bolpur we found more rain and no cars to take us home. Finally we put our luggage on a coolie's head and started to walk. Returning home, we changed our wet clothes and bedding, had some food and went to bed at about 10'clock.

Next morning the sky was still overcast, although there was no rain. We tidied up our rooms, had our breakfast and started out with our guest, on a guided tour of the Ashram. We walked over the railway-lines spread out across the meadows and returned home soon after. We were not very eager to stay out too long in the open, when there was a fair chance of another storm. Of course, I still enjoyed getting wet whenever given a chance. But an eight-hour drenching the day before had made me less enthusiastic. After lunch we took Bimal to see Chhatimtola, the mandir, the press and the interior of the Ashram. Sending him home later, we went to visit the poet. He was upstairs and seeing us, he said, "Once you leave, you don't seem to wish to return." We chatted with him from some time and heard that Sri Probhat Mukhopadhyaya was soon to marry my friend and class-mate Sudhamoyee. She was not only my friend but a neighbour in Calcutta and so the news of her wedding, received in the Ashram, gave me quite a surprise. Rabindranath asked me some questions about the would-be bride and I answered them before returning home. We could not go out in the evening, as there was a fierce downpour.

There was no rain next morning, although

it was still cloudy. We roamed about the fields and lanes. Thandi invited us for lunch, in honour of her newly married daughter and son-in-law. This was our first meeting with the groom as we could not attend the wedding.

We went out in the afternoon, hoping there would be little or no rain. But we had hoped a bit too much. There was a tiny village, called Goalpara, on the way to Kopai river. When we had reached that village, it started to rain heavily together with a gusty storm. As there was no shelter nearby, we walked through that drenching rain buffeted by the storm. We reached the Ashram precincts somehow and looked up fearfully at Dehali, but there was no one there to scold us.

After getting into dry clothes, we were offered some tea and plenty of scolding. Pratima Devi came for a visit and we started to chat with her. All of a sudden, we heard the poet's voice outside. We found that he was sitting with father in the next room. "I have come to return your visit," he said to me. As I bent down to touch his feet, my long hair still damp from the rain, fell on his feet. "Look at that!" he exclaimed, "Why do you wet such a pile of hair in the evening? Your head should be shaved for this!" Father told him about the drenching and the poet remarked, "Why don't you revive our ancient custom of burning incense to dry damp hair. All germs and the greasy oils you use would be fumigated that way. The smoke might make your hair sticky, but you could try sandal wood powder for it. It may seem a luxury, but girls should be allowed that bit of luxury." He stayed on to discuss several topics with my

father and I stood there to listen. When it grew dark he returned home.

A couple of days later the primary department had a literary gathering. Gurudev was to preside over it; so the meeting was held on his terrace. He had no idea what a complex business presiding could be until then. He even had to find out answers to their riddles!

The days passed in the usual way—the mornings in housework, the afternoons in reading and writing and the evenings were kept for long walks; visiting friends and listening to songs. We waited eagerly till he came out to the terrace in the evenings and then we all drilled in one by one. If it did not work out some times, we felt terribly upset. During this time the old Brahmo-Sangeet hymns were being taught to the boys for the morning prayers. The tunes were heard in their distorted versions in Calcutta and we were surprised to note the difference in the authentic tunes.

One evening we went to visit Pratima Devi after our evening walk. She was busy in her pantry and the tea-cups were still on the table. Some deliciously ripe guavas were arranged on a plate. Pratima Devi decided to let her visitors make use of them and went to fetch some salt from the pantry, for added flavour. We must not forget how long ago this happened—when none of us were solemn, young housewives yet. As Pratima Devi slipped out through one door, Rabindranath walked in through another. We were in a dilemma. We could not possibly eat the guavas while he was there, nor could we run away from him—what would he think? I went quickly behind a pillar and Pratima Devi and my sister covered the guavas under their leaves.

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Current Affairs

Israel Friendly to India.

India has been pro-Arab, therefore anti-Israel, for what reasons we do not know, because India is not anti-America or anti-Britain inspite of the anti-Indian attitude of these countries. Israel is however ready to assist India in the matter of feeding the Bangla Desh refugees as is evident from the following from the *Jerusalem Post* reproduced in "News from Israal".

"Israel has offered India further aid in its efforts to alleviate the plight of the refugees from Bangla Desh. Revealing this in the kneset (Parliament), Foreign Minister Abba Eban said that a few days ago contact had been established with the Indian Government at a high level, and an offer made to send a team of Israeli experts to India who could ease some of the frightful suffering of the refugees by an integrated approach to human problems, in which Israeli experts had experience.

He said the Indian Government has already expressed its appreciation of the offer, and has undertaken to provide a more detailed, substantive reply soon. Israel was meanwhile studying the final form of its proposal which would involve a team of its experts from various spheres.

(The Indian Government has never before taken up Israeli offers of technical co-operation, although occasionally the Indian states have invited experts from here.)

Replying to seven urgent motions for the agenda, which were referred to the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, Mr. Eban

said that the kneset ought to voice its solidarity with the suffering in Bangla Desh and with the plight of the refugees.

The holocaust in East Pakistan was the most terrible spectacle of mass suffering on the face of the globe today, he declared. It verged on genocide.

Mr. Eban said he did not intend at this time to suggest a constitutional solution to the East Pakistan problem, or discuss its political structure. He wanted to stress two issues : the world's silence in face of the horrors ; and the need for Israel, while arousing the world's conscience, to contribute to alleviating the suffering.

The Indian Government was doing all it could to ease the lot of the refugees, but its resources were inadequate, he said. The State of Israel would not stand idly by. He recalled the Government's gift, via the Magen David Adam, and the gift of the Histadrut. The civilized world, the U. N. and the international agencies had shown themselves powerless to help.

Mr. Eban also attacked the Pakistani Government for its ceaseless complaints about "imaginary discrimination on Israel's part."

The clear lesson for Israel in the Bangla Desh tragedy, once again, is that a nation's sole guarantee of its existence is its power to defend itself."

Failure to Supply Wagons for Coal

The Government of India looks after mining as well as after railways as their own particular responsibility and as a result the movement of coal by the railways is in such a

clogged up position that the Government cannot at all manage proper supply of coal. The *Coal Field Tribune* says :

Despite various representations made to Railway authorities in regard to scarcity of wagons for movement of coal from West Bengal and Bihar Coalfields and criticism from press and platforms, Railway authorities seem to be unmoved. Their "easy-going-happy-man's" silence and "Go-as-you-like-it" behaviour towards the serious problem is really funny. "Rome is burning while Nero is fiddling" goes the saying and this has literally been put into action by the Indian Railways in regard to movement of coal for about one year. When the Coal Industry is suffocating with an unprecedented accumulation of coal stocks at the pit-heads, Railway authorities including the Railway Minister are advancing some plea or other which to the Industry is nothing but lame excuses and lamentable failure on the part of the Railways to see the problem eye-to-eye.

What the Minister of Steel and Mines Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam reportedly told the Lok Sabha is a glaring instance of scarcity of wagon for movement of coal. Shri Kumaramangalam was said to have "at pains to point out (in the Lok Sabha) that there was no dearth of coal. The pithead stocks had increased from 5.95 million tonnes in 19-8-69 to 9.21 million tonnes in 1970-71. He is said to have added, "but because of non-availability of wagons, the despatches of coal had gone down from 67.55 millions tonnes in 1968-69 to 60.50 millions tonnes in 1970-71. The wagon supply position in West Bengal and Bihar had been generally worse and had further deteriorated since April." It may be mentioned that West Bengal and Bihar's coal production exceeds fifty percent of the total coal production in India.

The Value of American Dollar

President Nixon's action in fixing the international value of the Dollar on a stabler basis

was very necessary. The Dollar being the standard of value in the financial world and also being the currency in which a major portion of the world's wealth is accumulated as and when found necessary; steadiness of value of the Dollar was an essential condition of the economic stability of the world. Latterly very large quantities of dollars were being purchased by the Western countries and by Japan and President Nixon had to take steps to see that not much of those dollars were cashed to obtain gold for export, thus depleting America's gold reserves to a dangerously low level. According to law the dollar was exchangeable for gold at the rate of \$35 for an ounce of gold and much gold had already been obtained by foreign holders of dollars latterly. So the President of the United States of America had to put a stop to this drain of gold and he took steps to do so. Apart from stopping the export of gold; he had to do something to change the conditions which caused this inordinate increase in the earning of dollars by foreign countries. The pattern of commerce between foreign countries and America has changed to the disadvantage of America. Foreign goods were flooding the American market (including small cars of foreign make) and President Nixon's 10 per cent import tax on foreign goods was aimed at the reduction of such imports.

In spite of these steps, the American dollar has no longer the same value compared to various foreign currencies as it had during the last several years. It has lost value compared to the Japanese Yen and the West German Mark to the extent of 10 to 25 per cent. There are some currencies in terms of which the dollar might gain in value; but it will be a very complicated scheme of fresh valuations and adjustments which will be required to be worked out by experts of the nations concerned which will achieve the

ultimate settlement of exchange ratios between the leading currencies of the world. The normal upper limit of dollar—sterling exchange rate has been so far £1 : \$2.42 for instance ; but the dollar has been sold for pound sterling in the London market during the crisis period at the rate of £1 : \$2.80. How the new exchange rate between the dollar and the pound sterling will be fixed is unknown yet, but one may assume that the commercial policy of the USA will have to be considered in a practical manner and the exchange rates will not be decided solely by consideration of the purchasing power of the various currencies. The British, the West Germans, the French and the Japanese cannot afford to lose their markets in America. It is by selling goods to America that they had prospered to a great extent during recent years. Any substantial fall in sale of goods will affect the economy of these countries and they will surely try to avoid the incidence of such developments.

America's withdrawal from Vietnam, also the proposed cuts in foreign aid, will normally reduce the sale of goods to America considerably. This will induce the sellers to adjust prices in a manner which will counter the fall in the demand for their goods in the biggest market which has been the USA. How and to what extent these adjustments will be made are not yet known. One may not therefore expect a settlement of international exchange ratios very soon. As a matter of fact open market dealings may precede such settlements for some considerable length of time.

President Banda of Malawi

When President Banda of Malawi visited Cape Town recently he was given a warm reception by the South African whites. He addressed a meeting which was attended solely

by the white South Africans, who appeared to be conscious of a change in their own political needs and did not think it wasting their goodwill when they welcomed and listened to the President of a "black" republic. President Banda said that some day in the future coming generations of whites and Africans would consider themselves as brothers. Those who listened to him, he said, might not like that idea ; but the needs of people who will be born a hundred years from now would be quite different and would determine people's attitude to things differently. His coming to Cape Town was considered to be the act of a traitor by his African compatriots. But he considered his country's friendship with South Africa, not as an evil but something that could lead to peace and amity between whites and Africans. He was against violent methods of solving political problems and he thought all people should give up looking at one another with fear and distrust.

President Banda spoke at Stellenbosch University which is an all white educational centre, being the first African ever to speak from a platform of that University. He also lunched with the Chief of South African navy Vice-Admiral Hugo Biermann.

America and China

President Nixon has been invited to visit China. We do not know very clearly what that amounts to ; but let us assume that the Chinese are as eager to be friendly to President Nixon as he is whole heartedly desirous of building up friendly relations with the Chinese. The Chinese have not openly admitted any desire on their part to make friends with the Americans. They have said that so long as the Chiang Kai Shek regime holds sway over Taiwan and calls the Government of Taiwan the government of Nationalist China, they will have nothing to do with the United

Nation's which recognises Taiwan as a Nationalist Chinese state. What good will Nixon's visit to Peking do, if the Americans do not come down to brass tacks and recognise the fact that Mao t'se Tung's China is the only China for all practical purposes. Formosa or Taiwan is American made and American maintained. It had no good enough reason for its existence excepting in so far as it represented the political ambitions of a defunct group which worked for a war lord of China who had to flee the country. America supported Chiang Kai Shek in the hope that he may some day go back to China as a leader. But things happened quite differently.

But could the Americans cut their losses and ask Chiang Kai Shek to fend for himself or seek a new home for his party? Or could he make a settlement with Mao t'se Tung? Whatever happened China would never agree to the continued existence of Nationalist China. And how was America getting over that difficulty? They had to do so, if they wanted to bring China into the U. N. and have normal political relations with the People's Republic.

Indo-Soviet Treaty

India has made an agreement of friendship and cooperation with the USSR. India had no friends among the powers and was in dire need of military aid and assistance in case of a probable war with Pakistan or China or both. Her policy of non-alignment, which was sponsored by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had produced no results of any benefit to India; for through India get no assistance from other nations because she was non-

aligned; she had to obey the orders of Britain, America or Russia when she won in any wars against Pakistan for the simple reason that, being non-aligned, she could not defy the dictates of these powers. Non-alignment for India has been therefore utterly one sided; only for suffering losses, that is. This new treaty of friendship and cooperation therefore is a very necessary change. Russia has found a threat in America's friendly gestures towards China, and has therefore made this treaty or agreement with India in order to have an ally if China attacked Russia. India, though not much of a military power, was nevertheless in a position to make things very difficult for China if the latter thought of fighting Russia. India could also provide bases for Russia in the Indian Ocean which would undermine the naval supremacy of America, Britain or China in the Indian Ocean.

Sardar Swaran Singh thinks this agreement of cooperation does not in anyway change India's non-aligned character in the international sphere. This of course is a bit of useless feat of imagination which does no credit to the Sardar nor to his government. It does not even, in any manner, render, glorious the memory of Pandit Nehru. He mishandled the affairs of India in the field of international relations and it was upto his daughter to rectify her father's mistakes. It is to her credit that she has shown common sense and grit in discarding her father's policy whenever she has found it harmful. Sardar Swaran Singh, therefore has no occasion to indulge in misinterpretation of facts by denying our alignment with Russia. It is always good to call a spade a spade; because called by any other name, it will still remain a spade.

CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

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Fatik went quite mad on certain occasions. When it rained at night and the room got flooded due to a leaky roof he lost his balance of mind. Shibani put buckets, jugs, plates and bowls to catch the dripping water. When these got filled, they had to be emptied and put back to catch the water again. Shibani had to do this all the time. If the roof leaked in one place one could manage things ; but this was full of holes. Shibani would tell Fatik—Oh, you, your bed is getting soaked with the falling water ; put a bowl there, my boy—

Fatik would say—I shall not ! Let it get wet—

Shibani said—Where will you sleep if it got wet and where will your grandfather sleep ?

Fatik would exclaim—I will not sleep ; I do not care to sleep in this rotten house of yours ! Can't you have a good house built ? Just have a look at the house that Sushils have ? There is no dripping water in their house—What a nice new house they have ; a house like that ; can't grandpa have a house built like that ?

By that time the bed had got thoroughly

wet. Shibani herself had to tug the bedstead into a new position. Place it in a safe corner away from the shower of rain drops. But then it starts raining there. Then Shibani begins to lose her temper—

Suddenly grandpa calls out from the front door—Oh, Fatik ; come and open the door—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had also got absolutely wet. When Shibani opens the door, he crosses the courtyard and climbs up on the verandah. It was all rain soaked there. He looks at everything on his own and says—Eh, it is all thoroughly wet ; where are you going to sleep ?

As if nobody hears what he says. He walks into the room and sees the collection of buckets, bowls and plates. It is true, there was hardly any place for them to sleep.

Shibani was busy cleaning up the mess and rearranging beds and things. She could not tolerate it.

She said—You do not have to think of us, go and worry about your school, that will give you your heart's desire ! Have you ever thought of us, that you are now beginning to worry about our condition ?

Fatik was angry too. He was so for quite some time. He said—Can't you have a new

house built? Everybody has a new house. Their roofs do not drip—

House! The youngster does not know how costly it is to have a house built!

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai laughed. He said—It is not so easy to have a house built.

Fatik said—At least you will have the roof repaired?

Shibani carried the conversation to its logical end and said—Well, what is wrong with what Fatik has said? Who has not had a new house built? Your Bhaba is just a new arrival. Hasn't he had a new house built only the other day? All your teachers have had houses built. Hasn't Sasadhar Babu got his own house?

Gour Bhattacharjee tried to console his wife. He said—Why speak of them? They write annotations, they run coaching schools—

—Well, who commanded you not to write books of annotations? Who again has forbidden you to take up coaching work? Have you become such a super saint that writing annotations would spoil your spiritual future? You would not coach boys for money. So many people request and entreat you to coach pupils! What then, why do you not think of your home? If you are such a great saint, why did you marry and become a householder? Who put you under an oath to do that?

Once begun, such talk never reaches a conclusion. It was very late and the rains had stopped a long time ago, the dripping from the roof too; he was sitting on the bare board of the wooden bedstead and correcting papers. But he became inattentive from time to time. Shibani's words turned ceaselessly in his mind—Who told him not to write annotations? Who instructed him not to take money for coaching pupils?

But that was only for a short while. It upset his mental calm momentarily. Then

things went back to normal and he put himself back to correcting exercises. The rain had stopped by then. The frogs in the adjoining pond croaked incessantly. Otherwise a sort of stillness pervaded the surroundings. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai finished the last exercise book and put out the light. Then he lay down on that stone-hard wooden bedstead and fell asleep.

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The circular announcing the increase in school fees was published that day. The circular came to the Pandit Mashai. He took it from Janardan saying—Let me see, what is it?

Janardan said—Sir, the fees have been increased—

Gour Bhattacharjee read through the circular then handed it back silently to Janardan. He said nothing and devoted himself to his own work. Let everything go to blazes, let them do what they liked. What is that to me? The school will be ruined. The boys will suffer!

But he could not remain inactive for long. He began to be restless. Looked out and watched what was going on. The classes everywhere in the building were being held as usual. Everybody was studying attentively. May be some were not so attentive. They all feared him and did not make any noise. Or may be some were making a row, but the noise did not come to his ears.

Suddenly a gentleman came up to the room and saluted him by bowing down to touch his feet.

He said—My Pranam to you Pandit Mashai—

—What is it you want? Why have you come to me? I am nobody in this school,

you go to the Head Master, go and tell him what you require.

The gentleman said—No, I have come specially to see you—

—What is it ?

—Sir, I have come with a proposal.

—Proposal for what ?

—For a marriage.

—Marriage ? Wedding ? Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was astonished to hear about a marriage proposal.

—Ratannarayan Chowdhury's only son, they are landlords of Hanskhali—I have come to discuss about a bride for him. I am a marriage negotiator.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, who is the bride ? There are no marriageable girls in our family circle.

—No, the Secretary of this school, Naren Chakravarty Mashai has a daughter, it is about her I have come to ask you—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Well, why have you come to the school to discuss all that ?

The Ghatak said—Sir, I went to your house. And I was told from within the house to go to the school, that is why I have come to the school.

—But you should go to the person whose daughter she is ! Who am I ? Rani is not my daughter. Go to Naren's house, make the proposal to him—

The marriage negotiator said—But, I have heard that she is like your own daughter, stays in your house mostly. If you agree, Naren Babu will never object.

—No, no, who says so ? Gour Bhattacharjee objected vehemently.

Why should Naren go by my word ? Who am I ? Naren is nobody to me, nor I to him ! You have heard all wrong—

The Ghatak was obviously an expert in this line. He said—Sir, you will have to fix this negotiation any way. Please come, and very

kindly have a look at the bridegroom—I shall arrange to take you by car, you will have no discomforts—

—But one should first obtain Naren's assent. His daughter she is and shouldn't one consult him first ?

The negotiator said—You have a look first ; Naren Babu can be consulted afterwards—

So saying he continued—Ratannarayan Chowdhury is the owner of the Hanskhali estate, you know. That property is worth sixteen lakhs. They owned many other such properties formerly, there is not so much pomp and display now. But even after the loss of much that they had before, they still have plenty. He is the only offspring. Therefore you will have a connection with whom transactions will be all to your advantage. They do not demand anything from the bride's family. And your daughter will be extremely happy. The boy is exemplary in character—

—And the daughter ? Do they not wish to see the girl ?

—They have seen the girl.

—How did they see the girl ? When did they ?

The negotiator said—The girl goes to school. They have seen her from a distance—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai thought for a while. He remembered the marriage of Abanti again. On that occasion there had been no proper enquiry made about the groom. He asked, when he remembered what happened in Abanti's case—How far has the bridegroom studied ?

—Sir, he passed his B. A. There is no need for him to work for a living. So he did not try for the M. A. degree.

—And his health ?

Oh, you will see yourself how healthy he is. Why should I take the trouble to describe it in my words ? Ratan Babu has a strong desire

to get this girl as the bride of his son. Tell me, when will you go ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—I have no time excepting on Sundays—

—Well then that is settled. So saying the negotiator respectfully touched the Pandit Mashai's feet and left.

Before leaving he said—I shall come then to your house on Sunday morning and take you with me—

Shibani was waiting at home on that Sunday evening. The master of the house was not at home and Fatik also had gone out. The Birgunge Theatre Club was resounding with vocal and instrumental music at that time.

Sushil said during a break—I say, won't you go home ?

Fatik was playing on the harmonium and singing—

This club of Birgunge had earned a reputation since a long time. Once, after a few days of loitering in the vicinity Fatik went into the club with Sushil. That began the fellowship. Then having heard Fatik sing one day the Secretary of the club said—You have a jolly good voice, young fellow ; would you join in the theatricals here ?

It was like inducing one who was dying to be induced.

Fatik said—I have seen my father's theatre at Dildarpur—The he pointed to Sushil and said—This friend of mine will also join the theatre with me—

Sushil was frightened to death. He said—No, my dear fellow, I shall not be of any use—

Fatik said—Do not fear, I am here, I shall teach you what to do—

Sushil said—But, look here, if father comes to know—

Fatik said—Wouldn't know you. Once you

have the false whiskers on and the make up with the dress, nobody, not even your father, would recognise you ! Do not bother in the least—

The rehearsals developed well within a few days. Fatik and his friend did not have to attend daily. The examinations were quite near. One had to think of that too. But Fatik said—Only two three days in the week and who would know about it ?

As soon as the school closed the two of them went along to Birgunge. Then the singing and the rest of it went on till late in the evening. It was then that Sushil woke up to realise the delay.

Sushil said—Let us go back home: my teacher will come—

Fatik replied—Oh, go on, you are a real spoilsport ! You can see the music is going on. One cannot suddenly get up and go !

When he returned home Shibani asked—Why are you so late ? Where have you been ?

Fatik said—To study—

—What does that mean ? To study where, with whom ?

Fatik said—With a teacher.

Shibani asked—Which teacher ? Does he not take money to teach ?

Fatik said—Why do you jabber about everything ? You are a woman who stays at home, what do you know about studies and teaching ?

—Well then, does your grandpa know ?

Fatik said—Why should grandpa know ? Don't you go and sneak against me to grandpa. You always go and sneak. I want to give a terrific surprise to grandpa by doing especially well in my examination—

After that Shibani said nothing more. Gour Bhattacharjee came home quite late and found Fatik sitting on a mat and reading a book in a sing song voice while swaying gently

to keep time with his musical accent. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was very pleased to see him studying.

He would say—Read attentively my boy. You must know that studying is like devoted meditation for students. For a student studying is the very essence of religious practice—

It was just the same on that occasion too. Fatik had guessed the right time for grandpa's return and had sat down to read. But the song he learnt at the theatre rang in his ear.

I shall meet thee
In the bower of memories
I shall weave a garland of tears
To adorn thee.
I shall worship thee in deep devotion
And pour my sorrows at your feet.
I shall decorate the walls of my mind
With thy portraits that I shall paint.

The teacher at the club had advised Fatik to sing this in D sharp. He had come home from the club singing that song in an undertone all the way. The tune was still actively pervading his mind. He could not concentrate in his book much as he tried. The tune was coming out no matter how hard he tried to press it back into silence.

Suddenly Gour Bhattacharjee returned home. He saw Fatik was studying. That pleased him a great deal. He lost some of the depression that the news of increase of school fees had caused.

He said—Read attentively my boy. You know studying is meditation for students. To a student studying is devotion, meditation and austere religious practice ; everything in fact.

Shibani was stitching a bedsheet in the inner room. Rani was sitting there.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why have you kept Rani here till so late ? Hasn't she any studies ?

Shibani said—I have not kept her here ;

she has herself stayed on. Her mother came to call her, she would not go.

Rani said—Bah, I am not sitting idle here. Am I not working ? If I went away, who would thread your needle ? Can grandma see well with her eyes ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Is that so ; can't grandma see with her eyes ?

Rani said—No, and you would not even have spectacles made for grandma, how would she see ?

Shibani laughed and said—Oh, forget your grandpa, he only knows his school and to beat the school boys ; nothing else besides—

Rani laughed and said—Well let him beat up the school boys ; that is not so bad. The school boys are wicked—

Suddenly Basanti came in.

Shibani said—Look ! There is your mother. Now, go—

Basanti said—She is a great source of trouble to me, Aunty. If she stays out the whole time, I cannot rest in peace. He returned home and immediately asked—Where is Rani ; so I have come again to call her—

Shibani said—She was threading my needle Bouma—

Then she said to Rani—Go, my little mother, go ; come again tomorrow—

Basanti was leaving with Rani. Gour Bhattacharjee called out from inside—This time, Bouma, I am arranging for your daughter's marriage—

Basanti turned round and said—Please do so, Uncle ! I shall be very much relieved to get her married. Is she my daughter ? I have only given birth to her. In fact she is Aunty's daughter—

So saying Basanti collected Rani and went home.

Shibani said—Are you really trying to marry off Rani ?

Gour Bhattacharjee spoke while he was

taking his shirt off—Yes, to-day a negotiator came with a proposal and mentioned a bridegroom. The only child of the Hanskhali landlord Ratannarayan Chowdhury. The bridegroom was sole heir to all that property.

Shibani perhaps remembered the marriage of Abanti. She said—I know about your choice—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Oh, no, not this time! I shall not see the bridegroom like that again. No such mistakes again! I shall examine every little detail. Speak to the groom. The negotiator will come for me on Sunday—

Fatik was absorbed in his reading. He was quite oblivious of all that was going on outside.

* * * *

In fact even the Sundays are no holidays for Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. He goes along to the school for one reason or another. He arrives at the school, collects his own key and opens the door of his room himself. Or Janardan rushes up to open out the door and windows. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai sits there and corrects the home-task books of the boys. He inspects other things too. No dearth of work. Such large grounds and gardens and all those buildings. There are corners where there are accumulation of dirt, there are walls in which the destructive Ashwattha trees have stuck roots.....

After a while Janardan comes in and sits on the floor. He engages in small talk. About the school. He also repeats what he comes to know or hear about the teachers. On other days when work crowds out other things such news giving cannot be carried out with ease.

So when things are on the quiet side he

would say—You know Pandit Mashai, the teachers are all very pleased!

Gour Bhattacharjee would ask—Why is that so? Eh?

—They have all got increases in their salaries, haven't they? But they are all angry with you, do you know? They say—It is for the Pandit Mashai that our increments had been held up so long—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Of course they will say so. Who does not feel happy with a rise in pay? But have I spoken about that? The times are such that the parents of the boys suffer great pain and discomfort, is it not so? These people are feeling happy, but those others are suffering! Would it have been something totally unavoidable if the school fees had not been increased in these hard days; you tell me—

But these discussions did not take place on that Sunday. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was returning from the house of the Hanskhali landlord at that time. It was late in the afternoon. They were very prosperous landlords at one time; these Chowdhurys of Hanskhali. A huge building on four sides of a large enclosed courtyard. In the expansive style of those bygone days. In the days of their ancestors they kept elephants and horses. The main doors were studded with brass knobs and were wide and high enough to allow the passage of elephants. Ratan Babu took him round and showed him in great detail what had remained of the splendour of past days. The bridegroom came. Quite a well built person. He came and saluted Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai by touching his feet.

Pandit Mashai saw everything. He also asked a few questions.

Ratan Babu said—That is my only son. My only offspring in fact. It is my desire to bring Naren Babu's daughter to my house as the wife of my only son—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said nothing. He went on inspecting everything very carefully. But he did not like things. All this display of dazzling wealth struck him as crude. The rooms were full of furniture, but there were no books, not a single one. No book case with well bound books in it. On his way back he was thinking of all this. He never took notice of such things when he arranged his own daughter's marriage, which was a matter of great regret for him. But he will not repeat such mistakes now.

Suddenly he met Kedar.

Kedar had several men with him. He had a fishing net slung over his shoulder.

Said—My Pranams to you Pandit Mashai—where have you been ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I am coming from Hanskhali. Where are you coming from ?

Kedar said—I had been to cast net in a pond at Birgunge.

Pandit Mashai enquired—What sort of fish did you get ?

Kedar said—Not so good, Pandit Mashai, got only about half-a-maund of underdeveloped small fish. But this morning it paid me well to cast net in the school pond. I got nearly seven hundred rupee worth fish—

Gour Bhattacharjee was astonished and dumbfounded—School pond ? Our school pond ?

—Yes sir, the fish were quite large in size. Some weighed even ten or twelve seers. I made good profit—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—But who gave you order to catch fish ?

—Why, it was Shaw Mashai himself who sent for me.

May be ! Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai became absent-minded. He asked—How much did you say it was ?

Kedar said—I bought the whole catch for seven hundred rupees. I left a twelve seer fish at Shaw Mashai's house on my way back—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You have done well—

Inwardly he said to himself, Kedar has indeed done well. While departing Kedar said—The school pond is very good, Sir. It always produces good fish. Last time I bought the whole catch for five hundred, this time it is seven hundred. The school boys make a constant row and that keeps the fish on the move and makes them grow—

Pandit Mashai wouldn't wait any more. He had gone to Hanskhali just after his morning meal ; it was now evening. He was very tired. As soon as he came home Shibani questioned him—How was the bridegroom ?

Gour Pandit said—Not so good ; I did not approve of what I saw—

—Why ?

Pandit Mashai said—You see, they are very rich.

Shibani said—Well, if they are rich that is very good. Rani will live in great comfort. She will not be fatigued washing and scrubbing like me. Would be ordering about maids, servants and cooks—

Pandit Mashai said—You say it is good. But will a girl like Rani be happy there ? Once upon a time they had elephants in the house, had horses and carriages ; that was what the master of the house took great pains to convey to me. But do you know, I found no trace of a book in their drawing room ? Not much of an intellectual set up. Would Rani live happily there ?

Shibani said—You have only a one track mind ! What great things will be achieved by studying ? What need has a woman for so much education ? She will not have to go in for service, that she will require education ?

The next day Gour Bhattacharjee had gone to the school after his meal when Basanti arrived.

She asked—Aunty, uncle had gone to

Hanskhali yesterday. What did he see ?

Shibani said—He did not approve of the bridegroom's set up, Bouma—

—Why, Auntie ? Was the bridegroom ugly ?

Shibani said—No, Bouma, that might have been a reason. Large house, plenty of money, owner of valuable property worth lakhs. But he said they have no intellectual outlook. There isn't even a single bookcase in the sitting room—

Basanti said—Well, what harm is there in not having books ?

Shibani said—Who is to say that ? You know your Uncle ? Would he listen to anyone ? He will stick to his own ideas and would do what he thought best. He wouldn't listen to anyone—

—Then what will I tell him ?

—Tell him what I said. Say that your Uncle does not approve !

Basanti heard everything and went away saying—Well, let me see ; I suppose I better tell him that.

Shibani said—And there is now no special hurry. The girl is studying and we shall not have her married before she passes her examination, not even if the very best of grooms turned up—

—That is so. And moreover Rani is your daughter, Auntie. I have only borne her. Uncle will do whatever he thinks best.

* * *

Well, that man turned up again that day. The man whose bill had not been paid.

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was amazed to see him.

He said—I say ; you have not yet got your bill paid ?

The man pulled a face recording distress and said—No—

—Why not ?

The man said—Haralal Babu asked me to come after a few days. There is no money now.

—How is that, not even two hundred fifty rupees are there ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai could not remain silent over this any more. He left his work just as it was.

He got up and went straight to the office. Haralal was working intently. Seeing the Pandit Mashai he dropped his leaf cigarette and stood up.

—Why have not his few rupees been paid to him, Haralal ?

—What rupees ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was quite in a temper by then. Said—Had given instruments worth two hundred fifty rupees to our laboratory. The money was due to be paid when one does not recollect ; why are you not paying it ? Must I have to worry over everything ? I am no longer anybody in this school. Yet, why do all sorts of people come to me complaining about everything under the Sun ?

Haralal had a look at the man and understood what had happened.

He said— But I had told him to come after a few days. Then why did he go to you ? I told him I had no money in cash just now—

Gour Bhattacharjee asked—What is the meaning of no money now ? What has happened to the money ?

Haralal is an old-timer. He has been keeping accounts by himself since a long time. He is well known for his knowledge of accounts in the school. He would have shown his temper too had any anybody else spoken to him in that manner. But Gour Bhattacharjee's case was separate. He was the founder of this school. One cannot speak rudely to him.

He simply said—Sir, I keep all accounts

quite correctly. How can I pay money if there isn't any ?

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai said—But only last Sunday the seven hundred rupees realised by sale of fish from the pond was deposited, has that money been spent already ?

Money from sale of fish ? Haralal was thunder struck when he heard that. Who sold the fish and who deposited the money ? Had any money been paid that would be entered in his books. May be the Headmaster would know something about it. One might ask him about it.

Bhabaranjan was a true Headmaster of the School. He has been doing the work of controlling so many boys quite efficiently so long. Bhabaranjan said—That was done by Shaw Mashai—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Whosoever sells the fish, the fish did not belong to the President; it was of the school pond. Kedar told me himself, he took the fish and gave seven hundred rupees, that money should he paid into the school funds !

Bhabaranjan said—Even before this, Master Mashai, when fish was caught the sale proceeds were not put into the school funds.

— Not put into school funds, what do you mean ? When I sold fish I put the money in the school funds.

Bhabaranjan said— For the last several years I find that is not done—

Gour Bhattacharjee was getting excited. He said—I am referring to that ; why is not the money credited to the school ?

Bhabaranjan appeared a bit deflated. He said—What answer can I give to these enquiries. These can only be answered by the President and the Secretary, they know—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You are the Head Master, if you do not look after all that, then who would ? Here you are being short of funds when you have to pay for science

instruments or clear your other dues, and there you allow seven hundred rupees to go as votive offerings to unknown gods ! Your committee keeps quiet. And what is your committee for ? And what is the position of your school ? And you are the Head Master, you are a committee member aren't you ? You keep silent shamelessly, don't you ? What do you fear ? Loss of service ? Would you think of the students' well being first or of your service ? Your service comes first, does it ? This is what you have learnt after all that I had taught you ? For shame !

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai was red hot with anger. He suddenly swept out of the room. While leaving he said—All right, I shall see what I can do to settle this matter as it should be—

Hearing all this hullabaloo, some students and a few teachers came up to the Head Master's room and began to peep in. When the matters developed further they too got excited.

Sasadhar Babu was in the teachers' common room.

He opined—Yes, but what can the Pandit do ? He is all bark and no bite. No one can undo what the committee does.

Balai Babu said—No, it is not like that. The school grounds, the garden and the rest of it is all a gift from Nimai Babu's father. It is their property and if they sell its produce who can object to that ?

—So, what did Bhabaranjan Babu say ?

—What could he say ? He was a pupil of this Pandit Mashai at one time. So he dared not say anything at all.

One of them said—Then the Secretary will take steps.

Sasadhar Babu said—He will do nothing at all ! Doesn't the secretary get a share of the fish too ? Eats the fish from the pond, the mango and coconut from the garden, that they

have eaten all along. Who can change that ? The Pandit Mashai has no power to change that.

Balai Babu said—Well, he tried hard to close down the coaching school. But could he do that ? Has the coaching school closed its doors ?

The news went to Nimai Shaw the same morning. The Balarampur Variety Stores had just opened its doors. The shutters were unfastened very early in the morning.

Bidhu Kayal raced up and said—Shaw Mashai, all the mango and coconut are being picked from the trees of the school garden—

Nimai Shaw was startled—Who is picking ? Who ordered it ?

—Pandit Mashai—

—Pandit Mashai ?

Nimai shaw did not want to believe it. He got up.

But Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had, by then, got all the mango and coconuts down from the trees of the Balarampur High School garden. The coconuts were in great heaps by the side of the pond. The pickers were climbing the mango trees. Half the mangos were already picked. The work had been begun after settling the terms. The money was already in hand. The price obtained was good.

Nimai Shaw arrived just then. He was swelling with anger, but was not showing it.

Nimai Shaw said at last—Pandit Mashai, why are you having the coconuts picked suddenly ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Yes, I sold both the mangos and the coconuts. Got three hundred rupees for it. You were all saying you had no money. Now, here is three hundred rupees as income—

So saying he opened his hand and displayed the currency notes.

Nimai Shaw asked—But have the committee given you permission to sell ? Have they agreed to this ?

Gour Bhattacharjee was surprised to hear all this from his ex-pupil. Then he said—But had the committee given you permission to sell the fish ?

—Fish ?

—Yes, the fish that were in this pond ? Do the committee know that the sale of fish brought seven hundred rupees ?

Nimai Shaw was a tradesman by caste. He made lakhs of rupees by running his ancestral Balarampur Variety Stores. He had increased his father's property tenfold.

He suddenly changed his tactics. Said—Do the fish in the pond belong to the school ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—To whom then, if not to the school ? This land, this pond, the coconut trees, the mango trees, these buildings, doors, windows, timber and straw, everything belongs to the school. Neither to you nor to me—It is all school property. Your father Mathur Shaw made a deed of gift in favour of the school in which he included all that—

By then a number of persons had come into the school compound.

Nimai Shaw said—Well, father did give the land, the garden, the pond, all the fixed assets to the school ; but did he give away the fish, the coconuts and the mangos too ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—So long I had been in charge of the school, all these had been enjoyed by the school. If the king is changed, that does not alter the kingdom.

Nimai Shaw said—What has happened in the past, has happened. Now there is a committee and the committee will decide everything—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You see Nimai, kings change but the kingdoms do not. The

kingdom has remained the same. You have taken the money you got by selling the fish. That has been illegal. That money belongs to the school. It should be spent for the good of the school. Today's money obtained by sale of coconut and mango will be put in the school fund.

Nimai Shaw said—But, Master Mashai, do you think you have done right? If the committee object to anything?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—If the committee demand an explanation I shall give the explanation to the committee.

—But I am the President of the committee!

Gour Bhattacharjee exclaimed—To hell with the President! So long as I am morally in the right path, you will not be able to harm me. And if I do not harm myself, who else can injure me?

Nimai Shaw was looking for an answer.

But Gour Bhattacharjee found something to say before Nimai Shaw would say anything—Go, Nimai, donot bother me now when I am rather busy—If you wish to call the committee,

call it by all means, I shall explain if I am called to explain—

Bhabaranjan had arrived by then. He came as was usual with him, before the school classes commenced. He was witnessing all that was going on. He was profoundly surprised. Nimai Shaw did not wait there any longer. He walked out of the compound, his steps resounding.

Seeing Bhabaranjan, Gour Bhattacharjee said—Take this money, there is three hundred rupees here which should go into Haralal's books—

He did not wait after saying this. Janardan was standing foolishly by the gate. He was told—Janardan, shut the gate right on time—

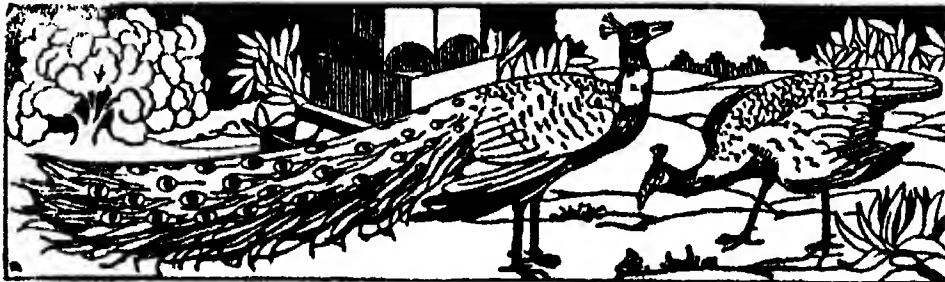
Thereafter he ignored the dumbfounded look on the face of the people there, went through the gate, on to the road.

Pranam : Saluting by touching the feet.

Ghatak : A marriage negotiator.

Lakh : A hundred Thousand.

Maund : 82 pounds. Seer : about 2 pounds.



FAMILY PLANNING—A FRESH APPROACH

R. H. JAISWAL

It is a well-established fact that the Family Planning Programme has been accorded the highest priority and has already been accepted as a centrally sponsored programme during the Fourth Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission of India is willing to spend whatever is necessary for the programme provided the performance is commensurate with the expenditure incurred. So, under the prevalent circumstances, it would be useful to discuss the problem concerning the programme of Family Planning. Hereunder are the few points which must be heavily stressed for the success of the programme.

Social Prestige Issue :

As we know most of the people in India are 'narrow-minded' and fastidious followers of the old traditions. Therefore, the problem of Family Planning must be discussed with reference to social prestige. The government should introduce propaganda designations like "Lord Krishna" to a man who has two or more wives, or "Sister of Kunti" to a woman who has seven or eight or more children. These people would be declared as traitors and they should be socially boycotted. Such a campaign should start with villages. Every village panchayat must work as a chief motivator in this programme. The title winners will be socially depressed and the others who do not get them will never think of them. Thus if we make, the social prestige, a great issue, then the people will speedily turn towards a small family. The orthodox people do not think in the economic sense, but they consider whether it is socially bad or good. Just as

they consider the problem of expenditure on the occasion of marriage and death ; they would consider this problem on the same line. Most of the families in the rustic and urban areas do not care for their economic condition, but they first of all think of their social prestige. So, this social factor demands serious consideration.

Wide Spread Knowledge of Family Planning

Through the advertisements in newspapers, film-news reels, radio, posters etc, we spread the knowledge of family planning in a very limited sphere. When 24% of the total population is educated in India, it is useless to have these methods of spreading the knowledge about family planning. Many poor people who are real and main contributors towards this increase in population are in fact ignorant about film-reels and radio and so many other things. The best possible way to spread the knowledge of family planning is to take it to each door of each house in each village. Every mature man and woman must be aware of this knowledge. As we know very well that more than 80% of the mature couples live in the villages and not in the cities. To-day, we are concentrating on big and small cities and somehow neglecting the villages ; which is not fair. By spreading the knowledge in every house with the help of good agencies, we can minimise the current advertising expenditure which could be used for something else. We can appoint large number of experts with attractive salaries who would go door to door in the villages and can persuade the people for family planning. We can have a State-wise machinery for such operations.

Generally those people who can read and write very well know the pros and cons of the problem. So, it is not at all necessary for these people to have the advertisements of this kind, as we are having today. For them, we can have some standard bulletins, useful talks on radio and public lectures etc. In this way, to-day, we are using very expensive and less fruitful means of spreading the knowledge of family planning by the help of news-papers, news-bulletins, posters, booklets, periodicals and so on. No doubt that in the new approach suggested here, the expenses for spreading the knowledge of family planning may be higher than at present, but it will be more fruitful, quicker and the proper way of spreading the knowledge of family planning.

Question of Orphans, Street-Wanderers, Sadhus etc.

Indian population also consists of orphans, street-wanderers and sadhus ; men and women are wandering in the streets of big cities and villages. They are completely dependent on society. However most of them are having children, not one or two, but in large numbers. The pity lies here, that people who have no roof to stay under, food to eat, give birth to children in considerable numbers. Many street-wanderers and orphans do not know even the name of their parents. Some sadhus who feign to be sadhus are also depending on others. These sadhus are also procreating children legally or illegally. They are the greatest opponents of family planning. These people should not only be socially boycotted by the people, but the Government should also pass laws for such persons that they shall have no right to marry and to have a child. Some persons will oppose strongly this suggestion on the ground that ours is a democratic country. But under the present circumstances, when our economic development is completely marred by this increasing

population, is it not advisable to punish these people by law, because they are the real traitors? Firstly, they depend mostly on others for food and other requirements. Secondly, by procreating children in large numbers in this country, they create other dependents for the nation. Thus this class of dependents is growing faster and faster, therefore the problem becomes much harder and harder still. These persons should at least be compelled not to have children, unless they become economically independent. Persons who are physically unfit to work and old may however have a licence to receive help from others.

Educational System & the Use and Effectiveness of the Family Planning Instruments :

To-day 1/4th of the total population and 18% of the women population can read and write. Thus very few people can understand the merits and demerits of the small family and the big family. Similarly the knowledge of using the Family planning instruments and medicines is understood by a very small group of the people. Our family planning instruments and medicines are not cent percent reliable. One can doubt the effectiveness of the instruments and medicines, so these mediums must be more reliable, effective and have little complication. To-day people have less faith and more fear in these mediums. These instruments must be harmless, cheaper and easier to use. The system of our education is also defective. To-day many educated people have some doubts about the family planning instruments. So we must organise such an educational system as would give at least the knowledge of family planning to every citizen. Every married couple must be made aware of the facts of life. Education of women in rural area should be expanded in the near future.

Punishment :

Since long it has been very well argued that the people having more than two children

must be punished in the form of taxes and such other ways. The sphere of punishment must be wide enough to cover a large group of people. The exemption limit in Income-tax must not be increased with the increase in the number of the children. Similarly, to-day in the fields like industry, banks and many others, the facilities of maternity benefit, leave, free medical treatment etc. are given to their workers. All these facilities should not be given after two children. Free education or backward class freeships and other helps should be given upto two children only and not more.

In rural areas the birth-rate is higher than the rate in the urban sectors. So every agriculturists and other village people should be punished in the form of higher taxation. After two children, there should be a "Child Tax". Every village panchayat can introduce this kind of tax for the village people. The rate of this tax should be progressive. Similarly the rate of land tennure can be organised in such a way that a man having more than two children and certain acres of land should pay more land tax. By such punishments the idea of "more the children ; more the income" will disappear automatically from society. Therefore, the taxation and the withdrawal of extra benefits in many fields will be instrumental in reducing the birth-rate.

Social Security Measures :

As India is not financially a prosperous country, we cannot spend much on measures of social security. However, we should try to develop some organisations which would give the facilities of residence, food, medical treatment to the old. If we could remove the fear of old age, many people would not like to have more children. The criterion that the children are the source of income should be basically removed. Poor people say farmers, labourers, must get the necessities of life through the agencies of Government. If this could be realized, the idea of "more the chil-

dren, more the income" will disappear. For the social security measures the question of finance will come up. Owing to new tax structure we are going to have some amount of money which can be used for the purposes of the social security measures. From among the old people some able-bodied persons may work in the fields like gardens, small industries, offices etc. and can get some money for their use. Village panchayats can facilitate our work.

Changes in Marriage System :

To-day, the marriage Acts are not fully implemented. It is high time to increase the marriage age for both the men and women. These laws must be implemented by Village or Taluka Panchayats. The work of these panchayats should be checked by centrally oriented agencies—with the co-operation of the state. Muslim people should not be allowed to marry two or more women at a time. Every Indian, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim, should obey the same rules of the Indian nation. International marriages must be encouraged, especially to Indian women. Less expensive agencies of marriages must be encouraged. Government may start such agencies with the help of foreign countries.

These are the important points for consideration for the problems of family planning. No doubt, that to-day, we are having some methods of family planning, but it is obvious that we have not until now, reduced the birth-rate from 40 to say 25 or so. If we want to reduce the birth-rate to 25, it would require a good deal of effort. If we will follow the new approach of family planning during the years of Fourth Five Year Plan, we may expect to have good results from these efforts. We hope that all these suggestions, may be put in practice partly or fully in these years for yielding good results and for the benefit of the nation.

SMRITI AND BISMIRI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

My first rebuff in Moscow

The tram lines were running through the Boulevard from the junction of Thersaka Ulitza (street). It was right handed traffic in Moscow. In fact it was so everywhere after we crossed into Soviet Territory. It is so until you come to England, where in that small island, there was again left handed traffic.

I used to patronise the trams, though slower, instead of the buses, which were very irregular in those days. My first surprise was that the conductors were usually women. I had learnt the name of a prominent place and paid fare by a rouble and got back lots of small change. The fare seemed to be moderate. I had learnt in the two months during the journey, how to keep account of the expenses. The progress was not satisfactory but tolerable.

I was lucky to get a vacant seat. After some time a lady got into the tram. She was standing and I offered her my seat, but she stoutly declined to accept it. She was not a young comrade, who liked to assert their equality, if not superiority. She was middle aged and had 2/3 small bundles with her. She would not even allow me to carry the bundles for her. It was a sharp rebuff or rebuke and I took some time to learn a lessons from it. I have not yet quite forgotten it. For while writing about my experiences in Moscow, this incident has come first to my mind.

I had been in Moscow, Volgagard and other places again in 1963 but I did not find such irresponsible attitude to the males by the women. Things were changed as it was bound to do.

We spent our time in sight seeing etc. I started reading (1) Communist Manifesto, (2) Ten days that shook the world, (3) Through Russian Revolution. Together with these, I got hold of the report in English of the full proceedings of the 4th Congress of Communist International, which we wanted to attend, but did not succeed in attending. These were heavy reading and there were also the Russian and German lessons.

Roy's Letter

At last the long expected letter of Com. M. N. Roy came in after about 2 weeks. It was addressed to the Moulana, stating that it would not be possible for him to come to Moscow within a month and discuss things with the Moulana. The Moulana had a right to expect a much better and appreciative letter. But there was nothing else to do than wait patiently. About us, Com. Roy said "let the boys join the Eastern University". We did not like this reference to us 'boys', though I knew that in English colloquial language, the word 'boys' is not used in a disparaging manner. There were a series of discussions and the party of nine practically broke up.

Dr. Noor Mahammed had his money,

earned in Kabul and he decided to go to Germany for further medical studies. I would have liked to do so, if I had the money myself. But it was quite another reason advanced by the Moulana, which made me change my mind and I joined the Eastern University with enthusiasm. There were 8 Indian students in the Eastern University already, when we reached Moscow. But none of them was a Matriculate. Two of them who had been in the Eastern University in Tashkent, namely Quorban and Safdar, had read upto class IV or V only. They spoke and read Russian well and were given special privileges.

The Moulana thought the general education of the Indian students was so low, that it was most difficult for them to grasp fully and discriminately, the highly technical and scientific aspects of Scientific Socialism and Economic Interpretation of History. They were parrot like, repeating what they read or learnt in classes. The Moulana thought that Jaffar Hossain, his most devoted, educated (graduate) and intelligent disciple and myself should join the Eastern University and study the new philosophy and economics, which were already ruling over one seventh part of the globe. This was a rare opportunity for us to study the new philosophy, and interpret it to India and the rest of the World. I felt very much complimented and joined the Eastern University with Jaffar Hossain with great enthusiasm, as pioneers of the movement. It was a historic decision and I was grateful to the Moulana for his persuasive logic to make us join the Eastern University. We both shifted to the hostel of the University, which was also on Therskaya Ulitza. The University itself with about 2000 students was situated on the Strasnaya Boulevard, behind the big Church. The students were in 5 different Hostels. The studies were in classes and the

classes were in the four storied buildings. Lunch and dinner were cooked and served for the 2000 students there. Breakfasts were served in the respective hostels. Our classes were in English, except, of course, the Russian lessons.

Almost every day Jaffar and myself used to go to the Moulana and informed him all that we learnt in the University. He did not know Russian at all and very little English. Our talks and discussions were all in Urdu. These discussions were very stimulating. He almost devoured all we reported to him. I felt under different circumstances he would have joined the Eastern University himself. He had been a brilliant student in Depbandh Muslim University for 12 long years and then a professor there, before leaving for Kabul.

Iqbal Sadar and his ward, Rafique, decided to go to Turkey, which was their desire from the time they were in Kabul. Abdul Aziz joined us in the Eastern University and its hostel. He had to lean heavily on both Jaffar and myself not knowing much English. He had read upto class VII or VIII when they joined the Mahajareen movement which all others except Jaffar and myself had joined. Within a month or so Jaffar became the teacher of Urdu for Com. Riconer of the Foreign Office and also father of beautiful Mrs. Roskolnikov, who was Soviet Ambassador in Kabul, when we left Kabul. From then on I was almost the only daily companion for the Moulana, except his own nephew to give him personal service. Of the three rooms allotted to us, only one was left where the Moulana lived with his nephew. Com. Ahmad Hossain had also his bed in that room but he was often out of Moscow to work in the different parts of Russia or Berlin and Paris (we did not know).

Eastern University was to train Communists from different parts of Soviet Union, be-

longing to all nationalities—Mongols, Buriats, Uzbecks, Kirghese, Cossacks, Kazaks, Georgians, etc. They were all members of the Communist Party and had actively participated in the partisan movement along with the Red Army. These lectures were in Russian language, which was their second language.

Besides these there were about 400 Communists from Turkey (20), Iran (10), Egypt (5), India (8), Japan (2), Indonesia (2) Korea (2) and about 300 Chinese. There were also about 10 from countries of the Soviet Union, Poles, Bulgars, Chekoslovaks, who had migrated to the United States of America as workers and had flocked back to the Soviet Union after the news of Soviet victory became known in the U. S. A. Some eight or ten of them were in the same room or dormitory of the Hostel, where we Indians were living. It was for facility of conversation, as we all spoke English.

The Chinese were next to our room. Com. Ho Chi Min was also there for some time. Of all the groups, the Chinese were not only most numerous but were most serious and studious also. Most of them did not know Russian, but those who knew, held regular classes in Chinese to explain what was being taught in the classes held in Russian. They also translated some of the smaller books in Chinese for the benefit of non-Russian speaking students. Most of them were recruited from the Universities of Germany, France, United Kingdom, etc. They were Medical or Engineering or Science students and left their studies for the Revolution. There was a talk of starting a Sun Yat Sen University for them in Moscow as a part of the Eastern University. There was also talk of a C. R. Das University for Indian students. But there was practically no recruits of Indian students from the

Universities of Germany, France, United Kingdom, Switzerland, etc. They were more anxious to get their degrees.

There was co-education and about one-third of the total number were girl students.

There was a similar University, named Smederloff University, for the training of Communists from Russia. Their number was also about 2000. The training and living conditions were almost similar.

We were given two sets of dresses, and also shoes and an overcoat of the Red Army type, with hood. Washing and repair were free in the University tailoring, cobbler and laundering shops. Besides we got one shaving slip and one bath slip and one cinema ticket per week. In addition we used to get a rouble in cash per week. Strangely enough each student got some tobacco for smoking and professors and students used to smoke together in class rooms also. Books were, of course, all given free.

Principal Broida, Prof. Golbderg, etc., used to take regular classes. Sometimes some big leaders of the Communist Parties of Russia and abroad would address the students collectively on some current world event or events. The lectures had to be of elementary nature as the students were of mixed standard of education, some were graduates and post graduates, while others had read upto class IV or V. Some of them did not understand English well. So, the lectures had to suit the lowest standards. But soon it was found that the lessons had to be brought upto a higher standard and the less educated were given in charge to the better educated to coach them up privately. This task fell to the share of Jaffar Hossain and myself. Amongst the Communists who had migrated to U. S. A. from East European countries (and they were all Jews), there was one called Jack (Swoshtim) from Poland. He had no general education, but

had studied the subjects very well indeed in his leisure hours and was really a selfmade (read) man. His wife was also with him. Mrs. Shoshtim (Jill), was not well read but a devoted Communist and also a devoted wife. I became very friendly with this couple, and Jack, by his manner and learning, became my friend, philosopher and guide. I was very grateful to him for his clear thinking and understanding and for his helping me to select books to study. The other workers from U. S. A. were not very serious in their studies and were after securing good jobs in Russia. Some of them succeeded and they left the University one by one. Two of them got disappointed and went back to U. S. A., because they could not or did not like the hard revolutionary life in Russia.

Food.

The food supplied to us was of a very poor standard. The previous years 1921 and 1922 were famine years and millions had died due to starvation or semi-starvation. Conditions were still very bad. There was usually soup of horse-meat, but even horse-meat pieces were hardly visible. The hot soup was taken with four thin pieces of black bread. It was followed by the 2nd Course of Kassa - some cheap grains boiled into a soft mass, with some sweets. we had to take a bowl for soup and a plate for bread and Kassa and a spoon. These were all the utensils, we used no fork and no knife. There was occasionally horse meat, about 75 to 100 grams, bone and all, with cabbage or carrot. Potato was a rarity. As one was served food by the volunteers, he moved forward to lines of wooden benches and tables and would start eating. Then the next man would move up, receive his share of food, and march forward to the wooden benches to find a seat. We had our University Card, which was

marked while giving the food, so that one might not take food more than once. Dinner was no exception and the same kind of food was served. Only breakfasts were served in the Hostels. Breakfast consisted of black bread, a small and thin slice of butter and tea. There was not sufficient supply of black bread, which was the main food. Frankly speaking the food was insufficient, not to talk of taste. We revolted within ourselves, but did not show any displeasure outwardly and tried to adjust ourselves to the near famine conditions.

Service was cafeteria style. About 20 students were taken daily to help cooking and serving. This was done by turn and one would have to serve once in ten days or so. There were permanent paid cooks for cooking. The students were used for the purpose of chopping up wood for fuel, (no coal cooking), chopping the hard horse meat kept in freeze-chambers, peeling the vegetables, washing them, etc., The volunteers (rather conscripts) had to serve from early morning to late evening, cleaning the utensils. They were freed from the classes on those days. They had the same food as others they served, but would get extra tea to keep warm. I liked this work as I got opportunity to meet and talk freely and frankly with both boys and girls from different sections and nationalities. It was most interesting to hear their individual stories, what kind of partisan work they had done. After two years of training, they would be sent back to work where they came from. They had to work underground as their family members did not support them and there were some instances, where their own family members joined with other villagers in insulting and even liquidating them. So the prospect of going back to their people was a terrifying one. The hold of the Soviets was still very loose in those backward regions. To fight against religious

(Islamic) superstition and prejudices against the whole village and often against their own family members was such a stupendous task that the boldest hearts would tremble. The girls were more nervous than the boys. I remember one Uzbek girl - named Fatima. - It was easier for me to talk with her as she also spoke Persian. She was fair complexioned, with black hair and eyes. Once she broke into tears while talking about her future prospects in her village work. I offered her advise to get married with one who spoke her language and then it would be easier to work together. I had spoken more in joke than seriously. But soon I learnt that she had acted accordingly and I was invited to the marriage party.

Such marriages were quite usual. There would be a simple social affair, nothing to do with religious ceremonies, and there would be a social function with songs, dances and speeches. I have often wondered, what became the fate of the newly converted and married couples when they went to their village people to complete social and economic revolution. In the two years I was there, at least 30 to 40 such marriages were solemnised. Some were inter-tribal, and some were even International. One Turkish Comrade married a Russian girl, Smorotkina; one Korean girl married a Chinese and several Chinese boys married Russian girls. I do not know how many of these marriages were temporary and how many were permanent affairs. The "glass of water" theory was still very current and strong, after centuries of frustration and suppressed sex desires. Lenin already noticed it and came out with strong condemnation of the practice of 'glass of water' theory, wherein sex matters were treated as simple affair like drinking a glass of water from any source for quenching thirst temporarily. But trouble would and did

come when the girls became pregnant. Abortion was then free no doubt, but it was frowned upon and some were expelled from the University, if they became pregnant more than once. Theoretically, there was no objection to having children, but it was a great handicap for professional revolutionaries. It was a great temptation to have free sex life, specially for girls, most of whom came from a strict purdah and borkha set up.

Das Capital

The studies of Marxian economics as in Das Capital and Materialistic Concept of History and such other writings of Karl Marx, who always wrote in very terse, learned and polemical language, proved rather difficult even for us, who were fortunate to have had high academical qualifications and also for the Professors, most of whom had learnt the subject the hard way not in the Universities but in secret study circles, with the help of no experts but with the help of one another and occasional references to theoreticians of the Party like Lenin and other leaders. For the average students, the lessons were rather dull and uninteresting. They were given first introductory and rudimentary lessons and then they were to study the subjects further.

To minimise the rigours of the abstract studies, there used to be social functions at least once a fortnight. The Chinese excelled in these functions with beautiful decorations and most artistic and humorous dramas written by themselves. The Turks used to regale the audience with their revolutionary poems and songs. The Indians seemed to be rather unenterprising, though we would try to contribute our mite by singing or rehearsing poems of Tagore and Iqbal.

Two subsidiary jobs

Each student had to take up two subjects, which would be taught to them to make

them self-supporting while carrying on their revolutionary program. I took up photography and motor mechanism. Photos are essential for journalism. Motor driving is very useful in a revolutionary situation and for making a living in ordinary circumstances. I regret I made very little progress in either of the efforts. Other vocational subjects were short-hand and typing, tailoring, repairing watches, cycles, radios, printing presses, etc. Many acquired much efficiency, which would stand by them in their future revolutionary activities. This was optional and many did not care to join any of the training classes.

Baths

We used to get one bath ticket every week. The baths were, what is generally known as Turkish baths. There are three consecutive rooms. In the first, which is moderately warm, you undress yourself completely. The next room is more hot and you rub your body with soap and the last one is full of steam at high temperature and you perspire like anything and all dirt is washed clean with sweating. One beats one's body with twigs supplied by the Bath authorities. Then the reverse process starts. From the warmest room you come to the less warm and wash yourself and to the warm room where you undressed. All taking bath jointly without a stitch on was somewhat a novel experience, though males and females had separate baths. In Japan sometimes it is the same bath for both.

Bath in Moscow River

But in summer, people, both male and female, took their baths quite naked in Moscow river. They would keep their clothes on the banks of the river and enter the river quite naked, in the very centre of Moscow city. Foreigners used to go there and watch the bathing, but the Moscowvites were quite

used to this naked bath and younger people would spray water on others and play all other kinds of pranks. The distance between the male group and the female group bathing was not more than ten yards and often they comingled without any objection. Later on the place of naked bath was taken a little out of the centre of Moscow—about 2 kilometers.

Krishnalila

In the Krishnalila, I had read that Lord Krishna stole the clothes of the Gopinis, sat on a branch of a tree and played flute. The Gopinis would beg Krishna for their clothes, but he would mischievously delay the same and enjoy the fun. This I could not understand for in Bengal the women as well as men, do not leave their dresses, dhoties and sarees, on the bank of the river or pond. They enter water with their clothes on. But on seeing the people leaving their full dress on the bank and enter into water completely naked I realised how such Krishnalila would be possible. I learnt later on that such system of entering water for bath leaving the full dress on the bank is prevalent also in northern India but I had no knowledge of the same then.

Mock trials

There used to be mock trials, which were most interesting to me.

A student stole the boots of another which were in better shape and form. The boots were all supplied by the University and there was a cobbler's shop to repair any boot that needed major or minor repair. There were three judges—male and female. There were three to prosecute and three to defend also composed of both males and females. The accused was in the dock. Prosecution argued that it was anti-social action and exemplary punishment should be meted out. The

defenders argued that the action was caused as there were not sufficient good boots for all. Had it been otherwise, no such action would be needed or be taken. Both the pairs of boots were exhibited and both had undergone many repairs but the boots of the guilty student was almost beyond further repair. The guilty student admitted his guilt and prayed for mercy, promising not to behave like that ever after. He got an award of a new pair of boots from the stock. Both shook hands and embraced each other and with loud shouts of Inquilab Zindabad, Soviet Russia Zindabad Capitalism Murdabad, etc. by the judges, prosecutors, defenders, the complainant, the accused and in fact the whole audience, all standing. This continued for several minutes and the mock trial conducted in all seriousness ended happily.

Trial for stealing food

It happened like this. One evening one student had meal outside and did not take his meal in the University and lent his card to a friend of his. That student got his regular meal with his own card first and when he tried to get his meal again on the card of his friend, he was unfortunately detected and mock trial started against both the friends. The same kind of mock court, judges, prosecutors, defenders, the complainant and the accused. The complainant was the volunteer who detected the case while serving food.

The prosecutors condemned this action as a great social evil, unworthy of proletarian revolutionaries and demanded that the accused should be given deterrent punishment. The defenders pleaded that the quantity of food supplied by the University was undoubtedly insufficient for vigorous and strong students. Moreover, this practice was a common one. It was really giving his friend

his own share. If the two had sat together and one of them passed his share of food to his friend, it would not be an offence at all. Social conditions were at the root of such evils. With sufficient quantity of food supplied there would not be such crimes at all. However, the accused apologised for their action and promised never to act like this in future. With revolutionary slogans the mock trial came to an end.

Trial for Courtship with Dagger

One male student used to court a girl student who was also not unresponsive. The boy offered to marry her; but she could not make up her mind. One day, the boy lost his patience and whipped out his dagger and threatened to kill her, if she did not agree to marry him. It happened one evening when they were sitting on a bench in a boulevard. The scream of the girl drew the attention of others present nearby, and the matter ended there. But the girl complained to the University authorities and there was a mock trial. The prosecutors condemned this as a remnant of bourgeois vice and claimed that the boy was unworthy of living in civilised society. The defenders pleaded that they were shocked naturally, but it was not an unusual event in the areas from where they came. They mentioned that even then there was a practice that if a man could forcibly take away a girl from her house, he became entitled to marry her. The practice was that while being carried away the girl could use her fisticuffs, and even her nails and teeth but not vice versa. That being so, the defenders pleaded that it was not such a big crime to whip out his dagger. The procedure of courtship had become more an art in modern society. It was also argued that some girls tantalised the boys and it was quite a torture for the boys unnecessarily. The man

concerned admitted his guilt, that he lost his patience, by being played with like that for months together. He promised to behave properly in future. He was advised by the judges to try modern methods of courtship like dancing together, presenting chocolates or flowers. The girl was also advised not to play long but make up her mind one way or the other and not to test his patience too long. Again with revolutionary slogans the mock trial ended. The boy continued his courtship of the same girl by modern methods and ultimately they were married happily within a few months. The judges, prosecutors, the defenders, were all invited to the marriage.

The mock trials were to analyse some social evils and emphasise how to eradicate them.

Abortive German Revolution.

While we were studying in the Eastern University, the revolutionary situation in Berlin and Hamburg, etc., matured and the Communist Party of Germany was about to give the call for general uprising and insurrection. Karl Radck, an accepted expert in European and particularly in German affairs went on writing informative articles in the Pravda and Izvestia about the German situa-

tion. We, the students of Eastern University as well as of Smederloff University were given military training and were told to be ready to march with the Red Army to Germany. All the Soviet leaders were silent and Lenin was ill in a village nearby. At last Trotsky came out with a very militant statement. Poland and the Corridor must be a bridge for the Russian proletariat to go for the help of the German proletariat in their revolutionary action, or else we shall have to smash Poland and force our way through Poland. "We cannot and shall not allow the German proletariat to be suppressed."

But the call for proletariat insurrection had a feeble response in Germany, except in some pockets of Berlin, Hamburg, etc., and these were very quickly suppressed by the German government and there was no question left for Trotsky to march into Germany over Poland, using her either as a bridge or by smashing her. And consequently all our preparations and desires to march into Germany with the Red Army vanished into nothing. Some leaders of the then German Communist Party have, however, written that the German revolution was sabotaged by certain leaders in Moscow, primarily Stalin and his close group. But what I saw and felt at that time has been written here.



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

India in 2000 A. D.

The following is reproduced from "Centre Calling" published by the Department of Family Planning :

According to the gist of population projections published recently by the Swiss magazine 'Vision'. India's population is expected to reach 922 million in next 30 years from now on. The paper also rank India second in terms of population and ninth in terms of gross national product in the year 2000 among the 50 most important countries in the world. The journal makes an estimate that India's Gross National Product (GNP) will increase from \$ 45,900 million in 1967 to \$ 92,200 million in 1980 and \$ 235,000 million in the year 2000. The paper also observes that our country will thus overtake Canada which by that time is expected to reach \$ 2,000 million (GNP). Though our country may overtake some developed countries because of rapid industrialization, the rising tide of population will continue to place us at 48th position in terms of GNP per capita in the next 30 years. The estimate presupposes the continued growth of our population at the present pace.

According to the paper, our per capita GNP will rise from £ 90 in 1967 to \$ 136 in 1980 and further to \$ 255 in the year 2000.

In conclusion, the study avers that despite the tremendous progress in 30 years from now half of the world's population will live in poverty.

Equity in Pakistan

It is by now quite clear to all who are interested in Pakistani politics that the reasons

behind the break away of East Bengal from Pakistan has been caused by the shameless exploitation of that part of Pakistan by the West Pakistanis who have usurped all advantages, privileges, funds, jobs etc. etc. for themselves and left the people of East Bengal to pay for the glory of Pakistan without realisation of any gains from it. The following tables were published in the "Socialist Monitor". They show factually what the West Pakistani had done in the course of managing the affairs of that country imposing a military dictatorship upon its people :

Table I

The relative strength of East Pakistanis in the superior central services, Civil and Military.

| | Number of East Pakistan | Number from West Pakistan |
|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| A. Civil. | | |
| Secretaries | 00 | 19 |
| Joint Secretaries | 0 | 38 |
| Deputy Secretaries | 10 | 123 |
| Under Secretaries | 38 | 520 |
| B. Military. | | |
| Lt. General | 00 | 3 |
| Major General | 00 | 20 |
| Brigadiers | 1 | 34 |
| Colonels | 1 | 49 |
| Lt. Colonels | 2 | 192 |
| Majors | 10 | 590 |
| Navy Officers | 7 | 503 |
| Air Force Officers | 40 | 640 |

Source : The Dawn, Karachi, January 9, 1956,

Table 2

Employment of East Pakistanis in various selected branches of military services.

| Particular | From East Pakistan | From West Pakistan |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | ACTUAL NUMBER | |
| General | 00 | 1 |
| Lt. General | 00 | 2 |
| Major General | 1 | 13 |
| | PER | CENT |
| Officers in Armed Services | 5 | 95 |
| Navy-Technical Officers | 19 | 81 |
| Navy-Non Technical Officers | 9 | 91 |
| Naval Ranks Technical Br | 28.5 | 71.6 |
| Naval Ranks Non-Technical | 28.4 | 71.5 |
| AIR FORCE OFFICERS | ACTUAL NUMBER | |
| Pilots | 11 | 89 |
| Navigators | 27 | 73 |
| Technical Officers | 17 | 83 |
| Administrative Officers | 31 | 69 |
| Education Officers | 13 | 87 |

Source The political system of Pakistan P195, Sayeed.

Table 3

TRADE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN

| Period | Import into east wing from west wing (in Rs. Crores) | Import into West wing from east wing (in Rs. Crores) |
|---------|--|--|
| 1958-59 | 660.7 | 277.6 |
| 1959-60 | 542.6 | 361.0 |
| 1960-61 | 798.7 | 361.0 |
| 1961-62 | 829.7 | 392.5 |
| 1962-63 | 917.6 | 446.9 |

Source : Donald Wilber. Pakistan, P 445.

Table 4

Regional distribution of Investment by semipublic Institutions.

| Institutions | Share of investment East Pakistan | Share of investment West Pakistan |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | (IN PERCENT) | |
| Industrial Development Bank | 20 | 80 |
| House Building Finance Corporation | 12 | 88 |
| Pakistan Industrial Credit Investment Corporation | 24 | 76 |
| Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation | 45 | 55 |

Source : Von Vorys Political Development in Pakistan, P 97.

Table 5

Monetary Aid given to various Regions of Pakistan.

| Monetary Aid | East Pakistan | West Pakistan |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| | (in million Rupees) | |
| Financial assistance | 1,260 | 10,000 |
| Defence expenditure | 100 | 4,650 |
| Capital expenditure | 620 | 2,100 |
| Educational grants | 240 | 1,530 |
| Share from foreign aid | 150 | 720 |

Source : A. Tayyab.

Holland as Producer of Milk

Holland is world famous for her production of milk and milk based food articles. "The Netherlands" give us the statistics printed below :

According to a provisional annual survey issued by the Dairy Produce Marketing Board in The Hague the number of milk cows and cows in calf in Holland in 1970 averaged 1 920 000, as against 1 904 000 in the preceding year. Milk yield per cow averaged 4,290 kg, as compared with 4 170 kg. in 1969. The fat content of the milk averaged 3.85% (unchanged).

The main production figures for 1969 and 1970 are presented in the following table.

| | 1969 | 1970 |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | (in thousands of tons) | |
| Total milk production | 7 975 | 8 239 |
| Milk supplied to customers | | |
| Full and standardized | 401 | 1 336 |
| Milk with approx. 1½% fat content | 22 | 58 |
| Cream | 22 | 24 |
| Skimmed milk and buttermilk | 206 | 217 |
| Condensed milk for coffee | 290 | 294 |
| Milk-based products | | |
| Butter | 112 | 121 |
| Cheese | 260 | 271 |
| Powdered milk | 139 | 153 |
| Condensed milk | 495 | 495 |

China and The U. S. A.

The Janata says editorially.

That Mr. Nixon has to win the next election ; the US administration has to respond to the popular pressure for ending the war in Viet Nam ; the USSR's intrusion in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea as also the Pacific Ocean has to be contained' and a new alignment against her has to be created ; the prospects of trade with China are no less alluring ; these are some of the motivations which are reported to have clinched the long established contacts between the US and the People's Republic of China. It is quite possible that a combination of some or all of these factors has brought about the final denouncement, though the dramatic element of Kissinger's secret rendezvous with the Chinese leadership has obscured the fact that the two sides were moving towards it gradually and cautiously.

The effect has been heightened by the fact that it is Mr. Nixon himself who will be visiting China, instead of a lesser leader, and quite possibly this has happened because on some of the thorny issues, a breakthrough has already

been achieved. Predictably, China will be seated in the Security Council and the United Nations in the near future, and in the bargain, will reach a rapprochement with the US on Formosa. A similar understanding on Vietnam might have also been reached. Trade and aid will be to the profit of both, and no difficulties need to be experienced in this behalf.

Will the possible understanding between the US and China really lead to a realignment of political forces ? Or will it merely correct various anomalies in the international power structure, and more precisely in the Pacific region, and thereby lead to the lessening of the tension ? If the prospect is that China's membership of the UN, and her gradual integration in the international community and a new power structure based on the new realities, would stabilise the peace in the South East and Far East, enable real progress towards nuclear disarmament owing to her active association with the talks on nuclear disarmament and a corresponding breakthrough in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), in Vienna and Helsinki respectively, then the world would certainly become a better place to live in though if the new status quo is based on a trifurcation of the world in the areas of influence of the three super powers, freedom and equality will continue to suffer and remain terribly restricted. If on the other hand, the US might only wish to exploit the basic animosity between the two professedly Marxist-Leninist powers, in the tradition of real-politik, a large number of countries will have to seek new alliances and orientations.

In both eventualities, and other eventualities that might arise at admixtures of these two, India will have to define her role, based on her long-term and permanent interests. The Government has not given any indication of the working of its mind, nor have various

political parties debated in depth the options that may be open to us. To confine the debate only to the major problem of Bangla Desh which naturally occupies our minds, or our old strife with China and Pakistan, would prevent us from sizing up the long range perspectives. We must define what it is that we would like to happen in South and South-East Asia, in particular. We shall also have to analyse how Japan, the Western European countries, and the East African and North African countries would respond to the developments ; and the world-peace aspects of the international situation should also have to be assessed.

Cancer Research in Israel.

The following information is obtained from "news from Israel".

One of the central modern approaches to cancer research is based largely on the hypothesis that cancer is a manifestation of an immunological failure in those whose bodies are attacked by the disease. In other words, cancer may attack body cells on a far wider scale than we realize ; however ; the chemical and biological make-up of the new components of a cancerous cell are frequently recognized by the body's immune response system as being foreign and hence appropriate measures are taken to destroy the now dangerous cell. Only in cases where the immune response mechanism fails do the cancerous cells take hold and spread further.

Given this theory on which to work, it is scarcely surprising that some 75% of the research work in the University's Department of Immunology should to day be concentrated on studies related to the nature of cancer and the mechanisms whereby the body's own defences may be stimulated to fight the disease. In the light of this theory, immunologists want to characterize the exact nature of those chemi-

cal and biological changes in neoplastic (i.e., cancerous) cells which identify them as strangers to the host body. If this can be done, they want to go further and identify the immunological failure which prevent adequate resistance and, ultimately, to develop methods for screening which will detect those people whose genetic make-up includes this immunological malfunctioning which renders them cancer susceptible. If this latter aim can be achieved, it may be possible to find methods of stimulating the immunological response of these people at a very early age and, by counselling them to be especially careful in avoiding cancer stimuli such as smoking, to bring about, if not an end to, at least a curtailment of this dreaded scourge.

In an attempt, to isolate and characterize the nature of cancer antigens the Department is working with several models in what its Head, Prof. David Weiss, describes as a "shot-gun approach". He further explains that he and his team have deliberately tried to extend the field of investigation and to choose as many and as different forms of cancer as possible in the hope of scoring at least one "bull's eye" of scientific discovery. Cancers in the animal models selected have been chosen for study because of their similarity with cancers in man. They include breast cancer in mice, a cancer of fibrous connective tissue in chickens, and a virus-induced cancer in hamsters. Chronic lymphocytic leukaemia in man, one of the human cancers under study, has been selected in part at least because the disease progresses at a pace which is sufficiently slow as to permit scientific investigation.

Pursuing the contention that some people may be congenitally incapable of mounting a correct immune response, one line of investigation is seeking to discover which aspects of this immune response are correlated with cancer susceptibility. In another line o

attack, scientists are working on what is known as the 'enhancement-resistance problem' or the body's balancing of the production of antibodies and immune cells of the white blood cell type (immune lymphocytes): An interesting race is in progress here within the body, for if the antibodies reach the cancer cells before these are attacked by the immune lymphocytes, the former attach to the diseased cell and envelop it, thus in effect protecting the cell and excluding the lymphocytes. If the latter can reach the target cell first, they can kill it and its cancerous elements. While the mechanism is known to exist, the hows and whys of its existence are still obscure and the investigation in this direction is designed to throw light on these questions with the ultimate aim of being able, perhaps, to intervene in swinging the balance in the right direction.

Deciphering Etruscan Script

The Etruscans were a great civilised people who were conquered by the Romans. With Rome occupying all vantage points in European civilisation, Etruscan culture as such vanished from the intellectual sphere. A Bulgarian scholar has now deciphered the Etruscan script of which there are many samples in Europe. We have taken the description of this research work from "News Bulgaria"

One of the great mysteries of European history has now been unravelled as a result of research and investigations carried out over many years by the outstanding Bulgarian linguist, Professor Vladimir Georgiev, Deputy President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He has succeeded in deciphering the Etruscan script whose secrets have puzzled both experts and laymen who have been trying to reveal them for two centuries now.

It is known that the Etruscans, whose settlements extended across Central and

Northern Italy, were the most highly civilized people in Western Europe before the rise of the Roman state.

The Etruscan civilization has exercised a great influence on Roman culture and language. Herein lies the historic merit of this people in the development of world culture. Towards the beginning of our age the Etruscan peoples disappeared from historical records, being fully assimilated by the Romans. All that was left of them were 10,000 inscriptions in the Etruscan language in numerous works of their arts and crafts.

The method of the Bulgarian scholar, Professor V. Georgiev, applied in deciphering the Etruscan language, is described in his recently published book on the subject. A series of articles on this subject, which had previously appeared in Italian, German, French, Hungarian and Belgian science journals, are also to be published in full by the author.

What does the method of Professor V. Georgiev consist of? Studying word endings, he constructed a morphological model of the Etruscan language. Morphology, i.e. case inflections and verb endings, personal pronouns and the like, form the most characteristic and stable part of the language structure. Every language has its typical features in this respect, and they can be equivalent only in languages, which are most closely akin to one another. Proceeding from this position, Professor V. Georgiev juxtaposed this model with the morphological structure of many different languages and found that the Etruscan model coincided with that of the Hittite language.

The inference drawn on the basis of the morphological model is confirmed by the following fact. Ancient historians have recorded that the Etruscans and Lydians, who lived in Asia Minor, were of the same origin, and the latest research has shown that Lydian

is akin to the Hittite. Consequently, the Etruscan language was also closely related to the Hittite language. Thus the chain of scientific evidence is further reinforced by converse proofs.

In this way, Professor V. Georgiev proves in both directions—through a morphological model and on the evidence of historical and linguistic facts—that the clue to the understanding of the Etruscan language lies in the Hittite, which is now well explored. This method has made it possible for the Bulgarian scholar to translate Etruscan texts which throw abundant light not only on the history of the Etruscan people but also on the history of ancient Rome.

A New Insecticide from Poland-

A new pesticide that does not poison the environment when used on pests is described in "Polish Facts on File."

Polish scientists have developed a new preparation called 'DERMAFOS' a pesticide whose main virtue lies in the fact that it leaves no long-lasting traces which would adversely

affect the environment. 'Dermafos' was developed at the Organic Industry Institute in Warsaw, and its first batch was commercially manufactured last year at the "Azot" Chemistry plant in Jaworzno. The new pesticide, being a phosphoro-organic agent, is one of the four chemicals approved by the World Health Organization for killing flies in dairy farms and plants, slaughteries and food processing plants.

Originally, 'Dermafos' was meant against cattle gadflies but it turned out it was just as effective when used against other livestock parasites, and at the same time when properly dosed it is harmless and non-allergic to the cattle. Also, it turned out later that it can be used as a very effective veterinary drug against mycosis.

A variety of 'Dermafos' has also been developed which can be used to kill a parasite which attacks vegetables and had previously incurred great losses, particularly on onion plantations. Prior to starting commercial production of 'Dermafos' it was extensively tested on 2,000 cows.



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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Dhondo Keshav Karve : By G. L. Chandavarkar published by Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India in their Builders of Modern India series. Cr. Oct. pp 248+X paper back one plate price Rs. 4.00. Dhondo Keshav Karve was born on the 18th of April 1858 and he died on the 7th November 1962. He was more than 104 years old when he died. He spent his remarkably long life in the service of humanity and was one of the greatest social reformers of India. He drew inspiration from Raja Rammohun Roy, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Pandita Rambai (who was younger than him by a few days) and others and devoted himself particularly to women's emancipation. Widow remarriage and the education of women engaged him more than other branches of social reform. He went from house to house in many cities and towns of India to collect money for the Indian Women's University which was set up "depending on the contributions from middle class and upper middle class people only. In the field of remarriage of widows, he himself married a widow and faced social persecution boldly and in an unflinching manner. Professor Karve had the rare distinction of attending his own birthday centenary celebrations. His second wife died when she was 86 years old. He also lost his son who was 72 years old at the time of his death. He had to undergo a serious surgical operation when he was 101 years of age and the operation was entirely successful.

This biography of Maharshi Karve should be kept in all school and college libraries as it gives a clear picture of an the life of extraordi-

nary person who by his good deeds and sound moral outlook proved his worthiness as a humanist in a very effective manner.

My Mirror : By Sushil Kumar Gupta, published by the author at Creative Printers, 4082 Kasruwala, Pahar Ganj, New Delhi-55. Cr. Oct. pp. 132+8 Paper cover price Rs.8.00. There are sixteen essays in this book. The author who was born at Lucknow in 1940, studied English and Philosophy during his student days and is now on the staff of P. G. D. A. V. College, New Delhi, wrote these essays during the period 1956—1970. They are well written and provide enjoyable reading.

Family Planning : Knowledge Attitude and Practice. By S. Balakrishna and published by National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. Rly. Qto pp.140+8 Maps Cloth, Art Jacket Price Rs. 14.00. R. N. Haldipur Dean of the National Institute of Community Development Hyderabad says in his Preface to the book. "Some of the findings of the report are significant. For instance, it was found that the opposition to the family planning programme is not inconsiderable (39 per cent). Practice of family planning methods is almost negligible. Fear of after-effects of vasectomy is a retarding factor in the spread of this programme. Suitable steps will have to be taken to restore confidence of people with proper follow-up measures. Education and income do not seem to have helped in shaping the family size so far. However, almost all the respondents have heard of the programme and 54 percent had a 'high' knowledge of the details."

Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) studies enable the public to understand how the people are taking to family planning. This study is an important document.



Pen and Ink Sketches (drawn in 1892-95)
By ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXX-IX No. 4

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1971

WHOLE No. 778

| | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 241 |
| The Lonely town at Kahalgaon—Adris Banerji | ... | ... | ... | 249 |
| The Currency Clashes—In Retrospect—B. K. Sarker | ... | ... | ... | 252 |
| The Educated Unemployed—F. M. Mathur | ... | ... | ... | 257 |
| The Bangla Desh Issue—A Survey—S. K. Adhikary | ... | ... | ... | 261 |
| Bishnupur—The Town of Temples—Santosh Chakrabarti | ... | ... | ... | 263 |
| P. C. Sorcar—Prince of Magic—N. K. Singh | ... | ... | ... | 265 |
| Philosophy for the Modern Age—Subhash Chandra Karler | ... | ... | ... | 268 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 273 |
| Tarashankar Bandopadhyaya : A Tribute—J. I. Das | ... | ... | ... | 283 |
| World Communist Movement—Nimalendu Bilash Rakshit | ... | ... | ... | 285 |
| Uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes—Anil Kumar Acharya | ... | ... | ... | 238 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 291 |
| Abolition of Legislative Councils—C. P. Barthwal | ... | ... | ... | 297 |
| Psychosis of Controls—N. Kamaraju Pantulu | ... | ... | ... | 301 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 306 |
| Vedantic and Buddhistic Influence on Modern English Poetry—Y. N. Vaish | ... | ... | ... | 313 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 316 |
| Review & Notices of Books | ... | ... | ... | 320 |



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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

New Art for Old

The basis of all art is an inner urge in the artist to express through a given medium and by use of certain recognised techniques and accepted conventions, an inner image or idea which rises in the artists' mind as a product of his aesthetic emotions. This image or idea need not necessarily be a totally original creation as far as the artist is concerned. In music, drama, literature, painting, sculpture or architecture connections with already existing art forms are accepted as necessary contacts which in no way interfere with the creative urges in the artists' mind. Language, musical sequences of notes, composition and the placing together of lines, colours and shapes will always have partial prototypes; but the artists' creative genius, does not cease to function when he makes use of previously existing alphabets, words and idioms or lines, perspective and compositional methods in the

portrayal of his imagery in colours and form. Schools of art always come into existence and the artists in all spheres of art make use of established techniques and conventions according to current fashion without losing their own creativeness. Resemblance with something that exists can blend very well with new thoughts and feelings and many great creators in the field of literature, dance, drama, painting, sculpture or architecture have belonged to schools of art without becoming mere imitators of other artists. In all acts of self-expression there is always some element of imitation and there is more of it when an artist is an exponent of a particular school of thought or artistic expression. In literature, drama or poetry resemblances with the master of a particular school can be found; but that does not necessarily detract from the creativeness of the writers. In dance a great exponent of moods, gestures and expressive steps proves

his or her merit and mastery of technique while he or she scrupulously adheres to established practice. An inexpert dancer will do everything in a stiff and lifeless manner although basically his movements will follow the "hook". A master dancer will put life and fluid expression in the same dance forms. In music mere rendering of notes is not enough. There are ways and ways of executing such rendering and little touches and variations make all the difference. In painting or sculpture too there are ways and ways of drawing lines, applying the brush, carving, moulding and composing. A great artist will do things quite differently as compared to the ordinary executors of art forms and thus prove that his touch is superiorly creative and life giving.

When we deal with the creativeness of artists we should not judge things by their resemblance with the great art of the renaissance period, the Moghul-Rajput school or the art of the great masters of China or Japan. Resemblances there will be whatever art we study and closely examine. We must see whether a particular artist has put new life in old forms. Traditions can be reproduced by turning out dead mummified replicas of things that pulsed with life at one time; or, on the other hand, the revival can be a masterly act of revitalising a motionless object. When Abanindranath Tagore touched with his magic brush the art forms of the Moghul-Rajput period, he created something that bore the stamp of Abanindranath's genius. The same can be said of Nandalal Bose's paintings in the Ajanta style. The glory of the Bengal school of art of the Abanindranath-Nandalal period was something that Indian artists could be proud of. If some Indian artists had chosen later on to follow the art traditions of European post-impressionism, cubism, surrealism or the abstract and intellectualised techniques and conventions, they

could freely try and make a place for themselves in the world of art. But if any of them make an attempt to criticise Abanindranath Tagore for his work of revival of ancient and mediaeval mural and miniature art of India; such attempts will be unworthy and unjustified. When India had an intellectual and cultural renaissance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many great scholars, artists and creative thinkers took active part in it. Among Indians, Rammohun Roy was the first great intellectual who realised the necessity of reviving Indian thought and culture. Among Western intellectuals one can mention the names of Max Muller, Jacobi, Joli, Rhys Davids, Sylvain Levi and many others who tried to revive the study of India's ancient philosophy, literature, science, laws and the various *shastras* dealing with the major arts and crafts of fundamental social usefulness. One might say in forced argument that the revival of Sanskrit studies served no progressive purpose. We might have accepted Western religion, philosophy, social systems, cultural institutions and eventually worked our way into Western or Chinese communism in an easy and slavish manner without experiencing any head-aches caused by logic or an upsurge of cultural revivalism. French and Dutch imperialism produced Vietnams and Indonesia. No great intellectual renaissance took place in those countries. India could have progressed along a similar path of intellectual least resistance. Such arguments and assertions would however be inane and contrary to the spirit of true progress. The genius of India too had retained some of its potency and creative vital force. The renaissance was inevitable as soon as contact with Western thought activated its germination. India's cultural background was too rich to dry up by its contacts with Western civilisation. Our so called progressivism of recent

origin is perhaps a natural outcome of the world wide decadence that human civilisation is passing through. In the developed countries there is prosperity but no mental or spiritual peace and satisfaction. In the underdeveloped countries economic malaise is overpowering and swamps all thoughts of cultural significance. In the circumstances destructive criticism makes all intellectual urges negational. Ancient culture and civilisation stand charged with causing modern failures. One forgets that the old order had its diseases and crimes too and those might have been the parents of the injustice and lack of human virtue in to-day's social order. It should be understood that a clear spring never produces dirty effluvia. Whenever there is any flow of filth one should look for other sources of origin of the contamination. One cannot therefore find fault with ancient literature, drama, dance, music or painting for the aesthetic poverty that afflicts modern creations in those fields. Assuming that revivalism in the sphere of old art forms is not a desirable thing; it cannot be held responsible for the failure of modern "progressives" to produce emotional values that are true, eternal and beautiful. Rammohun Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan Dutta, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Abanindranath Tagore and many others who kept contact with the "glory that was India" may have been wrong in their endeavour to bring back to life an inspiration that was no longer a living urge to cultural progress; but their achievements could not have been a great obstacle to the present day progressives in achieving greater things.

A thing is not necessarily better than other things which came into existence before it. Being new is no proof of quality, excellence or

perfection. In fact one cannot cite age as a determining factor of merit or demerit. One has to judge quality by reference to characteristics which have little to do with the date of birth of the object under examination. New lamps for old or the reverse is not a sound principle to follow when one is trying to acquire a thing of beauty and uncommon merit. Old designs, compositions, styles or forms are quite often superior to their modern counterparts but not necessarily. The Parthenon, The Sun Temple of Konarak, The Taj Mahal in the field of architecture; the Ajanta Frescoes, the ceiling painting of Capella Sistina, the paintings of the great masters of the middle ages in the sphere of pictorial art; and the sculpture of Phaedrus, Praxiteles and the master sculptors of Barhut and Sanchi, are convincing evidence of the perfection that people of former ages had achieved in various fields of aesthetic creation. In weaving, embroidery, metal work, ivory carving, enamel and lapidary work, furniture making, carpet weaving and in many other crafts, the ancient and mediaeval workers excelled the moderns fully and undoubtedly. In music, dance and drama the moderns have not proved that they are evolving styles and forms which are clearly superior to what existed previously. But there were ugly things too in the old world.

We have come now to a stage of development of human civilisation and culture where we should take stock of what our predecessors have achieved and what we are now engaged in doing. Should we break away from the past or should we keep our contacts with the past as intact as is possible for us to do? Are our bonds with bygone times holding us back or are they providing us with moorings which keep us from drifting away into unknown and uncharted waters?

Is humanity moving towards objectives which are aesthetically more perfect, morally superior and higher in point of civilisation

and towards the realisation of greater human ideals? We doubt if that is so. In the circumstances it is better that we keep our contacts with the past and not get lost in a maze by looking for new perfections. Some human beings are, individually and in organised groups, worse barbarians now than any humans had been ever before. Virtues like kindness, fellow feeling, self abnegation and fulfilment of human obligations through sacrifice, have been given a wider scope in modern times; but how far these virtues are practised through legal compulsion as against free individual choice is a question, the answer to which invariably points to governmental impositions. Payment of cesses, taxes or donations for public celebration of religious ceremonies had hardly any element of virtuous self sacrifice about it. Official exactions or extortion by the strong arm lads of the locality are all considered to be impositions and there is great resentment among those who have to make the payments. The creation of new obligations does not usually rouse any moral consciousness nor any desire to be of help to the general public. Everything considered new ideals have not improved the character of modern men and women. Nor have they become richer in their intellectual ability and emotions. The ancients and the master minds of mediaeval times still tower above the moderns, excepting in the scientific field, where human effort has certainly reached new heights and achieved a much fuller control over the forces of nature than ever before. But here too one must remember the extremely scant resources that were available to men like Archimedes, Nagarjuna, Pythagoras, Galileo, Columbus, James Watt and Newton. And scientists of the creative upper class are few and far between and their character and outlook are not representative of those of the general run of men and women who are active in the

fields of politics, education, social administration, public services and arts and crafts.

Life as it functions and expresses itself through various activities now is guided by man's herd instinct and the automatic responses of creatures tuned up to act according to rules and regulations, formalities and codes of behaviour. Individual thought, inspiration, aspirations guided by powerful emotions or reasoning play little part in human existence to-day. Circumstances and environmental conditions are not favourable to the growth of prophetic vision or deep insight into the fundamental problems of life. Comprehension is limited by needs and the phased purpose of a prefabricated pattern of existence. There is hardly any scope for human ingenuity to rise to the level of genius. A drabness prevails everywhere and people live and die generation after generation in a manner which reminds one of cattle ranches where millions of animals are bred, nurtured, sold or slaughtered as needs be without any signs of a struggle for existence, evolution of new types, migration to far away lands or similar upsurge of the vital forces that normally guide the growth of animal species. A great barrenness pervades life. Countless numbers are born and grow up into men and women. None displays any creative genius. There are pretensions galore; but achievements of lasting value are too few.

Implications of the Indo-Soviet Treaty

Some people have expressed surprise at India making a treaty of mutual help and friendship with Russia. Their reason is that India is a democracy in which individuals have their fundamental rights which do not in any way tally with the lack of individual freedoms that prevails in communist Russia. The unexpressed faith that these critics of Indo-Soviet treaty harbour in their mind is that a

treaty of friendship and mutual assistance can only be made by states which have similar political and economic outlook. But this idea is contradicted by the facts of history. If we study the history of treaties and alliances we find many instances of states coming together where they are not at all similar in political outlook, belief or structure. Britain has been a monarchy for centuries and France a republic with revolutionary background. They have also fought against each other for more than a hundred years. But these differences have not prevented them from joining up in an *entente cordiale*. Communist Russia joined forces with capitalist America and Britain to fight fascist Germany and Italy, which latter countries found an ally in monarchical Japan. If we come to present day international relations we find capitalistic Pakistan being helped by communist China, and the USA which can be called the heart of capitalism lining up with communist China in order to bring the USSR down to her knees. In such circumstances one can hardly call an Indo-Soviet treaty a political paradox and an absurdity. The assumption that there must be constitutional and structural affinity in the political, economic and social build up of two states in order to justify their closer association through treaties and alliances ; is not based on any logic of facts. There can be friendship and close association between utterly different types of men. Differences of religion, diet, dress, social manners and customs or economic structure does not prevent human beings from helping and assisting one another. There have been many instances in history of different races, tribes and communities collaborating in war, commerce or cultural activities. Among private persons friendship is possible between primitive tribal persons and learned scientists and social philosophers or between atheists and mystics,

gross materialists and theosophists, millionaires and saintly persons who renounce wealth and enjoyment of luxuries. There can be close friendship between carnivores and herbivorous animals, elephants and men, deaf-mutes and operatic singers. In fact friendship is generally the result of some hope of gain, acquisition of advantages or deriving pleasure from closer association ; rather than the product of natural similarity of character and behaviour. It is therefore nothing out of the ordinary for Russia and India to make a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance when there is scope for the advantageous use of such an arrangement. Everyone can easily see that the United States of America have failed to contain communism in South East Asia by war like measures. The Chinese too have not been able to swallow up Asia by her display of 400 divisions of armed men. Nuclear power has not been used but is a potent menace which prevents irresponsible military adventures. The USA therefore would be trying now to lure China by economic aid and by commercial earnings in order to make China understand the advantages of peaceful coexistence with the Western capitalist countries. The USA however does not think that Russia can be won over by similar methods. Russia is already economically developed and is giving economic aid to other countries rather than accepting any from others for her own development. The USA considers Russia to be her potential enemy and competitor. There shall, therefore be no peaceful coexistence with Russia. The Chinese the Pakistanis, the North Koreans and the North Vietnamese will eventually receive full American aid and help that country if and when Russia comes to blow with the American bloc.

What will actually happen sometime in the future when the two blocs will come into

clash is highly conjectural. The Americans will have China, Pakistan, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Israel and some European countries on her side. The Russians will have the Arabs (?), Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and some other countries on her side. India will be honour bound to side with Russia. Nobody knows what the Western European countries will do. They will possibly remain neutral and profit by the war of the giants. Japan will perhaps follow the Western European nations. So will Canada, Australia and the white Africans.

If such a war ever did actually take place, and if it became a nuclear combat, the world would suffer so very badly that human civilisation would be largely destroyed. Therefore the chances of nuclear war would be reduced down to a minimum. Possibly, no open war will occur and show of strength will decide the question of world leadership. There is some chance of the emergence of a third bloc led by the Western European countries and Japan. That bloc will not side with either China or Russia. America will run some risk of being isolated if her collaboration with China develops in any manner which will alienate the highly developed countries of Europe America and Australasia. The matter of alignments is therefore not very simple.

Pakistan and the UNO

The powers have clearly supported Pakistan's barbarous and inhuman treatment of the people of East Pakistan by their policy of silence relating to all appeals to them to take some action against Pakistan for their acts of terrorism, in which nearly a million people have lost their lives and property, not to speak of their honour and human rights, and ten million East Pakistan citizens have fled from their home land to seek refuge in India.

Not only that : Many of the powers have been supplying arms and war material to the Pakistanis, directly or in an indirect and disguised manner. Some have been giving large money subsidies to the marauding military rulers of Pakistan and among them are certain leading supporters of the human ideals sponsored by the United Nations Organisation. The indirect military assistance given to Pakistan through arms deals with countries which do not manufacture military hardware to any noticeable extent, go to show that the powers concerned are guilty of giving secret military aid to Pakistan in order to hide their abetment of the violations of the human ideals that they themselves have propagated through the UNO. The Pakistanis had tried to brazen out their barbarous rape of 50000 women, their slaughtering of 500000 men, women and children and their predatory activities against an entire population of 75 million persons, by repeatedly asserting that these acts or incidents were entirely and exclusively the domestic affairs of the Government of Pakistan and were, therefore, beyond the jurisdiction of the U. N. O. to investigate, challenge or take action against.

We are told by the UNO that their organisation "is an association of states which have pledged themselves, through signing the Charter, to maintain international peace and security and to cooperate in establishing political, economic and social conditions under which this task can be securely achieved". Apparently the authorities of the UNO think that Pakistan is not disqualified to remain a member of the association by its actions. If any state ever acted in a manner which was utterly contrary to the ideals of maintaining international peace and security and establishing political, economic and social conditions under which the task undertaken by the UNO could be securely achieved, it was Pakistan

which had let loose its armed forces in East Bengal to kill, destroy, rape and burn, causing 500000 violent death's, forcing nine million persons to seek refuge in a neighbouring state which happened to be a member of the UNO, and creating conditions of total insecurity, absolute lawlessness and complete destitution in response to urges which were fanatically genocidal, criminal and inhuman.

Pakistan is a member of the UNO and a signatory member of all the Agencies created by the UNO to propagate and realise its ideals in the world of civilised nations. Nobody had any occasion in the past to examine what contributions Pakistan had ever made to improve the conditions in which people live, grow, work and exist in the community of nations. If we study the ideals set up by some of the U. N. Agencies we shall find out that Pakistan by her recent acts of terrorism, murder of 500000 innocent men women and children, attacks on women, burning of the dwellings of workers, destruction of schools, colleges and universities, crops, factories, libraries, hospitals and the shooting of intellectuals has negated all the ideals that the UNO holds up as its *raison d'être*. We may take up a few instances.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) "seeks.....to improve labour conditions, raise living standards and promote economic and social stability." Pakistan by destroying factories, removing machinery to W. Pakistan, burning raw materials and killing workers has certainly acted contrary to the purpose for which the ILO was set up.

Food and Agricultural Organisation of the U.N. (FAO) "gives international support to national programmes to increase the efficiency of agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and to improve the conditions of the people working in those industries." Pakistan has destroyed agriculture, damaged forestry and obstructed

the proper growth of fisheries by converting the whole of East Bengal into a battle field. Her actions have been destructive of the objectives of the FAO.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) "The purpose of UNESCO is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion by the Charter of the United Nations." Pakistan's collaboration with UNESCO has displayed a ferociously negative character and is a murderous force.

World Health Organisation (WHO) The purpose of this Agency is to improve the health of the peoples of the world. The WHO "defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." It sets down as the objective of WHO 'the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health' " Health experts should be able to say whether bayonet thrusts in the abdomen is health producing in women and children. Politicians should know whether WHO should have as member a state which uses murder, rape and arson as instruments for imposing an autocratic form of government on the majority of its own nationals. Generally speaking Pakistan continues to remain a member of the UNO for the reason that its acts of terrorism are being condoned by several important members of that world organisation. The USA support Pakistan's war of extermination against the Bengalis of East Pakistan by sending shiploads of arms to the Pakistanis. Some other powers supply arms to Pakistan in a round about manner.

The arms are first sent to some country which agrees to help Pakistan and, then, at a later stage the arms are sent to Pakistan by a second and subsequent shipment. The principal donor of the arms however cannot remain incognito over any length of time.

If the UNO, therefore desires to be known as an instrument of peace and progress in the civilised community of the nations of the world, its members should take action against Pakistan and cancel her membership of the UNO for planned and organised violations of the ideals for which the UNO stands. If this is not done all nations which do not approve of the mass criminality that Pakistan is guilty of, should resign from the UNO and form their own international body of civilised and progressive nations.

Russian and British Spies in Britain and Russia

The conservative officials of Great Britain have discovered over one hundred Russian spies in Great Britain who are declared by them to be a source of insecurity to the state. These dangerous members of the network set up by Russian experts of espionage have certainly many more undiscovered agents who have been assisting them in their anti-British activities. The total number of Russian agents in Britain therefore would be at least several hundred of whom the British counter espionage organisation has located about a hundred who have been ordered to leave the country. What the world public cannot understand is the nature of the discoveries that these spies expect to make in Great Britain. For Great Britain is no longer a great world power and the Russians would gain nothing much by discovering British military secrets. At least nothing so extensive in importance as would require the employment of a thousand prying eyes and ears. Now that Britain is trying to become an important member of the European

Common Market, her association with the USA would become less close and militarily not so important as it had been so far. In the circumstances British spy scare is largely based on conjectures which have not so much of a solid foundation in facts as the British would assert before the world. One thing however is obvious. It is that the British are doing all this, most likely, at the instance of the USA. Because that country is totally anti-Russian and would go any length to give the Russians a bad name. The anti-American attitude of the European Common Market has been a source of anxiety and worry to the Americans. If by any means the Americans can convince Western European countries about some secret designs of the Russians against them, these countries may give up their anti-American attitude and replace the same by an anti-Russian outlook. But the USA is now making friendly overtures to the People's Republic of China and that would interfere with the easy acceptance of any anti-communistic propaganda that the Americans may start in order to turn the West European Countries against Russia. However one may take this story of Russian spies in Great Britain with the proverbial pinch of salt and look for reasons in places other than in Great Britain.

The Russians are not likely to be outdone by the British in their romantic extravaganza about foreign spies working in Russia. Hundreds of British businessmen, dancers, cinema producers and similar non-spies will now get orders to leave Soviet territory for their dangerous activities. The Americans however are trying to make friends with Russia and the Russians are, as has been their customary practice, doing their best to be on the right side of all parties everywhere as far as possible without sacrificing their position of power. The Russian attitude relating to

(Contd. on page 296)

THE LONELY TOMB AT KAHALGAON

ADRIS BANERJI

The 16th century of the christian era, like the 17th and 18th centuries, was not merely an age of frustration but a most tragic period in our history. India had absorbed the Turco-Afghans, just as they had naturalised the Greeks, the Sakas, Yue-Chis and the Hunas in the centuries after the birth of Christ. But a new age with a new people was about to dawn. These were the Barlas Turkis—generally called Mughals—vulgarised by European writers, under a misapprehension from Mongals. Undoubtedly, they had undergone transformation and race admixture during the period that the empire of Chenghiz Khan—the Buddhist, crumbled away. In Bengal, nay India, the enervating climate, the ease of living, luxury, debauchery, unbridled race admixture, had sapped the energies and vitality of the hardy Afghans from the hills of Afghanistan, Iran and the desert of Arabia. Having carried the torch of Islam to the far corners of India they had declined. Here and there in Eastern India, in remote corners of Bihar, the 'Lords of Rohtasgarh', the Khetauri barons of Munghyr, Santal Parganas, Sen Paharia hills in West Bengal, Raja Bhairavendra of Umga and his successors at Deo, were able to maintain their precarious autonomy, but the rich riparian areas, celebrated cities and provinces had been occupied. Their nemesis had arrived. Their epitaph is found in the Munda song :

"The thorn we have reaped
Are of the tree we planted,—
They have torn us and we bleed.
We should have known what fruit,
Would spring from such a tree."

(S.C.Roy)

There were several tragedies before the Turco-Afghan imperialism was reduced to rubble and shambles. We are concerned to day, with one such tragic drama. The end of the last Sultan of Bihar and Bengal. Since Iklityar-ud-din Muhammad ibn Bakhtyar Khalji, had established the crescent over a fragment of it, after carrying fire and sword; they had remained either as sovereigns of an independent state, or as viceroys of the Sultans of Delhi. Now the last act of a long drawn drama was destined to take place on the initiative of Sher Khan himself a Turco-Afghan. In 1957, immediately after joining Mid-Eastern Circle, of the Archaeological Survey of India, I was directed to enquire into the complaints of local people about the tunnelling made inside the Batesvara hill for china clay by the Bengal Potteries of Calcutta, and highhandedness of their local employees. The local people felt that these activities were endangering the existence of the magnificent reliefs of Late Gupta period about Krishna Lila. While referring the law and order problem to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division, I put up at the old thatched *charchala* District Board Bungalow immediately behind the house of Kanorias, at Kahalgaon.

Early in the morning a plain structure with a low parapet and a high wall on the backside drew my attention. Kahalgaon was then playing a very important role in the history of eastern India, as the meeting place of armies and refuge of Sultans even of Jaunpur. It was due to the fact that the great military road from North and South Bihar passed through Kahalgaon, bypassing the jungle and hill tracts of Santal Parganas and the quagmire of North

Bihar in Mungher, Purnea and Saharsa districts. I found that throughout these centuries the local people regarded it as the tomb of a Sultan. Through I mistook it at first for a *Idgah*, a mistake which was rectified on observing a simple brick tomb inside it. But which Sultan? Folk tradition also did not remember that his father, brother and he himself were rulers of Bihar, who colonized Tirhut with muslim ulemas, Sufi saints and soldiers.

Since, I have visited the place several times: first to make a sample scrutiny of village to village survey of antiquarian remains, under the 2nd Five Year Plan Project, secondly to choose a site of Chaukidars quarters and place for excavating a portion of the Vikramasila monastery which lie for miles around Batesvarasthana. Thirdly, for retracing the route of Balaji Baji Rao I, who successfully by passed Teliyagarh, like Mir Jumla and Sher Khan. With the help of notes left by Drs. T. Bloch and D. B. Spooner I found out that the monarch was Ghyas-ud din Mahmud.

Ghyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah was one of the 18 sons of Alauddin Hussain Shah (1493-1519 A. D.). He had revolted against his father. There are two silver coins in the Indian Museum collection dated in 933 H and 938 H., bearing his name which proves the rebel son's pretensions. The mint names, however, not having been deciphered, it is difficult to infer, the particular area of Bihar or Bengal in which he had revolted. On his accession, Ghyas-ud-din however did not display the talents usually associated with his family. The situation and contemporary conditions required a consummate and farsighted statesman, a good general and finished diplomat. He was none. Instead of combining with his fellow Afghans, after they had suffered their Waterloo at the first battle of Panipat, he alienated the Afghans of Bihar and ultimately clashed with Sher Khan, then Deputy of Jalal Khan Lohani.

Immediately on his accession he had to face the rebellion of his brother in law, Makhdum Alam, the *sarlaskar* of Hajipur. Qutab Khan of Mungher was sent against him. He aimed at wresting south Bihar from the Lohanis. Qutab Khan was defeated and killed by Makhdum, who was called the 'Tiger of Hajipur', who in his turn was killed by Mahmud Shah. This tragedy actually helped Sher Khan Sur. In the long run Jalal Khan Lohani alarmed by Sher's rising influence sought alliance with the powerful Sultan of Bengal. A power which was on paper merely. The last of the Lohani rulers of Bihar failed to appreciate that a large and powerful army led by incompetent officers was the greatest danger rather than strength. If Makhdum Alam had been living, things might have been different. Ghyas not being farsighted failed to realise that Lohani alliance was a mirage in the desert. His best chance of acquiring south Bihar lay in siding with Sher Khan rather than with the degenerate house of Lohanis. On the other hand Sher Khan's position was critical. The nameless Sassaram taluqdar's son did not enjoy that influence amongst the turbulent Afghan tribes as did the Lohanis, till he became Sher Shah. He had separated from the Mughals in the north and west, now he was faced with danger from the east by the famous Bengal army, with their recorded successes in many wars.

The armies met at Surajgarha, in the valley of Kiul river. The Bengal army was led by Ibrahim Khan, son of Qutb Khan. This was the most decisive battle of his career, Sher outmanoeuvred and outgeneralled Qutb and his vast army. The details are too well known to require any recapitulation. Mahmud's tactlessness is further evident from his attempt to form an alliance with Humayun, when there was little hope. If he had contacted the Mughal prince, after the flight of Jalal Khan

Lohani and organised a war on two fronts against Sher Khan, then the history of eastern India, nay the whole of India might have been different. One of those tantalising "might have beens" of history. But neither Humayun and Mahmud Shah had the sagacity, the leadership, and military genius of Akbar or Alauddin Hussain Shah. In 1535, came the inevitable reaction; when Sher advanced against Bengal. It was a wise and well directed move. No details of the campaign are available. But scanty references from Portuguese sources throw valuable sidelights.

In 1534 A. D. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Viceroy had sent a mission, led by Martin Alfonso de Mello Jusarte, accompanied by 200 Portuguese and rich presents. Unfortunately for Jusarte and his companions, the presents contained articles from a ship owned by a muslim and captured by the Portuguese in the Arabian Sea. Organised piracy to monopolise the sea borne trade was initiated by the Portuguese both in Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea. In the former it put an end to the merchant navy of Bengal, then almost more than a millenium old. Mahmud Shah confiscated the goods and imprisoned them. All of them when released fought for Mahmud when Sher occupied the whole of Bihar upto Teliyagarhi, near Kadamtala station of the Eastern Railway.

On 6th Zilka'da (6th April, 1538 A. D.)

celebrated Gaur whose fortifications and gateways had been strengthened according to the Shadipur inscription by Mahmud Shah was occupied by Sher Khan's army. Its conqueror was Jalal Khan, who later on succeeded Sher, as Islam Khan, being his second son. From Chunar, Humayun arrived at Maner where the ruler of Bengal made an alliance with him. In the meantime Teliyagarhi had been garrisoned by Khawas Khan II. It was on their way to relieve Gaur that the Imperial camp reached Kahalgaon. It was at this place, the sad news reached Ghyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah, Sultan of Bangalah, that two heirs to the throne of Bengal had been killed by the orders of Jalal Khan Suri. The man who took the loss of one of the richest kingdoms in India philosophically now became broken hearted. He died and was buried at Kahalgaon, at a place which was flanked by a hill and in the horizon the tangled mass of Santal Parganas beckons to him eternally. The Arab dynasty of Bengal had come to an end and with it a long tradition. One may justly inscribe the epitaph on his tomb.

"Lo, he is fallen, and around great storm
and the outstretching sea,

"Therefore, 'O' man, beware, and look
towards to the end of things to be.

"The last of sights, the last of days, and no
man's life account as gain,

"Ere the full tale be finished and the
darkness find him without pain."

THE CURRENCY CRISIS—IN RETROSPECT

B. K. SARKAR

The latest currency crisis that rocked the Western exchange markets in the first week-end of May leading finally to the floatation of the West German Mark along with other European currencies was long predicted and once more underlined the need for a reform of the international monetary arrangements settled at the Brettenwoods as early as 1944. It also goes to show that with the changed circumstances obtaining in the international monetary world the present monetary practice is an anachronism. Though the rumbling of the event was being heard for quite sometime past, it was sparked off by the French Finance Minister, Mr. Giscard d'Estang's informal suggestion over a social gathering of Common Market Ministers for an upward revision of the official price of gold from \$35 a fine ounce. Taking the cue, West Germany immediately reacted and stopped supporting the dollar, setting in its train a series of speculative movements out of dollar and into other European currencies.

Before delving into the question of world exchange reform that has now become pressing we need note briefly the virtues of the present arrangements and how the same virtues have been driven to the brink of a precipice owing to U. S. intransigence to discipline its dollar, threatening a breakdown of the system. The I. M. F. Grand Place of 1944 in recognition to the U. S. emerging as a world power regarded the dollar as the Kingpin of international monetary structure and assigned to the dollar the privileged role of being the numeraire currency that will along with gold play the part of an international standard of value and the medium of exchange for the

purpose of world trade. The par values of all other currencies were expressed in terms of gold or the U. S. dollar, the dollar itself being defined as a specified weight and fineness of gold. The price of gold was fixed at \$35 dollars fine ounce and it was kept stable at that price since then.

Members who happened to be temporarily short of foreign balances to settle their international indebtedness arising out of current transactions, were permitted to purchase the currencies of other members by depositing with the I. M. F. an equivalent amount of its own currency. Purchases were made virtually automatic as long as the total amount drawn did not exceed 25 percent of borrowing country's quota normally subscribed in gold, called the "Gold tranche". A country is permitted to make additional drawing in the "credit tranche", provided it agreed to take measures to correct its balance of payments. Fluctuation in the par value beyond one percent either way of a country's currency is not ordinarily permitted and the above measures are designed to contain the fluctuations within these limits by equating the demand for one currency with supply. Change in the per value of a country's currency leading to depreciation of it beyond this limit is only permitted if it can contend to the satisfaction of the Fund that it is suffering from a fundamental disequilibrium. In this way the incidence of competitive depreciation, stemming from a "bigger my neighbour" policy is sought to be arrested and multilateral system of payments restored.

The next interesting feature of the I. M. F. mechanism is that dollar and sterling played

their role as key currencies throughout the non-communist world. With the growing volume of international trade, the gold stock by itself did not prove sufficient to maintain international liquidity. Sterling and dollar, therefore, worked as necessary supplements to the stock of such liquidity. The stock of international liquidity again was augmented by reciprocal currency holdings since 1958, as a result of special swap arrangements, especially between the U. S. Federal Reserve Bank and the other Central Bank of the "Group of Ten". The key currencies were merrily held by countries because they were easily convertible into gold, could be applied to finance essential imports, and were used to instil international confidence in a country's currency against potential payments disequilibrium and in this way they played their part well between the late 1930's and the early 1960's. But this at once proved a veritable source of weakness of the present system as the French had been prompt to point out during the currency crisis debate in 1968, in that this provision helped in the international propagation of the weaknesses of the key currencies even into sounder economies.

In 1951, holdings of dollar in official reserves were of the order of 4.2 billion, accounting for half the size of official holdings of sterling. This proportion changed in no time and the official dollar holdings were carried to twice the level of official sterling holdings which remained broadly stable since then. This implies that the U. S. is exerting itself and exploiting its privileged role of being the numeraire currency to finance its payments deficits which has become during the last decade chronic and sizeable, in dollars. And these dollars subsequently found their way partly into the official reserves. Following the French argument, we have dismissed it as being a necessary evil, until the other day

when measures to augment international liquidity such as the S. D. R's, commonly known as the "paper gold liquidity" have been found. It is pertinent to note in this connection that the S. D. R's being exchangeable in a limited way against the currencies of member countries as opposed to convertible, also are not clothed with any built-in, fool proof attire whereby it would continue to insulate the demand for gold for ever. If the difference between the official and the free market price of gold widens beyond a reasonable range, the old problem of convertibility with the secular growth of the S. D. R's, would reappear in the scene. Hence putting the price of gold on a realistic parity, in any case, is a sine qua non of the success of the S. D. R's.

The character of the U. S. payments deficits again underwent changes over time. Formerly, it was marked by a healthy surplus on trade account which used to be more than offset by private investments and government spending overseas. In the dollar hungry days after the second world war, this was welcomed. But by the late 1960's this breather succeeded in being a cause for concern. During the 1960's the deficit grew bigger, putting more and more dollars into foreign hands. The trade surplus on goods and services narrowed dramatically due to the industrial recovery in Europe and Japan and the loss of America's competitive position in World trade by inflation at home. Taken together with the dollar balances that foreign Governments, firms and individuals are prepared to accumulate with ease in an average year, it is not nearly sufficient to maintain American Overseas investment and official expenditure. At the same time, the U. S. gold stock declined from \$23000 million at the end of 1957, by more than half to \$11,072 million in 1970.

The chronic American payments deficits are financed by its own currency, taking advantage of its privileged position envisaged in the I. M. F. Charter. This would not have made matters worse further, had not U. S. A. introduced in its balance of payments a series of controls and restrictions in respect of gold movements since 1958, when it experienced for the first time a \$2.8 million gold out flow. The additional controls and restrictions upto 1968, when the two-tier price of gold was clamped down, seriously undermined confidence in dollar. International Finance—the Chase Manhattan Banks' biweekly drew the picture in this way, in its special article on the recent currency crisis.

On top of this, remains the \$ 40,000 to \$ 50,000 strong Eurodollar market which again owes its growth to holdings of U. S. Dollars in the hands of Non-Americans. At this stage, it might seem strange how the foreigners still got interested in dollars in the face of a veritable weakness of the U. S. economy. It may be noted in this connection that until about the end of 1965, the U. S. wholesale prices remained stable keeping up the external demand for dollars. And, these Eurodollars which swiftly cross national frontiers in response to Bankrate changes, made all the mischief.

The immediate cause of the current monetary crisis could be traced to the decision of the Nixon administration to give priority to economic expansion over the fight against inflation by pursuing a cheap money policy. And, it was at a time when other European countries, especially, West Germany, were hard pressed to contain domestic inflation by following a dear money policy. Consequently, the Euro-dollars sought refuge in the high money countries, forcing a subsequent lowering of the interest rate, even if domestic economic policies of such countries called for

a dear money policy. Thus policies to keep the balance of payments in equilibrium and those pursued to the dictates of domestic economic stability, stood constantly in conflict by the existence of the Eurodollar market.

For instance, inspite of the basic U. S. balance of payments deficit in 1969, of \$ 7012 million, the pursuit of dear money policy by that country in that year with consequent inflow of Eurodollars to the extent of \$ 15 million, resulted in the official settlement balance showing up in a surplus of \$ 2700 million. The process was reversed in the very next year when the emphasis was on cheap money. Magically enough, the basic balance deficit of \$ 2.5 billion ended up in an official settlement deficit of as much as \$ 10 billion.

With the gaining in strength of the West German economy consequent on a payment surplus on current account, reflected in a strong DM against the basic weakness of the dollar mirrored in the chronic U. S. payments deficit, speculators in a mad rush sought to move out of dollar and into the marks, leading into the situation another possible revaluation of the same. The West Germans, however preferred to float the mark for sometime to find its own level. It is time we analysed the approaches of the western countries towards the currency crisis. The Germans are very much allergic to domestic inflation. Even a 4½ p. c. rise in wholesale prices in 1969, consequent on a roughly 22 percent increase in industrial prices, goaded them to follow a dear money policy. Two alternatives left to them to ease the situation were either to lower the interest rates or to clamp down controls on short term movements of capital, and for that matter, on Eurodollars. Pursuing the former would cause them to make compromise with the policy of fighting inflation at home. Their dislike for any form of control associated

with the other alternative is a national character with the Germans, running almost to dogmatic proportions. The revaluation of the German mark in October 1969 spelt immense hardships to the industrialists and farmers alike in Germany to sell their products in competitive markets abroad. Another revaluation of the DM. following the current floating will be anything but popular not only with the Germans but also among its common market partners especially France which wanted to see the much adumbrated common agricultural policy executed. As an way out of this the Germans suggested revaluation of ECM currencies en bloc. France which is not immediately in a position to float its Franc, simply suggested a devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold raising thereby the price of the latter to a realistic parity. This would have spared important European currencies from revaluing in terms of dollar. It would also put the price of gold on an even keel, make for additions to the stock of gold for monetary purpose and ease the international monetary situation that is presently in a turmoil. Also, it would go to increase the value of international reserves of all countries holding gold for the purpose of world trade.

The Americans, however, did nothing substantial to ease the situation.. Instead of raising the interest rate to stop the flow of Euro-dollars into West Germany and divert those to their own country, they simply took such soft measures as floating loans in the Eurodollar market and short term capital control, requesting American banks not to repay Euro-dollar loans to foreign branches. These were clearly inadequate measures to ease the situation.

To the U. S., raising the price of gold is politically unacceptable, far less is it said to be economically feasible for the fear that it would release inflationary pressures in the global

sense. But the argument is more fancied than real. Revaluation of gold, broadly speaking, would, on the other hand, only make good the erosion that official stock suffered under inflationary conditions. The windfalls consequent on revaluation would enable the developing countries to finance their essential imports from the dollar area and this is in keeping with social justice that so long remained mutely ignored with the prevalent unrealistic price of gold. What is most important such revaluation would be more than made good, if America were to use hers to reduce her dollar commitments and mitigate the net inflationary effect to the minimum.

The pertinent question that presently comes up for consideration is what prevents a revaluation of gold, or, in other words, a small change in the dollar-gold parity introduced as a convenient way of devaluing the dollar. Revision of the official price of gold is especially urgent in view of the fact that the present parity of \$ 35 dollar a fine ounce values the metal at no more than about a third of its former worth in relation to goods and services. Americans are more emotional over the existing dollar-gold parity than rational and they see red at the prospect of dollar being devalued. Because devaluations and revaluations of other currencies take place in terms of dollar, the U. S. exchange parity, in spite of the wayward trends of its payments balances, in fact, has succeeded in appreciating by 4.7 percent, in the course of the last 11 years to the end of 1969, according to calculations made by Fred Hirech and Ilse Higgins in the November, 1970 issue of the I.M.F. staff papers.

A devaluation of dollar would, however, urge most of the 100 other non-communist countries around the world to follow suit in order to protect their trade interests. But given the general consensus that dollar is

devalued, a notification to change the dollar's parity with gold upto 10 percent with subsequent provision for moving on to a discretionary crawling peg against gold might enable the I.M.F. to persuade most of the currencies not to follow the U. S. Dollar. But as we have already pointed out, the Americans are too dogmatic to change dollar-old parity, inspite of the fact that the free market price of gold has shot upto \$ 40 a fine ounce. Hence, we may say that emotion and politics rather than logic and economics are at the root of this polemics associated with international monetary scene.

With the devaluation of the pound in 1967 and the Franc in 1969, the revaluation of the Mark in the same year, temporary floating of the Canadian dollar in 1970 and the floating of the Mark along with some other European currencies currently, the strains in the present monetary arrangements admit of little doubt.

An I. M. F. report of world exchange reforms prepared after the 1969 currency crisis and submitted to the Copenhagen meeting of the Fund last year, examined the following three possible solutions :—

- 1) Measures to facilitate small and timely changes in exchange parities ;
- 2) better provision for "transitional floating" to a new parity ; and

- 3) a widening of the margins to which exchange rates can fluctuate to two three percent either side of parity instead of one percent at present.

However neat the solutions might appear in theory, implementation of these in practice, would possibly land the international currency arrangements from the frying pan to the fire, and as such, decisions on this score have been postponed to a later date.

The only possible solution within the present set up would be to put the dollar on the same basis as any other currency. Failing the Americans to see reasons, the process may be reversed and the EEC countries plus Britain could take the initiative over the whole structure of world exchange reform including the exchange rates, the gold price and the regulation of the Euro-dollar market. This is not altogether impossible in view of the fact that the international reserves of Germany alone have already overtaken those of U. S. And, this would in no way prejudice the interests of the common agricultural policy, European monetary unions, etc. which have so far impeded efforts at unilateral action at exchange rate adjustment by common market partners. Hence, Americans cannot afford to remain aloof for long to the problem of realigning its dollar to its realistic parity.



THE EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

H. M. MATHUR

As recently as a decade back, there were very real shortages of educated manpower to fill crucial economic and governmental needs in the newly developing nations. Most planners then seriously believed that the only way to getting over the worst of manpower bottlenecks was a rapid expansion of the educational system. This expansionist policy of educational development which these nations have since been pursuing has now landed them into serious trouble.

The outputs of the educational systems have in recent years been growing faster than most planners expected and by now, manpower deficits of most kinds have been taken care of. Primary and secondary school leavers in the beginning, and university graduates now show a tendency to increase in number at a pace three to four times faster than increases in new job opportunities for them, especially of the kind traditionally associated with the level of their educational attainments. This maladjustment between educational output and the jobs, getting worse with each day that passes, has given rise to a very special set of problems bearing on the relation of education to the job world. High rates of population growth further complicate this situation.

Is education to blame for the prevailing state of unemployment among the educated? What exactly are the dimensions of this problem? Can something be done about it?

A comprehensive search for right answers to these and related questions must be made. It is quite obvious that in the coming years the social and economic stability would largely depend on success in this endeavour.

In times past when the educational system, the economy and the employment offerings were in perfect harmony and were developing in a balanced manner it was not difficult for the student to find a job for which he had the requisite qualifications. Even if he did not, nobody was blamed for that. Finding a job was entirely the student's own worry. Things have since changed a lot. The school and the government are everywhere held responsible today for growing unemployment among the educated,

Employment is essentially a function of the economic growth process. Unemployment on a scale prevailing now is a sure indication of the fact that there is something seriously wrong with the economic development plans. If the economic planning proceeds as it should, problems of unemployment get sorted out in the process.

Choosing between modern technologies and simple technologies is a difficult decision confronting planners in the developing countries. The problem of unemployment is tied to it closely. Modern technologies which are "capital intensive" are capable of raising quickly labour productivity to very high

levels, but their use results in considerable reduction in the number of available jobs. Simple technologies, on the other hand, are "labour intensive", but higher productivity levels are hard to attain through their application. Use of the "intermediate technology" has been suggested by some as a middle-of-the-road course for the special needs of the developing countries. In the short-run the intermediate type of technology makes possible employment of a large labour force without any great fall in the productivity level. But this does not offer a long-term solution to these countries in the task of rapid modernization of their production methods. Substantial productivity gains and higher living standards cannot be achieved without the help of all that is latest and up-to-date in technology and science. For this reason, the planners in the developing countries almost invariably accord high priority to modern capital-intensive techniques of production in the hope that through their use conditions will be eventually created for increased employment opportunities. But not much has happened in the planning experience of most developing nations to justify such expectations.

But to say that employment is a function of the economic processes and that the growth of and decline in unemployment is the consequence of the planning decisions is apparently not the full story. The existing educational system, ill-advised career choices of students, outdated assumptions about the job world are among the major aggravating factors.

Much of the growth of unemployment among the educated, in rural areas particularly, is simply the conversion of disguised unemployment and underemployment into visible unemployment. The fact that literate job-seekers from rural areas are increasingly using the facility of registration at urban employment exchanges makes it possible to

keep a complete count of them. And the term "educated unemployed" has grown to be an all-inclusive one. Educational outputs of all kinds ranging from primary school leavers to university graduates are usually grouped together in this broad category. As someone so aptly remarked "education changes the quality of unemployment, by turning uneducated underemployed into educated unemployed."

As a factor in development, education has all these years been given a very high priority in the economic growth plans. It is only in recent years that planners have come to question the wisdom of regarding all investments into the education sector as being productive to the proportionate degree. If the high-level manpower is produced in excess of the optimum needs of the economy, resources expensive, specialised training cannot be said to have been invested wisely. The question of resources is indeed very important. So long as a nation can afford to its population more education than can be immediately used, there could be no objection to it. But, if the educational budget is limited and there does not seem any use for one or the other form of education, the situation calls for a change in educational policy. The policy should be to avoid wasteful expenditure by supporting only those educational programmes which may lead to rapid economic development and increased employment avenues.

Experience of planning in some African countries suggests that even development of education there has been a significant factor in reducing the employment opportunities. Usually, educational qualifications and the salary levels bear such a rigid link that acquisition of higher diplomas/degrees by the working force is inevitably followed by an increase in their emoluments. The consequent rise in labour costs naturally results in reduction of job possibilities.

Impact of education on employment opportunities is most clearly visible in the magnetic pull that the city in many developing nations has for the literate village youth. Education is seen by the youth, which has had an access to even primary-level education, as an escape-route from life in the bush to the world of the city where opportunities of all sorts are supposed to abound. Job opportunities especially of the kind that the educated youth from rural areas aspires to are not limitless even in the cities. While this migration of the youth from village to the city in no way mitigates the unemployment problem, it robs agriculture of human resources of the kind that it precisely needs for its fullest growth.

But it would certainly be futile to blame the youth for abandoning the village where some work can perhaps be found for them on the farm. Conditions of life and labour in the village are usually so backward that nobody with even a modicum of education will find them endurable. Then, the kind of bookish education that the school provides is so irrelevant to the village life around that the youth finds itself altogether ill-equipped to adjust to the rural environment.

Amongst the people of the developing countries where the hold of tradition is strong, attitudes towards various kind of occupations and work are rigidly fixed. In preference to education and training for agricultural development, the students continue opting for courses in general education. Administrative jobs are rated higher in their scale of preference. By strengthening such traditional notions, education actually can produce an effect on employment prospects, just the reverse of what should really be desirable.

Education viewed as a one-way ticket into high-status urban employment has serious repercussions on this situation. In the developing countries, the capacity of the govern-

ment, and of medium-and large-scale private enterprises to offer employment to school-leavers and the university graduates is quite limited. While other than desk jobs may be available and these jobs may be even more lucrative, there are no job-seekers for them. The manpower shortages of particular kinds, thus persisting for long periods, result in the slowing down of the process of economic development.

To an extent, maldistribution of students by courses of study also is a cause of unemployment among the university graduates. While graduates in arts and humanities are surplus to the known manpower requirements, graduates in science, engineering, technology and medicine continue to be relatively in short supply. Bringing development of higher education in line with the manpower needs may not solve the problem completely, but it certainly will help. More and more graduates will then be equipped for jobs that still may be available or are likely to be created for a wide range of development tasks.

Can anything be done rightaway to straighten out growing imbalance between education and unemployment? What should planners really do about this matter? Should educational output be matched to employment opportunities by the curtailment of the educational system? Would it be at all feasible to take such a drastic measure in the face of mounting pressures for more and more education? No immediate practical solutions to these questions seem to be in sight.

Some planners now seem quite convinced that nothing short of curtailing enrolments of students in educational institutions will succeed in achieving the balance that ideally should exist between educational output and the jobs. They further suggest a drastic cut in the educational budget and consequent contraction of the educational system as a

guarantee against the possible over-production of graduates in future. If the view is taken that the task of education is simply to prepare young men and women for existing or anticipated jobs in the modern sector, this undoubtedly would be the right policy. Graduates that the educational systems are turning out in such large numbers obviously cannot be all absorbed in the labour market. Providing education at great public expense to more than can be employed certainly amounts to waste of scarce resources.

But pressures for the expansion of the educational system are stronger today than ever before and they are continually rising. Right to education has been proclaimed as a fundamental human right and it is not possible to deny it to the masses any longer. By supplying skills, broadening mental horizons, unleashing higher aspirations, education eventually helps development and creation of more employment opportunities in many direct and indirect ways. To the educators, the whole idea of regarding the students not as individuals but simply as future manpower units is too materialistic and completely divorced from educational and humanistic aims and values. Any precipitate action for curtailment of the educational system is simply foredoomed to failure.

In this situation, all that can perhaps be done is to lay down a qualifying test for admission to most courses in higher education. A large number of students who then do not come up to the required level can be eliminated. This will eventually prevent enrolments from soaring sky-high and help maintain the ratio between the number of students and of available jobs in some kind of equilibrium. It would surely be impossible to close down educational institution on the ground that they are surplus to existing requirements.

Perhaps even more appropriate than simply reducing the quantity of education would be to change its orientation to make it more relevant to the needs of over-all development. The present system of education is geared mainly to the requirements of the modern sector. It should be so designed that the needs of the subsistence and intermediate sectors too are served equally well.

Education and training for jobs in the modern sector present no insurmountable difficulties. There is no problem in training engineers and managers. Education of civil servants is an easy matter. If the educational system does not fully equip the technicians and the craftsmen, the employers will make provision for their on-the-job training.

But since education specially for jobs in the rural sector has not been provided before, there is not much experience to fall back upon in formulating suitable programmes. Very little is known about the kind of education that will best equip a young man for leadership role in village affairs, generate enthusiasm for cooperative self-help activities, produce a change-making mentality, and above all, build the commitment to bringing about rural transformation. This is a challenging task before the educators.

The content of education and the curricula have been the exclusive concern of the educators so far. It is obvious now that other experts need to be associated in redesigning the curricula. Manpower experts can certainly be helpful in the task of revising the content of education in the light of knowledge now available about the new role of education in the process of national development. Sociologists, anthropologists, economists too need to be consulted in this matter.

It must not be supposed that there are boundless employment opportunities for the educated in the rural sector. But certainly

there is a vast potential here and the rural sector clearly has a capacity for absorbing unemployed labour more than the modern sector where capital-intensive production techniques must continuously make headway. Modernization of rural areas, other interme-

diates economic sectors and related adjustments in economic and educational policies to adapt them better to the human side of development surely must be among the major elements of a strategy for alleviation of unemployment among the educated.

THE BANGLADESH ISSUE—A SURVEY

S. K. ADHIKARY

West Bengal is a land of a thousand and one problems. Of late the Bangladesh problem has been the cause of the country's headache. Since the partition of the country on August 15, 1947 we have been practically in the dark about the state of things prevailing in East Bengal. Only very recently we came to know how the East Bengal people patiently bore heavy odds in their struggle for existence. The language movement in East Bengal was something unique. The Bengalees made history by giving Bengali pride of place there. Bengali became one of the official languages in Pakistan. The Bengalees under the able leadership of Sheikh Mujibar Rahman installed another mile-stone by winning the first-ever general election of December, 1970. East Bengal's Awami League party secured as many as 96% seats in the state and central legisla-

tures. It is a land-mark in the brief history of Pakistan.

The military rulers began to deny the East Bengal people their natural right—the right to form a governmental unit of East Bengal. And ever since the fateful night of March 25, 1971 East Bengal or Bangladesh has been subjected to an onslaught of the worst type imaginable. A reign of terror has been let loose; hundreds of thousands of men, women and children have been butchered; the intellectually advanced middle class people have been put to death mercilessly, and about a crore of people have been compelled to leave their hearth and home; and to come over to India as refugees. In the refugee camps these unfortunate people have been living a miserable life—cholera, typhoid and various other diseases have broken out and have been

taking a heavy toll. Their sufferings moved every heart save that of the military dictator Yahya Khan in West Pakistan. West Pakistan intends to make Bangladesh her colony. The Pak military regime has rejected all legitimate demands of the people of Bangladesh and the Pakistan army have laid waste the country.

Pakistan has given out that the uprising in Bangladesh is exclusively her internal affair. It is a tragedy that big powers like the U. S. A. are openly supporting the Pak atrocities and massacre of the poor inhabitants of Bangladesh. The supporters of Pakistan have sinned against humanity by not coming to save human lives from organised murder. They know that the carnage in Bangladesh is unparalleled in the history of the world. The on-the-spot study of the foreign journalists, parliamentarians and the leaders of the U. N. High Commission reveals that the evacuees have been 'badly oppressed' by the Pakistani military hordes. It is all the more tragic that the Pakistani oppressors are using American arms against the unarmed people of Bangladesh, who are the majority of the people of Pakistan itself.

Though Mujib, the leader is currently behind the prison bars of West Pakistan, his able and trusted followers have formed a sovereign government and they are now all the more determined to make Bangladesh an

independent, sovereign state at any cost ; their relentless struggle cannot but be crowned with success.

The Government of India under Mrs. Gandhi's stewardship have risen to the occasion. The evacuees have been welcomed, sheltered, fed and properly looked after. Many foreign governments have, of course, come forward with their economic aid. But mere aid is no solution. Experts are of opinion that recognition of Bangladesh government brooks no delay ; India should not let the grass grow under her feet but offer immediate recognition and help the Bangladesh government stand on its own legs.

The U. N. has failed to discharge its duties to a deserving and helpless people. The Secretary General has not done his job in a way befitting the high office he holds. But in spite of all such uncongenial happenings the just cause of the Bangladesh people is engaging the attention of the world. Human conscience will back the Bangladesh people. The Pakistani threat to India supported directly or indirectly by America, China and some Middle-East powers will come to nothing. A close scrutiny of the circumstances prevailing here, there and every where shows that the Bangladesh government will be a reality in no distant future. The blood of the martyrs will sanctify and help the growth of the future prosperous state of Bangladesh.

BISHNUPUR—THE TOWN OF TEMPLES

SANTOSH CHAKRABARTI

The architectonic modernism of the recently opened Tourist Lodge, one of the few in West Bengal, offers a pleasant contrast to the ancient pattern of architecture flaunted by the temples of Bishnupur in the district of Bankura, the famous capital of Mallabhum. The Government of West Bengal has, by its fitting gift of the Tourist Lodge, evinced its awareness and eagerness to bring the signs of Bishnupur's past glory to the attention and appreciation of the wider public. The Government Tourist Department's conducted tour of the Jairambati-Kamarpukur-Bishnupur chain of the pilgrimage-tourist sites lends support to this objective. Yet many temples remain untended, because they are engulfed by shrubs and even the famous 'Goomgarh', a kind of control building for cooling the royal palace of the ancient Malla Kings with its underground current of water, is not reclaimed for sight-seers.

Complete urbanisation, however, of the somewhat secluded eastern and south-eastern periphery of this temple town would deprive the temples of their natural surroundings. Indeed, it is here that Bishnupur still reminds one of its pristine splendour and when the setting sun blazes the red dust of the eastern and south-eastern outskirts of Bishnupur, the beauty surpasses all modern embellishments in architecture.

The nucleus of what is Bishnupur of to-day was said to have been carved out of the deep dense stretches of forest by the 19th Malla king Jagat Malla towards the end of the 10th Century A. D. and it is to the Malla Kings that Bishnupur is indebted for the numerous shrines and other landmarks that embellish it.

King Hambir Malla, one of the twelve Bhuinyas of Bengal erected the famous cannon called Dalmadal or Dalmardan. This cannon which was made of wrought iron is now erected (by the Government of Bengal in 1919 A. D.) on a beautiful pedestal. Tucked away in sequestered surroundings beside the "Sadhana Udasin Ashram" this cannon is 3.8 meter long with a muzzle of 30 cm. diameter. It was made of 63 hoops or rings welded over a cylinder. The present writer saw marks of vermilion and flowers on the muzzle. It is presumably worshipped because of its divine connections. The iron has not rusted, though it is discernible that the cannon was half-buried in the ground. A notice proclaims that this cannon was used by the 55th Malla King Gopal Singh to defend himself against the marauding Maratha plunderers under their able commander Bhaskar Rao in 1742 A. D., but the popular belief ascribes the firing to the deity Madanmohan himself.

Rasmancha

On the southern point of Bishnupur Hambir built the famous 'Rasmancha'. Even the most fastidious connoisseur of architecture will be impressed by the gorgeous style of its structure. With its forty open doors, the inside appears like a subterranean tunnel with so many arched gates. Each side has four chala (hut)—roofed domes with one at each corner. However the domes of two sides have been broken. The entire structure is surmounted by a terraced pyramid which was destroyed in parts by lightning, but repaired very artistically. During Hambir's reign a deity was worshipped at each door at the Ras festival.

On the road from Dalmadal there is the temple of Shyam Rai built in 1643 A. D. by the Malla King Raghunath Singh I. Best of the 'Pancharatna'—type temples with five **Sikharas** (Spires) surmounted on Bengal's familiar curved chala-roof, this temple is famous for its beautiful terracotta panels depicting the sport of Sri Krishna (Krishnalila), warring Ramchandra and Hanuman. The celebrated 'Jor Bangla', also built by the same King in 1655 A. D. has a pair of hut-shaped buildings joined and surmounted by a single chala-shaped **Shikhara**. Its terracotta panels are more exquisite and depict the story of Ten Incarnations of Lord Bishnu, among other things. The temple of the deity Kalachand, was built by Raghunath Singh I in 1656 A. D. and that of Madanmohan was built in 1694 A. D. by the 53rd Malla King Durjan Singh. However, the image of Madanmohan was taken by King Chaitanya Singh to Gokul Mitra's house at Baghbazar in Calcutta where the deity still radiates his glory. To-day the goddess Radharani is worshipped in the temple at Bishnupur. Radhashyam temple built in 1758 A. D. by Chaitanya Singh from laterite or 'Makra' stone has a single **sikhara** on the same type of curved chala-roof. Its stone panels of Krishna and Balaram are really beautiful. Laljee temple was built in laterite stone in 1658 A. D. by King Bir Singh, which has a single **sikhara** surmounted on a curved hut-roof.

The Old Fort

The old Fort of Bishnupur made by Bir Singh from laterite stone has inner and outer entrances. Another fine specimen of art is the immobile laterite chariot erected by Raghunath Singh I. No less eye-pleasing are the nine famous **bunds** or lakes. Of them 'Choukan Bund' has almost been appropriated

for agricultural purposes. Some say that in order to mitigate the sufferings of the people for water scarcity the Malla King Bir Singh had dug seven of these bunds, but others are of opinion that these bunds with only one side having high embankments were dug up for various purposes by various Kings. The water that accumulated in the surrounding forests was collected there. Hambir Malla had to his credit Jamuna and Kalindi Bunds which he had dug up to make Bishnupur another Brindaban. 'Poka Bund' was made by Bir Singh, presumably for supply of drinking water. It was originally called Bir Bund, but later it became infested with aquatic worms and took its present name. 'Lal Bund'—that vast sheet of eye-pleasing water—was dug up during the reign of Raghunath Singh II who, infatuated as he was by the beauty of Lal Bai, the Begum of Rahim Khan, one of his enemies, wanted to perpetuate his love with her through it. A leisurely saunter along the banks of 'Lal Bund' is a pleasant afternoon excursion. All the bunds had strategic importance in Raghunath Malla's reign when he submerged the army of Suja, son of Shah Jehan, by causing an artificial flood with the water of all the bunds, ditches and rivers. They were all interlinked underground. The ditches can still be seen in and around Bishnupur, but most of them are now destroyed.

One such ditch can be seen behind K. G. Engg. Institute.

To-day's Bishnupur retains its past glory only in old landmarks. Better preservation of these landmarks is earnestly called for, because of the beauty of the terracotta panels of Bengal's ancient architecture. Bishnupur's glory can be retrieved only if it is raised to a position in tourist attraction.

P. C. SORCAR—PRINCE OF MAGIC

N. K. SINGH

Indrajal, the ancient Indian magic, is a great art, an art that entertains the eye and mind through suspense. It flourished in the royal courts of India. Remember King Vikramaditya, Raja Bhoj, Queen Bhanumati, for instance. Further back we find it mentioned in the epics, in the *Tantra Shastras*, in the *Atharvaveda*. It's masters kept it a secret. It was handed over from preceptor to pupil, father to son in greatest secrecy. And this too much secrecy killed magic in India.

Thereafter it survived in the streets as a means of livelihood of the illiterate, impoverished Jaduwalas, with only a limited repertoire and unaware of the vast changes occurring in the magical art outside India, they continued their familiar tricks of growing trees under baskets and transferring coins and balls from hand to hand.

However, there were occasional burst of brilliance during this long dark age in the history of Indian magic—Sheshal (19th century) who performed human suspension in mid-air and Ramosami (19th century) who could swallow glass beads and horse hair first separately and regurgitate the beads threaded later.

Dawn of Indian Magic

When the night is darkest, the dawn is close to breaking. The dawn of Indian magic broke again with the birth of Protul Chandra Sorcar on February 23, 1913, in the small town of Tangail in Mymensing district (East Pakistan). The redeeming factor at home was its artistic atmosphere. His father, Bhagwan Chandra

Sarkar and other members of his family were associated with magic and fine arts. Protul, naturally took to painting—an interest he had developed and put to splendid use in designing his sets and backdrops—and magic.

Even in those days he was adept at various tricks with which he used to mystify his school fellows. But at home, learning tricks was an unstated taboo. For Bhagwan Chandra Sarkar did not want his son (who was born as a result of years of prayers and pious acts and who was the best student in the class) take to a profession “without prospects.” Caught practising a trick one day, young Protul was severely beaten.

It was through much sacrifice on the part of his parents and help from friends and relations that Protul, who had a brilliant academic career, was able to go to Calcutta to continue his studies. at the University he was a distinguished mathematics honours student.

His father ‘intensely’ wanted him to become an Engineer. But Protul had made up his mind. The call of magic was irresistible. It was not for nothing that through his University carrier he continued to keep his interest in magic alive, poring over all available literature on legerdemain, writing articles on the subject and giving performances as often as he could. He said, “I was born into an atmosphere of magic. I breathed magic from the day I was born. How could I have become anything but a magician?”

Neglected Art

This decision was an act of courage. Magic was still a neglected art, the conjurer

suspect, the people too cynical and sophisticated to let the art flourish. So the first job Sorcar set himself was to interpret it through articles and books in Bengali and English in Indian and foreign magazines. The foreign press was extremely critical of the claims he made for Indrajit but Sorcar went on writing as well as giving performances in the main cities of the country.

In less than four years since he had launched as a professional, he had won the attention of the Indian press. *The Statesman* wrote, "it was an unusual experience to see Sorcar perform...his inventiveness and imagination are gripping." *The Times of India* claimed, "thrilling spectacles...a new era in Indian magic seems to have begun..."

A lesser man would have been content with this success. But not Sorcar. It was not box-office alone he had in mind when he entered his profession. There was a further and higher aim: perfecting his art, improving the quality of performance, enlarging his repertoire, raising magic to the status of a fine art.

It is indeed an irony that Sorcar used to consider the year 1937 a milestone in his professional career—his first visit to Japan, which was to become his death-bed after 33 years. He was taken there by Rashbehari Bose to raise funds for the national cause. He was just 24, fresh from college. The visit was an immense success. All through those exciting days of freedom struggle, Sorcar was eagerly sought after for fund raising performances.

Prince of Magic

In due course, with growing maturity, Sorcar flung aside his western dress, and reappeared in the rich robes of the Indian Prince. It meant more than that: huge investment in new settings and costumes that drew on the legends and arts of dreaming up

purely Indian miracles. The new costume raised eye-brows among western audience. "Sorcar" some one at a Chicago performance called out "why do you wear princely clothes? you are not a prince." Pat came the reply, "Am I not the prince of magic?" The audience thunderously applauded acceptance.

Sorcar had travelled round the world 36 times (excluding the 37th trip from which he could not return) and had performed on more occasions than he himself could remember. Wherever he went—Europe, America, the Middle East, Africa, the Far East, Australia—it had been the same story: packed audience, tickets sold out weeks in advance, rare press notices, extension of shows by public demand.

Fame & honour

America titled him TW's GM (the world's greatest magician). *The Daily Mirror* (London) called him "the world's master magician". *The Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Herald* front paged him. *The New York Times* crowned "a most astonishing illusion, uncannily real."

The National Broadcasting Company of New York televised his "sawing of a lady in halves" from coast to coast, spending 15,000 dollars over the programme. The same feature took London by storm in 1966 when televised by the British Broadcasting Corporation. There were so many anxious enquiries about the fate of the young lady who was sawn through with an electric saw, that the telephonic system of London was jammed for more than two hours.

In the Soviet Union, which invited him, *Pravda* headlined him and *Izvestia* gave him a page of encomiums with photographs

John Mulholand, American magician and one of the editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* wrote....."in the entire world Sorcar is one

of the really great magicians.....in his performance there is no detail so small as to be unimportant to him."

The honours heaped on Sorcar are many : twice the Sphinx Award from New York (considered the Nobel prize of magic), the Golden Laurel and Royal Medallion from German Magic Circle, Governor's Medallion (West Bengal), Civic receptions by municipal Corporations in India and abroad. In 1964 the President of India conferred on him the title of Padma Shri Sorcar was a Fellow of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and and founder President of All-India Magic Circle.

Numberless Repertoire

Like his number 'water of India' in which water poured out of a jug inexhaustively, his repertoire was numberless. In the middle of a piano concert, the piano used to vanish. Through a pane of glass a ravishing beauty used to emerge. A real size car drove on to the stage only to disappear into the pages of a giant book. Another rode through the air. Girls used to float in the air, materialised out of nothingness. A siren shot from a cannon and returned in a fluorescent globe, With his eyes plastered, and bandaged Sorcar once rode a cycle through the world's heaviest traffic, in the Time Square, New York.

Sorcar was more than a practitioner of the art of magic. He was also its historian. It is perhaps solely through his efforts that magic has a literature of its own. About 20 books written by him have a global readership among professionals, dabblers and fans. Besides, he was a regular contributor to the Children's magazines.

Food for Thought

According to Sorcar 'magic should not only delight but also provide food for thought. It must appeal to the intellect. He made use of some of his acts to comment on world problems.

An instance which had amused and drawn appreciative comments in the West was the Stretcher number. A Hindu and a Muslim fight each other and one of them falls dead. Two men wearing a badge inscribed "UN" appear on the scene with a stretcher. The bearers transfer the body into stretcher, lift it and lo ! the body is still where it was—flat on the ground.

"You see what I attempt to put across ? Despite the best efforts of the UN, the problem as symbolised by the dead man is still there", said Sorcar, who painfully admitted that the significance of similar acts were often lost upon the Indian audience.

PHILOSOPHY FOR THE MODERN AGE

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

The general indifference to, and distrust of, philosophy are but an indication of the lack of thoughtfulness of the general masses. The fact is that everybody has a philosophy of his own even if he is not conscious of it. As Bertrand Russell states in his celebrated *History of Western Philosophy*, "Philosophy, from the earliest times, has been not merely an affair of the schools, or of disputation between a handful of learned men. It has been an integral part of the life of the community.....".¹ Indeed to underline this inter-relationship between philosophy and life Russell gave a long title to his book which read as follows: "History of Western philosophy and its connection with political and social circumstances from the earliest times to the present day". Russell further underscored this point by saying that if his book had any merit it lay in treating the subject of philosophy in its inter-relationship with life. Those who sneer at philosophy are in fact unconscious victims of a wornout philosophy. In this context it is pertinent to recall what Lord John Maynard Keynes, the famous British economist, has said on the nature of the indifference to philosophy. Keynes wrote, "The idea of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist.

Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbling of a few years back. I am sure that the power of vested interests is vastly exaggerated with the gradual encroachment of ideas."²

Thus ideas which constitute philosophy profoundly affect everyone and it is not possible for any conscious being to remain indifferent to philosophy. If studying philosophy in this country has mostly been a purely academic pursuit, it is only indicative of the relative backwardness of the general masses of the people. However with changes in other spheres of life even attitude to philosophy is also undergoing a change and rudimentary interests in studying philosophy are being evinced by the people. In this context the formation of the Ambedkar Darshan Parishad, which I hope will facilitate the study and understanding of philosophy in its inter-relationship with contemporary life, is a matter of some satisfaction. The cause of this satisfaction lies in particular in the association of Dr Ambedkar's name with the Parishad. Dr Ambedkar represents the indomitable spirit of man. Like a truly *amritasya putra* he confidently cast aside all the impediments before him and threw off all the disabilities which a misguided society had imposed upon man, militating against the true spirit of man. This—liberation of the body and the mind—indeed is the true function of man. He has to unfold himself in his true greatness. To establish the

supremacy of man is the noblest task. For, as the Indian poet Tulsidas said a few centuries ago, there is no greater truth than man himself.

Experience and Philosophy

The point that naturally presents itself at this juncture is: What is the type of philosophy the newly formed Ambedkar Darshan Parishad should cultivate among its members and, through them, in the society at large? Although I am no philosopher, nor a student of philosophy in the professional sense of the term, I still feel impelled to raise the point and to say a few words about it. I claim my right to speak on the subject from the inter-relationship of philosophy and life to which I have referred earlier. Everybody has a philosophy even if he is unaware of this possession. It is one's own philosophy that one preaches. This is best illustrated in the life of Dr. Ambedkar. Having suffered the most unjust and cruel treatment at the hands of the Hindu society, Dr Ambedkar developed a philosophy of anti-caste Hindu stance which was a logical extension of his own experience. Through his fight for his particular philosophy Dr Ambedkar succeeded in some measure in improving the lot of men in India—in particular the lot of the so-called depressed classes. I say "so called", because no class is depressed by itself, it becomes depressed only through oppression. Since no man can hope to transcend his own philosophy I cannot expect to do better than share with you what I consider to be my philosophical beliefs

Rabindranath Tagore

Having grown up under the direct influence of Rabindranath Tagore who had an abiding faith in the equality of men and women, irrespective of caste, creed and relying

on—it has been inescapable for men to imbibe these ideas of universal equality and brotherhood of man. In our school days we were obliged to read Tagore's poem entitled "Apamanita" (Insulted) which declared untouchability as a sin. The first two stanzas of this six-stanza poem read as follows :

He mor durbhaga desh jader korechho
apaman

Apamane hote habe tahader sobar saman.
Manusher adhikare banchita karechho jare,
Som mukhe danraye rekhe tabu kole dao
naie sthan,

Apamane hote habe tahader saber saman.
Manusher parashere pratidin thekaiya
doore,

Ghrina Kariachha tumi manusher praner
thakure,

Bidhatar rudra roshe durbhiksher dware
base

Bhag kare khete habe sakaler sathe
annapane

Apomane hote hobe tahader sabar saman.

In free translation these lines mean :—

Oh, my hapless country

You will have to suffer the same humiliation

as you have heaped on others.

You will have to suffer the same fate

which you thrust upon others

by depriving them of their human rights.

You will have to suffer the fate of those

whom you did not embrace

even when they came to embrace you.

By spurning the touch of man

you have kept away the god of man's
heart.

Through the wrath of God

you will have to share the same food and
drink

with those afflicted by famine.

You will have to suffer the fate of those

whom you have treated with contempt
and insult.

Myth of Casts Superiority

Tagore had spurned the pseudo-theory of caste superiority or the purity of blood and race. Unfortunately although many years have passed since Tagore wrote those lines, we cannot say that we in India universally go by these values put forward by Tagore. The most important aspect of Tagore's philosophy was that he hated condescension and was implacably in favour of equality and the enforcement of the rights of men and women. Tagore drew attention to the wide divergence between religious precepts and practice and the consequent shackling of human freedom. He wrote, "All through the course of human history it has become tragically evident that religions, whose mission is liberation of soul, have in some form or other ever been instrumental in shackling freedom of mind and even moral rights. The desecration of truth in unworthy hand—the truth which was meant to raise humanity morally and materially out of the dusky region of animality, is moreover followed by condign punishment, and thus we find that religious perversity is causing more blindness of reason and deadness of moral sensibility than any other deficiency in our education; just as, the truth represented by science, when used for ignoble traffic, threatens us with annihilation. It has been the saddest experience of man to witness such violation of the highest products of civilization, to find the guardian of religion blessing the mailed fist of temporal power in its campaign of whole-sale massacre and consolidation of slavery, and science joining hands with the same relentless power in its murderous career of exploitation."

Diverging Precept and Practice

The tragedy is that the divergence between precept and practice has not been reduced even after centuries. It has moreover not

remained confined to religion alone. In modern parlance this divergence is called double talk and is widely practised by philosophers, politicians and social workers. In the political field the slogans of democracy and socialism have been used to cover up the most shameless acts of exploitation and deception. For the cause of "democracy" the hapless people of Vietnam have to be killed by the Americans; for the sake of "socialism" the Soviet military has to occupy Czechoslovakia: For the cause of "nation" Marshal Yahya Khan has kindly consented to kill the East Bengalis by the lakh: For the cause of "revolution" and "people's democracy" the regime of Mao Tse-tung in China has to support Yahya Khan's military junta which had come to power by ousting the former President Ayub Khan, who in turn had edged out Gen. Iskandar Mirza, who in turn had usurped the powers of the civil government: There is no end to the hypocritical pretensions of politicians. The task of philosophy is to enable the common man to pierce through the veil of untruth and to see truth in all its nakedness. A true philosophy should enable the citizen to see and understand in their implications the true nature of the naked American aggression in Vietnam, the Soviet attack on Czechoslovakia, the Yahya butchery in Bangla Desh and the Chinese perfidy in supporting Yahya Khan.

Positive Philosophy

But there is a positive task as well. Philosophy should enable us not only to see what is wrong but also what is right. The only right thing in the world is to give everyone one's due. Therefore while the fight will be against privileges and for their abolition, there should not be any demand for new privileges. Asking for privileges not only

denotes a perversity of the mind but also a lack of self-confidence. The exploiting classes indeed bank upon this diffidence of the people to continue their acts of exploitation. They do so by giving as favours what belongs to the people by right. The power to bestow privileges is a great weapon in the hands of the exploiting classes and they use it to win over a small section and play it against the rest. It is the task of philosophy to show the distinction between form and content. Reservation as a form of protection has not been much effective in giving the backward classes a better position in society. In Bihar an untouchable has been Chief Minister twice; in New Delhi there have been untouchable ministers. But the condition of the scheduled castes and tribes has not registered any significant improvement. This is not to say that reservation cannot bring any result. Undoubtedly reservation has enabled many persons belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes to achieve positions of power. But the limitation of reservation as an instrument of general development is again self-evident. While a few have benefited the general mass of the scheduled castes and tribes continues to remain in the same state of economic, social, and political backwardness as they were before. In many places their condition has worsened. The truth is that the problems of the scheduled castes and tribes—poverty, illiteracy and social and economic backwardness—cannot be solved except as part of the solution of the general problem of poverty, illiteracy and socio-economic inequality. The correct philosophy is one which brings out this identity of interest of the people belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes and the economically depressed sections of the population in general.

Such an improvement cannot be brought

about by a backward movement in philosophy and science which is put forward under the slogan of Indianisation. The Indian civilisation has not only failed to solve the material problem of poverty but has also signally failed to bridge the gulf between religious precept and practice. While on the one hand man has been glorified as part of the Almighty, on the other hand man has at the same time been derided as untouchable. Great vigilance is needed to guard against a relapse into the conservatism of the past which gave rise to the monstrosity of the theory of untouchability of man. The danger lies in the fact that some educated persons belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes have also been deluded by the propagands of the supposed superiority of the Indian civilisation of the past and they mouth this slogan without realising the implications of such a slogan. While undoubtedly Indian civilisation in the past had been superior to many contemporary civilisations of that period, it falls far short of what the country needs now. Moreover it should be noted that there is no such thing as a purely "Indian" civilisation. The heritage of India is based on the confluence of many cultures. If the past Indian civilisation could assimilate the best of the non-Indian traits there is no reason why today we should spurn the good elements of the non-Indian civilisation. Disregarding the progress made by the world in the intervening period in the field of material growth and culture, to develop a nostalgia about the past "Indian" civilisation is to move against history and is a dangerous hallucination. The choice is between acceptance of "Indian" culture which sanctifies untouchability and "modern" civilisation which stipulates equality of men. It is for the people of the backward classes to make the choice. Ekalabya had to make a great sacrifice even when he had learned the art of archery by merely watching the guru from a

distance and without any other assistance from him. After the emergence of the printing press and the printed books and newspapers modern Ekalabyas are no longer so vulnerably dependent on the pleasure of their recalcitrant gurus who allow their prejudices to prevail over their sense of duty and violate their code of conduct. Science has not only made it possible for man to go to the moon. It has enabled man to see that there is no difference in the blood of the Brahmin and the untouchable —i. e. there is no innate biological difference between castes and races. Science justifies equality which is the demand of the scheduled castes and tribes ; science also makes it possible to produce enough to enable everybody to satisfy his wants. Thus science needs to be integrated into the philosophy of the oppressed.

In concrete terms the modern philosophy must give a call for the immediate introduction of universal free primary education which according to Gandhiji is equivalent to the Matriculation standard minus English. But English has to be studied. English provides the most readily available window into the world of modern thought and science. The backward classes should not fall into the trap of hostility to English even if it is spread by a Chief Minister coming from the backward classes. The traditional school of education has no use for the backward castes. Without

an education with English the backwardness of the backward castes and classes will persist longer than it need to. It was education and not possession of any material wealth, which he did not have—that differentiated Dr Bhimrao Ramjirao Ambedkar from the other men of his caste. It was higher education and the knowledge of English which enabled Dr Ambedkar to break through the shackles of casteism to make his room in society. It is education again that can enable the depressed people of today to rise to the status of equality with others. Modern philosophy must therefore stipulate unrestricted education in the arts and the sciences for all upto the highest standard.

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(Text of address inaugurating the Ambedkar Darshan Parishad at Behar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Bhawan, Patna.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

* * * *

When Mathur Shaw made a deed of gift and gave away the land, garden and pond he had not imagined that there would be some day such a lot of turmoil over that property. And how could he have anticipated that with the passing of time things will change radically. Humanity and knowledge will have to face a challenge from a greater power—Money. And the people of those days could hardly visualise what would happen years later. Could anyone think then that the school that was set up would one day become a large institution of the size of this Balarampur High School? That so many applicants for admission would be seeking recommendation and support from influential people? That coaching classes would be started in large numbers for students who fail in their examinations?

One day the Pandit Mashai got hold of Fatik.

He asked—Where do you spend your time? Where do you go every evening and stay there till such late hours?

Shibani would say—Why do you scold him all the time?

You donot teach him, nor buy him any books of annotations. Why, then should he stay at home?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why, I do teach him, don't I? Do I not make him sit down every morning and engage him in his studies? But he gets up so late in the morning that I cannot personally teach him.

Fatik said—I shall join a coaching school—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Why? Why should you go to a coaching school?

Fatik said—They tell you what questions would be set—

—Oh, they will tell you the questions and you will mug up the answers, is that so? I shall not allow you to practise all that cheating business. If you wish to study you will do so at home. You will get up early in the morning, wash and then sit down with your books. If you donot understand anything, ask me—

So saying he went out.

He had just returned from school and sat down at home when a bicycle bell rang outside. Sushil called out from outside—Fatik!

Fatik jumped up to go out. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai caught him—Where are you going? Who is calling you?

Shibani said—Let him go, is he going to stay at home the whole day? Is he old like you

—But who has come, who? Who is ringing the bicycle bell?

Shibani said—That is Sushil, Rani's brother.

Fatik said—I have been asking for a cycle for such a long time and no one is doing anything about that. I am going—

Gour Bhattacharjee lost his temper—You have the audacity to talk back!

So saying he caught Fatik by his ear. He twisted it and gave him a slap.

Shibani released Fatik and said—You have no business to beat him like that!

Gour Bhattacharjee exclaimed—You have

been spoiling him and turning him into an ill behaved boy. It is only for you that he has developed his high handed ways. Or would he dare answer me back as he has done ?

Shibani answered—Why shouldn't he dare ? You have never admitted your own faults, you only try to pick holes where others are concerned ! Have you ever thought of me ; that you are now chastising Fatik ? You have intentionally got my daughter killed, now you are trying to kill my grandson !

While she said all this her eyes probably filled up with tears. She went towards the kitchen to hide the same.

Gour Bhattacharjee wanted to say a lot of things on that day ; but much remained unsaid. To whom could he confide ? Who would listen to him ? He thought he had none to call his own. He built this school by entreating the local gentry and by begging from so many others. He never considered his own personal interests then ; nor of the well being of his family members. He thought neither of his wife and progeny nor of his own prosperity and future. He prayed for one thing only ; that his school could stand on its own legs. With its head high, owing nothing to others. He had no other desires at any time. His roof leaked but he did not care. But he had the school roof repaired so that the students did not get wet.

How has he profited by all this ? The students have gained but has he gained anything ?

Gour Bhattacharjee left the house and started walking that day ; He passed the market place and walked on towards Birgunge.

He remembered Moharakpur once again. He had left that place, telling his uncle brazenly—Balarapur had men in it !

Well were these the men he spoke about ? Is this the image of Men's mind.

His eyes suddenly fell on a shop front and

remained fixed there upon ; he saw stacks on stacks of new bicycles. It was a bicycle shop. Gour Bhattacharjee had never been on a bicycle. He had not learnt to ride a bicycle. Others have ridden cycles and he himself had moved away to a safe corner of the road.

—Oh, here you are Pandit Mashai ; do come in !

Everybody knew the Pandit Mashai. Some one or other related to everybody had been his pupil. His name and fame had spread to the farthest corners of the 24 parganas.

Would you be buying a bicycle, Pandit Mashai ?

Gour Bhattacharjee asked—How much do these cycles cost ?

The young shop assistant said—Come in sir, come inside. Come in and sit down. There are more varieties of bicycles inside. The prices are different.

Gour Bhattacharjee entered the shop hesitatingly. Not only cycles, there were other things too.

—What are those ? Those, there, made of brass—

—Sir, they are stoves.

--Stoves ? What does that mean ? What do you do with them ?

--Sir, one lights them ; fire burns in them. Kerosene is used to light the fire. Wood burning stoves produce much smoke and women find the smoke painful when they cook. That is why these things have been made to suit modern needs and ideas. These are being purchased by all householders. Why don't you take one home ? There are many other gadgets. Look at this torch. It works on batteries. These make walking in dark lanes safe from fear of snakes. Take one, Pandit Mashai, it is a very useful thing.

Gour Bhattacharjee saw everything very attentively. He saw and was amazed. This is science. It is about this that Shibendu was

speaking the other day. Science has progressed so much !

—See this cycle, this has come lately. It is worth three hundred thirty rupees.

And have a look at this one. It is two hundred and eighty rupees. You take the three hundred thirty rupee one. Its parts are very good.

The shop assistant said a lot more in a non stop manner. But nothing entered Gour Bhattacharjee's head at the moment. He got up. This was science. This is materialism. He could not articulate any words at that moment. Fatik had been asking for a thing like that. Everyone has bought, Sushil has bought—Naren's son Sushil. Many boys come to school on bicycles.

Again when he was on the road these ideas went round and round in his head. Great changes have taken place in Balarampur. Changes galore. He had not been this side for many years. He has been moving between the school and his house most of the time.

When he came back to the house he found Shibani busy with her work in the kitchen.

Fatik was sitting on the raised verandah with a book in his hand.

Gour Bhattacharjee slowly went up and sat down next to Fatik.

He asked—What are you reading ?

He wanted to cuddle Fatik suddenly. He thought, due to some reason that he could not clearly realise, that Fatik had no faults. All faults were his own. He was a great offender in his household.

--Listen Fatik, do you want to buy a bicycle ?

Fatik was amazed. His grand papa had never spoken to him in this strain before.

—Will you buy me one ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I haven't got all that money, my little father, how can I buy it for you ?

—Why have you no money ? Everybody has got money ! Sushil's father has lots of money ; so has Santosh's father ! Sushil's father will buy him a camera, do you know ? You buy me nothing.

Gour Bhattacharjee put one arm round Fatik.

He said—Everyone in this world has not got money. All people cannot have wealth. And money does not make a man great.

—But, if one had money one could buy such nice things.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—That is why I ask you to study very attentively. When you study well you will realise that money does not make one great. A man becomes great through his humanity. Jesus Christ, Buddhadeva, Ramakrishnadeva, not one of them had money, but were they not very great ? Why do people have pictures of Chaitanyadeva in their houses ? He had no money. Study well and carefully and you will understand what I am telling you. God is watching from above, all that we are doing. He does not judge people by their money. He judges men by their devotion and inner feelings. Devotion, kindness, selflessness and self control. When you grow up you will see it written in Srimadbhagavat : Yadi dasyasi me bhaktam baranstwan baradasava, kamanam hradyasanrohan bhabatastu brine param : which means, in the words of Prahlad—Oh Thou the greatest of all givers of boons, if Thou gavest me my most cherished boon, then givest Thou me the boon that no desires ever rise in my heart—Do you understand ? If you do not study Sanskrit...

Shibani suddenly came and her voice rang out—You are sermonising him in Sanskrit ! You cannot buy him a bicycle and on top of that.....go on, have your food and relieve me from my bondage—get up !

* * * *

These are things that happened long ago. Much water had flowed down the banks of the

Ichhamati since then. But Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai had not changed his ways inspite of all the knocks he had had and all that he had suffered.

Nimai Shaw went to Naren Chakravarty's house that day and said—One cannot tolerate any longer the things the Master Mashai is doing. One has to do something about it. Should I sue the Master Mashai in court?

Naren said—Have you gone off your head, Nimai? A court case will blacken the committee's face. When he is not saying anything more, why go out of your way to irritate him?

Nimai Shaw said—He is not saying anything to-day, he has spoken about the fish, sold the coconuts and the mangos, and he may do worse later? He may demand to scrutinise the school accounts? What then? What will you do then?

Naren Chakravarty said—We shall deal with the matter if and when it comes to happen. Now that things are finished and are at rest; do not stir up things.

Nimai Shaw said—The Master Mashai has been encouraged by this sort of things—

Then he kept quiet for a while and said—All right, when you say so, I shall not take any action; but I am telling you the consequences of all this will not be good—Suddenly the Pandit Mashai entered the room while they were talking.

Seeing the Pandit Mashai arrive at this untimely moment, Naren Chakravarty and Nimai Shaw suffered a sudden shock of surprise.

Naren Chakravarty recovered from his surprise within a moment and said—Come in, Master Mashai, come in—

Pandit Mashai said—I shall not sit down, I was passing and I came along seeing the lights on—

Then seeing Nimai Shaw there he said—You are here Nimai; that is very opportune. You see, I have been thinking of one thing

for a long time. Sasadhar, our mathematics teacher Sasadhar, has started a coaching school, you know? Our school boys have joined this coaching school. My grandson, who is a good for nothing due to his father's influence, says he will join this coaching school. You know what happens there? They tell the boys the questions that are set for the examinations—

—Questions are given out? Naren Chakravarty exclaimed as if he suddenly heard the news of a great calamity.

Pandit Mashai said—Yes, I have enquired, the rumour is not false. The science teacher Shibendu also says so.

Naren Chakravarty asked—How do they come to know about the questions?

Pandit Mashai said—That is very simple. I have thought out everything. The teachers set the questions and give the same to Bhabaranjan. They show these to one another before handing them over. It is then that they come to know of the questions. I think this system is wrong. It encourages immorality.

—Then, who would set the questions?

—Why, questions would be set by a committee. The committee should consist of two members, you and Bhabaranjan. Each teacher will be asked to set two hundred questions subject wise and the committee will select ten questions out of each lot. Then I shall go to Calcutta and get all those printed—

Naren Chakravarty thought a little and asked—But, Master Mashai, would you be able to undertake all this hard work at your age?

Pandit Mashai said—What do you think? You only consider my age; but you ignore my life force. You never take that into account; nor does Nimai, who is sitting in front of me. I can still give my life for the students, do you know that?

Nimai Shaw had not spoken so far. He now said—But no questions are ever given out from my printing press ; I may tell you that—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—If nothing is given out, that is very good. But one may get the printing done outside for a change. Why should you risk getting a bad name ? Why should you undertake all that responsibility ?

Nimai Shaw said—If you wish to do things in that manner, the Committee should be consulted before that is done.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—You see, if you wish to raise this question in the Committee, do so ; but the objective will be achieved only if you have good intentions ; otherwise the school will not produce men ; but cows and goats—Well I am going now—

Saying this he did not wait any longer. He went slowly out on the road.

Naren Chakravarty said—When this idea has once entered the Master Mashai's head, he will get this done anyhow ; he will not be induced to change his mind—

Nimai Shaw said —But the teachers ? Will the teachers agree ? Would this not hurt their feeling of self respect ? This will affect their income. There are three coaching schools already in Balarampur.

—But your press will also suffer loss of business.

Nimai Shaw said—Who would cause loss to my press ? Who has all that power ? Would it be possible to get all printing for the school done at Calcutta ? And if that happens, I shall put up the rates at my press. And then I have supporters on the Board ; let me see, how far the Master Mashai can go—

* * * *

As soon as he returned home Gour Bhattacharjee asked—Why don't I see Fatik ? Where has Fatik gone ?

But Fatik was then in the club room singing in D sharp to the accompaniment of a harmonium—

My mind shall blossom slowly

Like a lotus

In the rippling waters of the lake—Thy heart

Fatik had been playing the part of Urbashi. He was unconscious of the lateness of the hour. The melodious strains and the rhythm of the Mishra Khambaj Ragini were turning him really into Urbashi.

Sushil tapped him on his back and said— I say Fatik, come home, it is very late, listen, your grandfather must have gone back home by now—

—Oh, get out ! Fatik was angry. He said—You are a real spoil sport !

Then he said—You do not know, my grandfather comes home very late now a days—

Sushil said—Then I shall push off, Sasadhar Babu will come and wait for me ; and my elder sister may tell father about it—

Saying this Sushil got up to go.

But they were looking for Fatik by then in the Pandit Mashai's house.

Gour Bhattacharjee had washed and come out to enquire—Where is Fatik ; why don't you say where he has gone ?

Shibani said—I told you just now he had gone to Sushil's house to study.

—Gone to Sushil's house for his studies ? Why to their house ? What for ?

Shibani said—Well what should he do ? You will be involved in your school affairs ; you would not put him into the coaching either. Then what is he to do ? His examinations are just round the corner, what is he to do ? He asks this and that from different people to understand what he is studying. Sushil's father has kept three tutors for him and how many let me know, have you engaged for Fatik ?

Suddenly Basanti arrived. She had Rani with her.

Basanti asked --Aunty, has Fatik returned ? Shibani had stopped talking at once.

Gour Bhattacharjee exclaimed--Bouma, hasn't Fatik gone to your house ?

Basanti said--Why should he come to our house ? He went out with Sushil in the evening. Both of them went on bicycles--

--Then why did your Aunty say that he had gone to your house to study ?

Shibani raised her voice and said--How should I know where he had gone ? Haven't I got any work that I should go after your grandson watching his movements ? Have you kept ten maid servants for me ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said--Now, look at this ! I say something and you make something else out of it.

Shibani said--I understand everything, everything ; do not think that just because I have not studied much, I do not realise what is what ? There is Bouma, let them say, they are not blind they have good eyesight. Let them say whether I am in the wrong or you are.

Rani said--Why don't you stop grand ma ? Why must you quarrel with grand papa all the time ?

Suddenly Panchu's mother came in and said to Basanti--Mother, the young master has come back home--

--Has come back home ?

Basanti sighted land, as it were, in an endless expanse of water. She said--Come Rani come--

She went out after that. But Rani went upto the Pandit Mashai and said--Whatever grand mother says, you keep quiet grand pa--

Gour Bhattacharjee smiled. He said--You go along, your mother has gone, she will worry--

Rani insisted--You promise first ; you will not quarrel with grand ma !

Gour Bhattacharjee asked--And do I only quarrel with your grand mother ?

Rani said--I do not want to hear all that ; you give your word first that you will not quarrel.

Gour Bhattacharjee said--All right, I give my word I shall not quarrel--

--Then, you also give your word that when Fatik comes back you will not beat him up--

Gour Bhattacharjee said--But, my little mother, why does he not listen to me ? I tell him to do things for his own good. Why does he not study ? Why doesn't he come back home from school ? Do I say anything to him that can be harmful to him ? Do I desire anything that is bad for him ? What wrong have I done by asking him to be good ?

Rani said--It is your fault, grand pa.

--My fault ?

--Is it not your fault ? You beat everyone. Beating cannot make anybody good.

Gour Bhattacharjee became slightly thoughtful. As if involved in some self-criticism.

He said--But you, my mother, do I beat you ever ?

Rani said --My case is different, you love me grand papa. Can't you love everybody as you love me ?

He thought something which was deep in his mind. He could not remove it from his mind. Rani had gone home a long time ago. It was very late at night. Fatik had come home. He ignored a very great untruth at Rani's suggestion. May be he was mistaken. Or why should Rani tell him that ? Has he never loved anyone ? Did he not want anybody's well being. Or is it that loving some one and wanting to do good to him were not the same thing ? He remembered that saying of the Shrimadbhagabat. He recited it for Fatik the other day. Yadi Dasyasi me.....That prayer of Prahlad--Oh Thou the greatest of all givers of boons, if thou gavest a boon to

me, then givest thou the boon that my heart may never harbour any desires.....

* * * *

But his gods did not perhaps intend to make Gour Bhattacharjee free from all desires so easily. They perhaps wanted to subject him to further trials and wished to pass him through sorrows, pain and irritation in order to purify him to attain his final salvation.

Binod wrote another letter which reached that day. That Binod of days long past. A little boy. His widowed mother encountered much difficulty; then she brought him to the Pandit Mashai. Binod did not have to pay any school fees. His mother brought him up with whatever assistance she received from the neighbours.

Binod's mother used to say—He is your son, my father, I am only physically his parent—

Just as in the case of Rani. The Bouna used to say—She is your daughter, uncle, you can do what you think best for her—

He took out the letter again, read it, then folded it up and put it back in his pocket.

The school is torn by an uproar of protests this time. The teacher's common room had been full of dissatisfaction even before this. Now it looked like being on the verge of an explosion. When Binod visited him on a previous occasion he had said—The school is no longer like what it had been, Master Mashai—You take it over again—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Binod, there is a Committee now to look after the school—

Binod said—Then, why not join the Committee—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have grown old, how long can I look after things. Now, all of them are there. Let them look after things—there is Nimai Shaw, Naren.....

--Did they ask you to be in the Committee?

Gour Bhattacharjee had said—No—

Binod said—I feel sad that they did not take a man like you in the Committee. They threw away diamonds and collected bits of glass. You know, Master Mashai, it is not your fault, nor is it their fault. The fault lies with the times. Nobody appreciates quality now-a-days. Not even present day governments. They give prizes of thousands of rupees every year to outstanding men in the teaching profession. Why have they not mentioned your name in that connection?

Oh, forget it Binod. You were good in Sanskrit you remember that verse in the Srimadbhagabat Geeta, in which Prahlad says.....

Binod said—I know all that Master Mashai, Yadi dasyasi me.....

--Then why do you say all that Binod? That I have taught you, all of you, Nimai Shaw, Naren, Bhabaranjan and the rest; have I ever expected to become a rajah by teaching? Take your own case—That you have become an important person, that is my reward! I have never asked for anything more. Your success and prosperity are mine too—

Binod did not appear to be pleased with the discussion. His words remained clearly inscribed on Gour Bhattacharjee's mind.

The boys were sitting for their examination in the outer rooms of the school building. He got up after putting the letter in his pocket. He said to Janardan—Shut the doors and lock up my room, Janardan, I am going out for a while—

Animesh Babu was invigilating from the morning. He had grown old. He felt sleepy if he sat quietly for a length of time. He opened his eyes suddenly from time to time to see if anyone was cheating. They were all writing and the friction of pens on paper was quite audible. One examination was over during the morning. Then there was a recess

for half an hour. One could then have a cup of tea and smoke a couple of leaf cigarettes (Biris) in the common room. Thereafter came the second paper.

Towards the late afternoon he noticed that the grand son of the Pandit Mashai was sitting in the back of the room and was writing his answers by copying things from a book. He picked up his cotton shawl and went up there. He was amazed to see an open book by his side. It looked as if there were other books and papers hidden under his shirt.

Animesh Babu said—Let me see what that book is ?

Fatik had by then covered that book up with his clothes.

Animesh Babu said again—Let me see that book you have hidden ?

Fatik got frightened. Animesh Babu did not say any thing more. He went back to his place. Thereafter, saying nothing to anyone he went to the Head Master's room. The whole school was then busy with the examination.

An unusual quietness prevailed everywhere. The Head Master heard everything.

He said—Call him up here to my room—

Fatik was still writing in an engrossed manner.

Animesh Babu said—Get up, the Head Master Mashai is calling you—

Fatik was really frightened very badly. He said—I shall not do this again sir, please let me off sir—

Animesh Babu spoke in a threatening tone—Do what you are being told, come along with me, come—

Fatik was trembling with fear and he followed Animesh Babu to the Head Master's room.

The Head Master asked—Were you copying from a book ?

Fatik said nothing. He remained standing silently.—Answer me, speak—

Then he looked at Animesh Babu and asked—Did you see him copying from a book ?

Animesh Babu explained what he had seen. Then, without any further talk he whisked Fatik's shirt up. As soon as that was done one could see well arranged stacks of books and hand written papers on Fatik's chest and back. In his pockets there were sheaves of small size paper.

Bhabaranjan Babu was bursting with anger but he somehow controlled himself.

He said—Don't you feel ashamed to come for examination like this ? You can be taken by your ear and thrown out of the school ?

Fatik was almost breaking out in tears.

He said—I shall never do this sort of thing again sir—

Bhabaranjan Babu in his anger landed a terrific blow on the table.

Said—Animesh Babu, pull all those books out, will you please ?

Animesh Babu pulled the books out one by one and placed them on the Head Master's table.

Bhabaranjan Babu shouted—Hold your ears—Hold the ears !

Fatik held his own ears and stood crying.

Bhabaranjan Babu shouted again—Aren't you ashamed to shed tears ? You are crying ? Don't you know whose grand son you are ? Don't you know that your grand father will be terribly hurt if you earn a bad name ? Aren't you afraid that your grand father's name will be besmirched by your conduct ?

He did not want to prolong the affair. Time was running short.

He said—Go away—Go on and write your answers—

By then the noise had attracted everyone's attention. The news spread through the peons, the servants and the gate keepers. Some had come and peeped in to see what was going on. It had reached the teachers'

common room too. Janardan had heard about the incident.

Bhabaranjan had taken up his own work again. Suddenly Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai ran into his room, gasping for breath.

He said—Bhabaranjan, I heard Fatik had been copying answers from books, is that true?

Bhabaranjan was frightened at the appearance of Master Mashai and said—Yes sir, I have severely warned him—

—Warned him, what do you mean?

Bhabaranjan said—He was made to box his own ears in my presence. And he had said he would never do so again.

—Never do so again. What does that mean? Have you allowed him to sit for his examination again?

Bhabaranjan said—Sir, he is a small boy. I have reprimanded him severely. These are the books he had with him. I have taken those away. He has gone to write his answers now.

—But why have you permitted him to sit for his examination again? Why did you not throw him out on his neck outside the school gates? Is it because he is my grand son? Had he been someone else's grand son, would you have done so or you have pardoned him on account of his being my grand son? You call him, call him again, immediately—

The bearer went to fetch Fatik again. He shivered when he saw his grand father.

—You had been copying out of these books? These were hidden under your shirt? Tell.....

Fatik stood there and trembled.

—Tell me! Were you copying from these books?

The whole house was resounding with Gour Bhattacharjee's excited voice.

—Answer me!

Fatik had no answer even then. As if he had lost his power of speech.

Gour Bhattacharjee did not delay any more. Bhabaranjan's almirah was there by his side. He opened it and took out the cane from inside. Then he swung it and went upto Fatik holding the cane high.

He said—You will not answer?

So saying he did not stop. He wielded the cane in powerful sweeps and hit Fatik on his head, face, back and arms. His cotton shawl fell off his shoulder but he took no notice of that. He caned Fatik mercilessly until he fell down. Fatik lay on the floor but the Pandit Mashai continued the caning.

Bhabaranjan could not stand it any more. He left his chair and caught the Master Mashai? He will die.

—Let me go!

So saying he began to beat Fatik again. He was then lying inertly on the floor. A crowd assembled in front of the door. No one had seen this ferocious appearance of Gour Bhattacharjee before this. This was inhuman punishment. No one had seen such punishing before this either.

Suddenly it appeared that Fatik was not moving any more. He was totally motionless. As if there was no life in his body. He was there at Gour Bhattacharjee's feet without any symptoms of animation.

* * * *

An atmosphere of eerie silence pervaded the house at night.

The doctor had been examining in the next room. But Gour Bhattacharjee never got up even once. When he left school he went home, Basanti had been there and so had Naren. Rani also came. Everyone came to see Fatik and made a crowd near Fatik.

It was Naren who had sent the doctor when he heard the news.

The doctor was from Birgunge. He examined Fatik's chest, back and his arms.

Naren asked—How do you find things?

The doctor used his stethoscope at length.

He said—There is fever and the fever will increase—

The doctor prescribed some medicines. Naren himself went and got the medicines. The doctor was very kind and good. Any other patient would not have agitated him so much. Grand son of Gour Bhattacharjee. The matter concerned the great Pandit of the school. Every house in Balarampur was agog with this incident. If anything happened to this patient the doctor will be involved too.

Naren asked—He has examination tomorrow will he be able to sit for it?

The doctor said—There is one reassuring thing, the kidney has not been damaged.

—But the fever?

The doctor said—I have prescribed for the fever—

Then the doctor finished his examination and the rest of it. He got up. Fatik was lying in bed in the manner of one who is unconscious and without any sensory reactions. He occasionally opened his eyes; but there were no signs of recognition in his eyes.

The doctor said—I shall come again during the night—

Basanti, Rani, they too stood there and looked at things silently. Shibani had been sitting by Fatik's side right from the beginning and never left that place. She was gentle and soothingly smoothing Fatik's fevered brow. And she did that unceasingly. When the ice came she applied it to his head. There was no ice bag in the house, nor a thermometer to test the temperature. There were no paraphernalia for the sick room in Pandit Mashai's house. Naren had to have everything fetched from his own house.

Naren said—Aunty, you get up now—

Basanti said—Yes, Aunty, I am here, you get up and give food to uncle—

But that little girl Rani; it seemed as if she had no words to speak. She was only watching. This grand pa, this grand ma, all this love, affection and punitive action; she was overwhelmed when she considered and weighed all these.

At one time Naren, Basanti, Rani, they all left. The night was far advanced then. Only Fatik was lying exhausted in his bed and by his side sat Shibani.

Suddenly the doctor came in again. To see how the patient was.

He examined him again with his stethoscope. Scrupulously and thoroughly. No, the patient was in a much better shape.

While leaving he saw the Pandit Mashai was sitting silently and in a motionless stance on his bed. Seeing the doctor he looked up and asked—How do you find?

The doctor said—Better, much improved compared to what he was. I gave him a strong dose of medicine. It appears to have worked—

Then he waited a few moments and said—Why did you beat him up like that Master Mashai? It was great good luck the kidney escaped damage. Had the cane fallen more to one side, nothing could have prevented an utter tragedy—

Pandit Mashai asked—To-morrow, there is examination again, will he be able to sit for it?

The doctor said—Let us see—

So saying the physician went out.

(To be continued)

TARASHANKAR BANDOPADHYAYA : A TRIBUTE

J. L. DAS

Although Tarashankar Bandopadhyaya was the most renowned Bengali litterateur of the post—Rabindranath Tagore period, yet there was no flamboyance about the man and his manners and activities. Throughout his life, which, fortunately for us, exceeded the Biblical span of three score years and ten (he was 74 at the time of his death on 14.9.71), he bore his manifold achievements and distinctions with dignity and a humility all his own.

Tarashankar was born in 1898 in the village of Labhpur, Birbhum, in a declining Zamindar family. He lost his father at the early age of eight. This bereavement, coupled with the ordeals of the poor people of the dying villages of the district that he saw with his own eyes, developed in him an urge for dynamic social change and political emancipation. Small wonder, therefore that he should be drawn towards the revolutionaries even while prosecuting his studies at the village school. However, he passed the Matriculation Examination from there and came to Calcutta and joined St. Xavier's College for higher education.

From an obscure, dull village to the panoramic metropolitan city, it was indeed a big change. But the terrible hardship of the simple folk of the red, sun-scorched earth of Birbhum always haunted his young, sensitive mind. He associated himself with the revolutionary movement with renewed zeal. The arms of the repressive laws of the alien rulers were not slow to take action. He was interned in his own village and thus had to cry halt to his formal education.

Freed from the routine of student life, Tarashankar now devoted his time and energy

to literary pursuits and rural uplift. Even then he wielded a facile pen and wrote novels, dramas etc. He also founded the Social Service Union for rendering succour to the needy villagers. Amateur theatricals were always a passion with him. Two plays, which he had himself written were produced on the improvised stage of the village with conspicuous success.

Since then till a few days before his death, novels, plays, short stories, essays, belles lettres poems etc. flowed from his powerful and prolific pen in unending stream. Simultaneously, awards and honours were showered on him by the government, universities, literary bodies and cultural societies. He was a nominated member of the West Bengal Legislative Council from 1952 to 1960 and of the Rajya Sabha from 1960 to 1966. The Government of India conferred on him the Padma Shri in 1957. He was also made a Fellow of the Sahitya Akademi 1969 in fitting recognition of his great contribution to Indian Literature. Of the many prizes that he received, mention must first be made of the Bharatiya Jnanpith Award in 1967 for his book "Ganadevata", which was considered the best literary creation of the preceding decade. Others included the Sarat Chandra Memorial prize for "Hansuli Banker Upakatha" in 1947, the Rabindra prize and the Sahitya Akademy Prize in 1955 and 1956 for "Arogya Niketan", and the Jagat'arini Medal of the Calcutta University in 1959 for his outstanding literary work. The Calcutta and Rabindra Bharati Universities conferred on him an honorary D. Litt.

There was hardly any cultural activity or organisation of note with which Tarashankar Bandopadhyaya was not associated in one capacity or another. To name only a few, he was the President, for life, of the West Bengal branch of the International P. E. N., President of the Progressive Writers' Association, and Vice-President of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, West Bengal branch. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad felt itself honoured by electing him President. He also presided over the literary section of the Nikhil Bharat Sahitya Sammelan on more than one occasion. The session of All India Writers' conference in 1959 at Madras was held with Tarashankar in the chair. Besides, he was the leader of the Indian delegation to the Afro-Asian Writers' conference at Tashkent in 1958. He also went to China on the invitation of the Chinese Government, visited various institutions throughout the country and met a cross-section of its people, including writers, scholars and artists.

Thus Tarashankar was never a closeted writer, spinning fiction and verses only, keeping himself at a safe distance from the main stream of national life. Ever since his boyhood, he was very much involved in it. During the civil Disobedience Movement, he was drawn to Gandhiji's ideals and courted imprisonment. He was also greatly impressed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to whom he dedicated his novel, "Chaitali Ghurni". On numerous occasions he registered his strong protest, through the press and the platform, against injustice, tyranny, assault on civil liberties and

violation of human rights. The genocide and other heinous crimes perpetrated by Yahya Khan's hordes in Bangladesh deeply pained him and, inspite of his advanced years and failing health, he attended several meetings and conferences, raising his aged but powerful voice against the same and extending his unstinted support to the freedom struggle of the desperate and determined people of Bangladesh.

It is not for me to attempt a critical appraisal of Tarashankar Bandopadhyay's literary work, I lack the competence to do so. Further I feel that there must be a sufficient time lag between an author's demise and such evaluations so that the halo of his personality might not in any way influence its objectivity. What, however, has struck me most in Tarashankar's works is his self-discipline and sense of restraint. Though he has depicted characters of the underprivileged members of society like the village school master, the snake-charmer, the gypsy girl etc., yet he has refrained from introducing such cliches as "class war", "exploitation" etc. He has dealt with episodes involving moral turpitude and extra marital relations but has never titillated the sex instinct of his readers. In a word, unlike many so-called "progressive" writers he did not make class and sex his stock-in-trade. These have come in his works as faithful representations of the existing state of our society and not deliberately played up to gain cheap popularity. In this he was the true follower of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

Communist movement, as an international force, began with the emergence of the Bolsheviks in Russia. Until the Second World War, it was the single communist country in the international scene. As a communist country, it had specific obligations and duties for the sake of its ideological triumph i. e. consolidation of communism in the state, extension of Red Area by means of infiltration, fomenting labour unrest in other countries, positive assistance to the communist party of neighbouring states and even by military manoeuvres.

Besides these methods, Soviet Russia as the champion of the international communist movement, realised the need of co-operation and co-ordination between Russia and other countries for the final collapse of capitalism. The comintern was formed for the purpose of cementing the tie amongst the communists of different countries.

Marxian Teachings :

Communism is definitely an international movement and it can not be isolated by regional considerations. Marx himself established the first communist International for the world-wide expansion of communism.

So when the communists usurped power in Soviet Russia they realised their international obligations. After the death of Lenin, however, there was a controversy within the Russian Communist Party itself regarding its duty towards other communist countries. Though Stalin's 'communism is one country' thesis gained ground, its international obligation was never denied.

Communist Expansion during the War :

During the 2nd World War, communism expanded in Europe by some abnormal

methods. Taking the opportunity of war time chaos Stalin invaded the non-slav states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. Then, in 1941, Finland was also annexed. During this period communist movement expanded in Asia also, particularly in China, but it required a gestation period for its ultimate victory.

Communism after the War :

International communist movement received a fillip after the 2nd World War and it became a dominant factor for various reasons :

- (a) After the final collapse of Axis powers, particularly Nazi Germany, some East European countries, were brought within the Red Zone. Thus, Stalin liberated Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary from the Nazi grip and established puppet governments in these countries.
- (b) In the backward areas of Asia, the aftermath of the second war offered a nice opportunity for communist advancement. Thus the communists captured power in the largest state of Asia i. e. China. In countries like Malay, Burma and Indonesia communists began to make frantic attempts to come in power.
- (c) In Indochina, the war offered an effective opportunity for communist expansion. The division of Vietnam, coalition in Laos and precarious encirclement of Cambodia marked the progress of communism in this region.
- (d) After the War, the World has almost been polarised. While America has assumed the leadership of the capitalist bloc, Soviet Russia has taken the leading role in international communist move-

ment. In some countries, Russia has been able to secure popular sympathy for the communists.

By its clever equation of communist propaganda with nationalist aspirations of the people, it has been able to discredit Western influence and has formed a close tie with the local governments by its sympathetic attitude towards the local people. Thus, some areas of the Middle East and parts of Asia have become the vulnerable fields for disguised communist advancement.

Policentric communist movement :

As pointed out earlier, communism is an international movement and hence it requires a central plan and systematic advancement. Prior to the second war, Soviet Russia was its undisputed champion and it took up on itself the responsibility of spreading the ideology. All communist parties throughout the world rallied behind her, and as Hartman points out, Russia could cleverly identify her national interests with the ideological clamour of the communists of other countries.

The first revolt, however, began with Tito's Yugoslavia. But the most striking disunity in the Marxland (to use Schuman's term) has been initiated by Peking by her new challenge for alternative leadership of the International Communist movement. According to Red China, Soviet Russia is now a revisionist force and an alternative leadership is essential in the interest of communist advancement. Of course, China is not a lonely traveller along the new direction. There are Albania, Outer Mongolia, North Korea and Indochina behind her. As a matter of fact, due to this rivalry between the two communist giants, international communist movement has now been divided and all the communist parties of the World have chosen one or another of them in this polarisation.

Of course, a tone of dissent began with

Tito's nationalist attitude. Russia could not tackle the situation and eventually Yugoslavia drifted apart. Alternative approaches were imminent in East Germany, Poland and Hungary. Moscow; however, crushed all these movements by drastic military action. Very recently, by a stroke of ugly military measure, she has quelled the Czechoslovakian crisis. But in the case of China, this method has perhaps, been regarded as ineffective as Moscow has definitely accepted the virtual polarisation.

Thus, the World communist movement has shown a poli centric tendency and the monolithic character of the Communist movement has discarded its orthodox nature. Following the example of China and Yugoslavia, some East European communist countries have tended to evolve a new pattern of nationalist communism. As pointed out earlier, Yugoslavia has been the pioneer and now Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have taken similar attitude. The constitution of the communist party of Rumania declares : "The Rumanian communist party bases its entire activity on Marxist-Leninist teaching, applying it in a creative manner to the conditions and peculiarities specific to this country."

Lourence writes (in New Statesman) that until recently Bulgaria was Russia's most reliable ally. But it now looks as if things may change fast in the near future. Very recently Czechoslovakia has made an unsuccessful attempt to go beyond the Soviet ambit and Russia had to crush the movement by military intervention in concert with other Warsaw powers. So Murti writes "That the communist world is not monolithic and totally controlled by Moscow, which Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania and Albania and, above all China; have increasingly shown in recent years."

Conclusion :

Though the Sino-Soviet rupture has often

been described as an ideological clash, the conflict originates fundamentally, as Arnold Toynbee observes, in geo-political reasons. But whatever the reason might be, the bridge has been broken for the foreseeable future. This rift has actually dashed all hopes of rapid communist expansion to the ground.

In India, though the communist party was formed as early as in 1924, it has been torn asunder since 1962 due to the Sino-Soviet rift. Russia has not supported China during her adventurism in the Himalayan region in 1962 nor has she given a threatening ultimatum to America though the latter has unleashed naked aggression in North Vietnam perhaps because the unfortunate country moves behind Red China.

Red China, as Organski observes, is sure to emerge as the first power of the world within a short period. This will, he believes, widen the present rift and the international balance of power will be seriously disturbed. As Friedmann points out, one day may come when Russia and America will form a united front to tackle this new challenger. This means, as Dr. Jayantaraj Banerjee points out, ideological affinity cannot bind together two or more states for a long time if their national interests are at cross-purposes. Hence, in spite

of the dazzling success within half a century, international communist movement is now at the cross roads due to its inherent weakness.

Moreover, popular support should have been the fundamental factor in the communist expansionism. But, the history of the previous years proves that the communist states have rather resorted to chauvinism and adventurism. A large section of mankind has, thus, been disillusioned and no longer regards Russia or China as the saviour of the oppressed people. Sometimes these countries have also alienated the saner elements of human race by their apathy to the righteous struggle for freedom as in Bangladesh.

At its twentieth congress (1956), the Communist party of the Soviet Union discarded the theory of inevitability of revolution and recognised that some countries may go over to socialism peacefully. The doctrine of world-revolution has thus been given a go-bye. This marks the beginning of a new epoch of peaceful co existence with the capitalist bloc. In this way communism began to lose its extra-territorial character and the movement was permitted to be confined within national borders. Now it is a sporadic movement rather than an internationally organised force.



UPLIFT OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES— PLEA FOR A PLANNED PROGRAMME

ANIL KUMAR ACHARYA

The constitutional provisions regarding safeguard of interest of the scheduled castes and tribes and the administrative measures adopted for implementation thereof have often been a subject of controversy both in and outside Parliament. Some say that the provisions in the Constitution with regard to the uplift of the scheduled castes and tribes and their assimilation in the larger Indian society are inadequate. They feel that the provisions in the constitution have loopholes left in them which have rendered infructuous the pious wishes of our constitution-makers to build up an integrated society in India free from the evil of casteism. On the other hand, there are other who hold that the constitutional provisions are sufficient for safe-guarding the interests and affording proper facilities for their uplift and development. Without going into this controversy let us examine the whole question dispassionately.

The constitutional provisions for safeguarding the interest of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes fall under three categories, viz (1) Reservation of seats in the House of the People and the State Legislatures; (2) Reservation of appointments in the services and posts relating to the affairs of the Union and of the States; (3) Appointment of a Special Officer/Commission to investigate into and report to the President on the working of the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Constitution, as also the difficulties under which they labour.

Now let us examine these constitutional provisions one by one :—

1. **Reservation of Seats :—**

Article 330 of the Constitution guarantees reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People in the same proportion to the total number of seats allotted to a particular State or Union Territory in the house of the people as the population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes bears to the total population of that State and of Union Territory. Similarly, Article 332 guarantees reservation of seats for them in the Legislative Assembly of every State in the same proportion to the total number of seats as the population of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in respect of which seats are so reserved bears to the total population of the State.

The two articles (Art 330 and 332) mentioned above secures adequate representation of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes both in the House of the People and the State Legislatures and thus safeguard their interest sufficiently. These provisions for reservation of seats, which had initially been made for a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution were extended to a period of 20 years by the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Act, 1959. The provisions are still now in force. There should, therefore, be no legitimate ground for demur at least on this issue.

2. **Reservation of Appointments and Posts :**

Now let us come to the question of representation of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Services and posts relating to the of affairs the Union or of the States.

Clause (1) of Article 16 of the Constitution

lays down equality of opportunity for all people, irrespective of caste, creed etc. in respect of any employment or office under the State but this fundamental right *guaranteeing equality of opportunity for all people*) is somewhat relaxed in favour of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes when clause (4) *ibid* says, "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the States." But this relaxation (reservation of appointments and posts) is not intended to be absolute. Article 335, therefore, say, "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, *consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration* in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State." On the authority of the above two Articles provisions for reservation have been made both in the Central and State Govt. spheres of public services but some controversy is there with regard to the qualified reservation as contemplated in the words "*Consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration.*" Some say that this is unfair, as in many cases candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are rejected on the ground that they are not found suitable. While nobody should advocate absolutely strict and rigid application of the "efficiency yardstick" in the case of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates, it should also be borne in mind that no Government worth the name can altogether ignore this question, bound up inextricably as it is with the *efficiency of administration*, which is so essential for good and sound governance. An efficient and well-constituted Civil Service is

the pivot of the State machinery and any policy seeking to compromise on this vital issue is bound to have its baneful effect on the entire field of administration. In making appointments of candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, relaxation must, of course, be made, but it should be done to an extent which does not hamper the greater interest of the State as a whole. For this purpose in order to enable the candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to improve their standard, a number of pre-examination centres such as one already functioning at Allahabad may be established in every State, so that the candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes may be trained there for examination, interview, and in fact for every thing they may have to face. But once the appointment is made, there should be no scope for further reservation in respect of promotion. Then the candidates are expected to stand on their own feet and prove their mettle by their own industry, labour and application. Only *seniority-cum-efficiency* should be the yardstick of promotion. Reservation at every stage of official career is likely to beget a sense of "easy berth" and to suck the sap of initiative and drive, which are good neither for the members of the particular community for whom the reservation is so made, nor for the State which is committed to sound, efficient administration as well as well-being of all sections of the people. Our Constitution makers were quite alive to this question. That is why they did not think it expedient to provide for unqualified reservation of appointments. Any attempt to do away with this well considered constitutional provision cannot but be harmful to the greater interest of the Nation.

3. Appointment of a Special Officer/Commission- -

Article 338 prescribes the appointment by

the President of a special officer to investigate and report on all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution, while Article 340 empowers the President to appoint by order a Commission to investigate the conditions of the socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their conditions. A copy each of the Reports submitted by the Special Officer/Commission to the President, is required to be laid before each House of Parliament.

The above provisions in the Constitution are perhaps not inadequate, so far as the safeguard of the interest of the backward classes are concerned. A special Officer/Commissioner is appointed and a Commission is constituted to make investigation and report periodically as per provisions in Articles 338 and 340 mentioned above. Special allotments are made for education of the children of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Special hostels have been set up in many cases. Special grants for housing are allotted in the Union and State budgets. A full-fledged Directorate for welfare of the Tribals and backward classes is functioning in almost every state. Judged from all these measures it cannot be said that nothing worth mention has been done for the backward community.

The fact however, remains that inspite of all the constitutional provisions, administrative measures and budgetary allotments the conditions of the socially backward classes in general continue to be pretty bad still now. The curse of untouchability plagues the Harijans even today. Reports of Harijan villages being set on fire for using the wells and many other harrowing reports come to notice periodically. What is the remedy? The remedy lies not so much

in the constitutional provisions and administrative orders as in the implementation of those provisions and orders to the letter and spirit. Efforts should, therefore, be made to instil a spirit of selfless service to the cause of the backward classes in the minds of the officers who are placed in charge of the Scheduled Tribes. The work should be entrusted only to such officers who have exhibited a real sense of service to the cause of the backward community. Merely mechanical utilisation of the funds allotted for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes will never solve this vast problem. It should be ensured by all means that the funds allotted are properly utilised on schemes, drawn up with thought and imagination, so as to achieve the the desired effect within the shortest possible time. When the Constitution first came into force, the special provisions were only for ten years. From this it will perhaps not be illogical to assume that our Constitution-Makers thought that the whole process of uplift and integration should be completed within a period of ten years from the beginning of the Constitution. But it is a matter of great regret that although twenty years have elapsed since the constitution came into force, the goal of integration is still a far cry. The effect of this indefinite continuance of the safeguards is baneful to the society and the country as whole.

In short, the whole process of uplift and integration should be implemented expeditiously in a harmonious way so as to place the members of the educationally any socially backward classes on an educational and socio-economic footing wherefrom they will find it easier to compete with their counterparts hailing from advanced classes, in every sphere of life. It is only then that they will be able to come to the forefront and be integrated with the larger Indian Society, which was the dream of our Constitution-makers,

SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

Truly it is said that necessity is the mother of invention. Because of extreme cold, Russia has invented several kinds of foot-wear. The usual boots and shoes are of course there. But as the shoes get very cold, a rubber cover, called Golosh is used, over and below the covering of the shoes. As the Goloshes also cannot protect the feet from cold properly, Batiukis, made of pressed wool, are used for making foot-wear.

In the Eastern University, we were given army boots. But some had their own shoes and those became very cold, when walking on snow, so, goloshes were used. They are quite comfortable, but these also get slippery. Many had not the shoes and others could not afford to buy the goloshes or cover of shoes. But the poor people use Batinkis, made of pressed wool and no hide or leather is used at all. They come up to the knee and keep the feet quite warm. Moreover, due to the friction of the wool, people do not slip on the snow. It is cheaper and comfortable. But when the temperature hovers round zero (0) degree, snow some times melted, and the foot-wear of pressed wool cannot be used at all. The melted water soaks into the wool and you have to discard altogether this kind of foot-wear. The poorer section of the people prefer Batinkis, which are very much cheaper than shoes or boots; which are made of hide or leather. These are far costlier than woolen goods.

Along with the boots we were not given any stockings. Instead, we were given two long putties, made of coarse wool about two

feet long and six inches wide. You have to wrap up the toes and feet, tightly with putties, and they come up to the ankle. It was a tricky job for me. Unless you tied the putties properly and tightly, while walking, the putties would get loose and an awkward situation would develop and you have to halt, tie again and then proceed further. After a little practice, the process of tying putties became easier. The putties keep the feet quite safe from cold and they are not very costly. In this respect they are much better than socks, however costly. Not only the soldiers, but university students like ourselves as well as peasants and other common people usually use this kind of foot cover.

It is amusing to recollect that one of the most difficult problems which the authorities of the Eastern University had to face, was, how to teach the rustic students the proper use of the latrines. It was the commode system arranged in long lines, one for the males and the other for the females. Most of the students had never seen a commode, far less used them in their homes. They were accustomed to answer calls of nature, in the most natural way in the fields, either behind a shrub and when that was not readily available, even in the open and in view of one another. This system is prevalent in most parts of India and Asia even today. The students would not use the commode as is proper. Thus they spoiled the top of the commodes. In order to prevent them from squatting on the commodes, wooden structures were constructed but these were systematically broken and general meetings of

the students had to be called and actual demonstration given as to how the commodes are to be used and the utility of doing so.

The Eastern University was situated at the junction of two important streets. They were Pushkin Boulevard and Therskaya Ulitsa. The first one was formerly called the Strasnaya Boulevard, named after the old and famous Church situated there. It was renamed after the great poet Pushkin, after placing a statue of Pushkin in the Square. It was a very broad street, about 100 or 120 feet wide with two foot-paths on two sides and roads for cars, buses and trams on two sides. In the middle was a wide space, for pedestrians with rows of big trees and small shrubs and flower plants and, the most important, rows of benches for people to sit, rest or read books and newspapers or meet friends and lovers and talk.

This went on uninterrupted, [in the sun, rain and even snow. The Boulevard was really beautiful in summer with green leaves and blossoming flowers, but in winter also, there was no dearth of people loitering or sitting in couples on the benches. It was indeed difficult to find a vacant bench and two three couples would sit on the same bench in close proximity, without caring in the least for other couples or passing pedestrians, in the morning, noon, evening or late in the night. They had become very free and there was no question of shame. To the east this Boulevard went up to the Moscow river and also beyond and to the west to the big market place and beyond. But not knowing the streets of Moscow well and specially not knowing the Russian language well, I did not venture alone beyond these two well-known points. Both were about a kilometer from the Pushkin Square, near which our University and Hostel were situated. Though there were buses and trams, I usually walked the distance specially for economy. My pocket, though not empty, was not in an affluent state.

I preferred the river side, where there was a big and modern church in 1923, but in 1963, the church was replaced by a beautiful park, where music used to be played in the evenings. The Moscow river, whether frozen, as we found in the winter of 1922 and 1923, or when flowing, as we found in the summer of 1923, was always a favourite spot for me. In winter on the frozen river young people and also children played all kinds of games including football and more often hockey on skates. In summer, this was the spot where people used to take naked baths, males and females, at a distance of hardly 50 feet from one another. The bathers were unconcerned, but as the curious sight-seers, assembled in crowds, the bathing place was shifted two or three furlongs, up the stream, where less crowd assembled. The Moscow river is small, almost like a canal, but it attracted me. After all I come from East Bengal, where rivers and canals are in abundance, and a river however small was bound to attract me, as it actually did.

I was particularly attracted by the speed of Ice-Hockey, which I had not seen before. I watched Ice-Hockey played with skates fixed under the shoes. The speed was tremendous, compared to the hockey played in the fields of Hooghly College, where I was a student, or in Indore where I was a science teacher and had a reputation for good speed. But that was perhaps a tenth part of the speed I saw in Ice-hockey. A disc when hit by a stick goes very swiftly on the snow, without the friction of grass as we were accustomed to. The players also can run much faster on skates than on their feet. The river was about a kilometer from Pushkin Square and though there were a few buses and trams, I used to walk down the distance either alone or with companions and sometimes with the Moulana also. Beyond Moscow river was the Sparrow Hills, renamed Lenin Hills, after the Revolu-

tion. Napoleon saw from the top of the Hill, burning Moscow : when the Russians realised that Moscow was about to fall, they used their usual policy of scorched earth. Napoleon turned back without occupying the defenceless city. Hitler's generals could not come even so near Moscow. Now on the hills there is the Moscow University claimed to be the biggest residential University in the world with about 5,000 rooms and 20,000 students in the Hostels. I saw it in 1963, when I had been there again to represent Hind Mazdoor Sabha in May Day Celebrations after nearly 40 years. On the other side of the Pushkin Boulevard, about a kilometer off, was the market. The bi-weekly markets as found in the villages of Asia, still continued in Moscow in 1923 when people from nearby villages brought their products for sale and also purchased their necessary articles. I was interested in a shop run by one Indian, a Mahajareen, who did not know Russian, but had married a Russian. She used to run a shop before the revolution but had to discontinue during the period of war-communism and again started it when the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced. It was a puzzle for us to understand how he managed to marry the Russian woman without knowing Russian and how the two carried on their daily activities. It was mostly by gestures and signs. They were already married for one year and his knowledge of Russian had not improved much. In India he was an ordinary farmer in the Punjab. They had a provision shop in the market and bi-weekly market days were very busy days for them. We Indians were always welcome to their shop and I used to go there regularly once a week or a fortnight to see the development of the novel Indo-Russian marriage. She was robust and in her thirties and was very jovial like most of the Slavs. He was in his early forties and was heavily built. In the shop, we were

treated with tea, biscuits or raisins and other dry fruits. Once a few of us went to his house for a meal also. They were having a nice life. In 1963 I tried but could not find them out and learn how the married couple had fared in the last forty years. There were fixed limits to my movements on Pushkin Boulevard on either side. Not knowing the city and the language properly, I did not ordinarily venture to other places. On the Therskaya Ulitsa, which is a narrow road, about 24 feet wide, with two foot-paths, there were buses plying, but no trams. On one side was the Lenin Museum and Revolutionary Museum, where Roza, wife of Com. Abani Mukherjee used to work. Beyond that after 2/3 Kilometres was the city's end and there was the airport about 10 Kms. off. On the other side, was the Lux Hotel first and then the office of Moscow Soviet and about a Kilometer off was the Krenlin, formerly the palace of the Czars and now the seat of the Central Soviet Government surrounded by high walls in Oriental style. In front of the Krenlin is the famous Red Square, where big parades are held on May Day and the Anniversary of Russian Revolution. I participated in the May Day Celebrations in May, 1923 and 1924, and also in the Anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1923. I also participated in the May Day Celebration of 1963, about forty years later. In the first two occasions I marched past and in 1963, the procession passed before us and we were on the dias by the side of Lenin Mausoleum and took the salute along with Com Khrushchev and Com. Castro.

In the Red Square there are two other remarkable sights. One is the guillotin. The stone slab on which the head of the condemned was kept and a man chopped off the head with an axe. Now it is discontinued, but as a memento of the past the stone slab is kept on a circular platform and still remains for the sight-seers to see.

The other is a very artistic and beautifully coloured church, with golden spires. It is rumoured that the artist who had constructed it had his eyes taken out by the Czar (Ivan ?) so that he could not construct another to challenge the beauty of this one. He was, however, amply compensated by gold so that he could live well for the rest of his days.

Since 1924, in the Kremlin, there had been addition to the Lenin Mausoleum, first in wood and in 1963, I found that the wooden structures had been replaced by black-stone. The graves of other dead leaders of Soviet Russia are behind the Mausoleum of Lenin, by the side of the Kremlin wall in a line. The grave of Stalin was also in this line, but then the coffin was removed in the de-Stalinisation period, as I saw in 1963. But I learn that it has again been put back in its place. In the Mausoleum itself, Lenin is lying in subdued light, as if sleeping restfully. The embalmed body looks exactly the same as when he was living. There was no visible change from 1924 to 1963, as I found after 40 years,

Many important and historical buildings are near the Kremlin and the Red Square, which is really the centre of the city. Many new buildings are being constructed near this place. Of the old buildings, the Trade Union Hall or Hall of Columns, is a historic building where very important meetings have been and are being held. The dead body of Lenin, after it was brought from Gorki village to Moscow, was placed there for people to see and pay their homage. More than a million people marched past the dead body, 8 abreast on both sides in slow funeral march steps. For two days the procession continued and some going through the Hall twice, like myself. I marched past the dead body but in the awe-inspiring Hall I could not see Lenin properly and so had a second try, by standing again at the end of the long queue, as I had not seen Lenin at all

when he was alive. Since 1924, when his body was kept in the Mausoleum, millions and millions of people have seen the dead body, as if he was still living and restfully sleeping. In 1924 and in 1963 I must have been to see Lenin's body at least a dozen times, indicating in what regard I held Lenin, the perfect man and revolutionary, and at the same time humanitarian. If he had not died so soon after the Révolution and if he could direct the course of the Soviet Government, most of the cruelties and savage liquidations, etc. of the Stalin period and afterwards would not have happened and the forward march of the socialists would have been rapid and without so much tears.

In the very same area is situated the world famous Bolshoi Theatre. Bolshoi means big. It is one of the biggest in the world but that is a minor matter. Russians are undisputedly the best Ballet dancers in the whole world. This Bolshoi Theatre was and still is the best, where Ballet is danced.

The famous Tretyakov Art Gallery is also situated nearby. Most of the pictures are Germanic or Slav with lots of bright colours. There is one picture which is horrible. Ivan, the Terrible, hit his young son aged about 10/12 years with an axe and then clasping the bleeding and dying son in close embrace with horrified blazing eyes. It made the deepest impression on me. There are many other art productions but not being an artist or art critic, I would not try to describe them. This Art Gallery, though much smaller than the world famous Louvre Gallery, of Paris; yet those who are competent to make valuations, say that on quality and merit both are comparable.

Just opposite the Kremlin is the biggest departmental store, called State Universal Magazine or GYM (Gosuderni Yuniversalni Magazina), where one can buy everything.

from a pin to a motor car. It is one of the biggest in the world. Then there is the National Library with several million books, bigger than the British Museum Library and second only to the National Library of the Congress of Washington, as far as the number of books is concerned. It is a new structure and it is being rapidly expanded.

I had read about May Day. Peaceful striking workers in Chicago Hay Market were beaten up and fired upon and afterwards some of them were tried and executed. It was a very bloody affair, but the workers showed wonderful and exemplary fortitude, courage and solidarity in facing the U.S. Police's sticks and bullets. It was in 1886. International Revolutionaries and leaders like Frederick Engels and others had arranged that May Day would be observed in remembrance of the massacre of the workers in Chicago Hay Market. It has been declared to be an International Protest Day and also a Dedication Day for emancipation of the working classes. Indeed I had attended a meeting of May Day in Jamshedpur in 1921. In Moscow I expected it to be a big demonstration, but never imagined it would be so big as what I saw and participated in at Moscow in 1923 and 1924.

The temperature was near about 10° degree and Moscow was not so benumbingly cold as we found, when we reached Moscow for the first time at the end of December, 1922. January and February, 1923, were still very cold. Only in March and April, on some days, it was somewhat less cold. The snow in the streets would melt and then another cold wave would come, fresh snow would fall. So by 1st of May, it was still very cold and there were occasional snow-falls. That year in 1923 the temperature on May Day was above 10 degree and there was no snow and I enjoyed very much the march through the Red Square

along with about a million others, giving the salute to the Soviet and International Leaders of the working class.

It was a grand day. The food supplied from Breakfast, Lunch to Dinner was not the usual drab kind but much improved, almost like what the ordinary European workers usually eat. "Army marches on the belly." is an old and wise saying. On May Day, with much better food than usual, we felt much better. But for the children it was the grandest day. Not only they got good food and in plenty, as ourselves, they also got good new dresses with red kerchiefs round their necks or in their hair (for girls) but many of them were taken in about 200 trucks in the Red Square march and then throughout the city and also to the Air Port. After the march past, we also went to the air port, where there were aerial displays by various kinds of aeroplanes. It was a gala show and we enjoyed the day thoroughly.

The children in about 100 open trucks, with about 50 in each, numbering about 5,000 shouting slogans at the top of their voices lent a special charm to the whole show. Though the number of trucks was not perhaps more than 100, they seemed to be everywhere, as they moved separately and not in a group, in all the important roads and streets. They were being shown the different places of interest in Moscow and suburbs. They were wearing clean dresses with lots of red clothes on them. Their young faces lit up with joy, made a very good impression. There were slogans written on the trucks. "Happy children of to-day will be worthy citizens of tomorrow". "Soviets look after the children as a sacred trust" etc. The sight of the happy children made the parents also happy and proud.

I participated also in the May Day demonstrations & march through the Red Square in 1924, but somehow missed the glow I had

felt in 1923. Was it because I knew what was to be expected? It was new and gigantic beyond my expectations. The novelty was no longer there in 1924. Moreover Lenin had died in January 1924 and the Soviet leaders were quarelling amongst themselves. All that I can state is that I did not feel the same on May Day 1924 as I had done in 1923, whatever might have been the reasons.

I attended the May Day in China in 1953 and the colourful procession and demonstrations I had witnessed were really grand. Mao-t'se-Tung took the salute. We the trade union leaders from India, nay of the whole world stood on the dias along with Mao, in

the historic Peace Square formerly called the Square of Heavenly Peace.

I had the pleasure and privilege of attending May Day celebrations in Moscow in 1963 again after about 40 years. There was a difference. In 1923 and also in 1924, I was participating in the March, but in 1953 in Peking and 1963 in Moscow I was among the top leaders taking the salute of the dumb, driven masses. In 1923 I felt that the rule of the toiling masses throughout the world was round the corner, but in 1953 and 1963 I had grown in years and experience; perhaps because of that I did not feel the same emotions as in 1923.

(Contd. from page 248)

countries like China, Pakistan and America cannot be described as anything absolutely unchanging. If the Russians find that they can gain any advantage by changing their present policy about China or America they will certainly make that change. If they think it will be of advantage to them to keep Pakistan going they will surely try to prevent the disintegration of that artificially assembled melange of races and tribes miscalled a nation. The Russians and the Anglo-Americans had kept Pakistan going twice before this when the Pakistan army attacked and tried to occupy

Indian territory and were crushed by our forces. The Pakistani adventure in Bangla Desh is barbarous, inhuman and utterly criminal as has been found by members of many neutral countries. Even then, the Russians and the Anglo-Americans are quite capable of allowing the arch criminals of West Pakistan to continue to be called statesmen and politicians so that the world powers could satisfy their lust for maintaining their "policy".

Spy rings and tales of espionage are decorative additions to the colourful pattern of this policy which leads humanity up a dangerous blind alley of civilisation.

ABOLITION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

C. P. BARTHWAL

After the 1967 general elections moves to abolish second chambers in States have gathered momentum. Punjab and West Bengal did away with their upper houses in early 1967. The Legislative Assemblies of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh have recently passed resolutions recommending the abolition of Legislative Councils in those States.¹ This has been possible because of the special provision in the Indian Constitution dealing with such abolition. Accordingly, the Parliament may by law provide for the abolition of the Legislative Council of a State having such a Council or for the creation of such a Council in a State having no such Council, if the Legislative Assembly of the State passes a resolution to that effect by a majority of its total membership and a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.² There is no need of going through the process of constitutional amendment for creating or abolishing the upper house in States.³ The only requirement for such a change is a resolution passed by a special majority of the lower house of the State Legislature itself, followed by a law made by Parliament in the ordinary course of legislation, making consequential changes as may be necessary.

Why did the Constitution not provide for a perpetual second chamber in States? Why was procedure for its abolition inserted in it? To find an answer to these questions we will

have to look into the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly.

The memorandum on the principles of a model Provincial Constitution circulated on May 30, 1947, by the Constitutional Adviser provided for a Legislative Assembly for each State. The question whether there was to be a second chamber in any State, and if so, how it was to be constituted, was left to be decided by the representatives of that State in the Constituent Assembly.

The Provincial Constitution Committee considered the matter in June, 1947.⁴ The committee decided that as a general rule, there should be only a single chamber of the Legislature in States to be called Legislative Assembly, but a second chamber might be constituted in States where special circumstances existed. The committee, however, did not enumerate these special circumstances and in its report added a note that the members of the Constituent Assembly from each State should vote separately and decide whether an upper house should be set-up in that State.

The recommendations of the Provincial Constitution Committee were placed before the Constituent Assembly in July, 1947 and were adopted with some amendments.⁵ In pursuance of the decision of the Constituent Assembly the members representing the different provinces met in separate groups to decide about the setting up of Legislative

Councils in respective States. The representatives of Bombay, Madras, West Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Punjab decided in favour of second chambers for these States.⁶ The rest of the States preferred to remain unicameral. To give effect to these recommendations, on January 6, 1949, Dr. Ambedkar moved an amendment in the Constituent Assembly.⁷

During the discussion in the Constituent Assembly, while there were only few voices in favour, a considerable volume of opinion was against the institution of upper houses in the States. Prof. K.T. Shah dubbed the second chamber as a dilatory engine rather than a help in reflecting popular opinion on crucial questions of legislations. They, he said involved considerable outlay from the public exchequer. They only aided party bosses to distribute more patronage, and only helped in obstructing or delaying the necessary legislation. He pointed out those who defended second chambers were more often champions of vested interests, which find a place in these bodies and thus, find an occasion rather to defend their own special, sectarian or class interest than to help the popular cause. Sri K. Chaliha⁸ gave examples to show that in various countries of the world (he cited the case of U. S. S. R., Union of South Africa, Canada and Switzerland) the constituent units were unicameral. He criticised second chambers as a clog in the way of progressive legislation and that only vested interests wished to sit there to defend their interests. Sri K. Hanumanthaiya⁹ reminded those who favoured a second chamber about the system of responsible government that was being envisaged under the Indian Constitution. Such a system presupposed the party system. A government based on party system worked in a peculiar way. Every major decision is taken at the party meeting and not in the upper or

lower house. So the real legislature from the point of practical politics is the party meeting. Once the question is decided in the party meeting, it does not matter whether the question is brought up before the lower or upper house, or even if there were ten houses, there would be no question of preventing hasty legislation, once the party decision was taken on the subject. Smt. Renuka Ray¹⁰ asked that when there was provision for a Governor in the province who was empowered to send back to the legislature any bill, which might have been enacted carelessly, for revision, what was the need of another chamber for performing a similar function? Finally, Shri Bishwanath Das¹¹ pointed out that a house constituted through an indirect election and nomination could neither command requisite influence and prestige nor check hasty legislation because of the limitations under which it has to work.

Speaking in favour Shri L.N. Sahu¹² pleaded that every opportunity should be given to men of outstanding ability and wealth to take their due share in the governance of the country. Citing the case of Orissa, he said that twenty-five States had been merged in it and it was for their representation that an upper house was needed. Sri L. K. Bharathi¹³ contended that the idea behind a second chamber was to prevent or check hasty legislation and not at all to impede progressive legislation, as some members feared, but to pass some time so that cool, calm, and deliberate conclusions could be arrived at.

Though the opinion was sharply divided on the utility of having another house, almost all members were in favour of devising some procedure for its abolition in future.

Replying to the above discussion Dr. Ambedkar¹⁴ made it clear that upper houses in the States were being introduced purely on an experimental basis. He drew the attention of the members to Article 304 of the Draft

Constitution which laid down the manner in which an existing second chamber could be abolished or one created in a State which did not have a second chamber. It was laid down in that article that the Legislative Assembly of a State, or, in States where there were two houses, could pass a bill for this purpose. Such a bill after being ratified by Parliament by a majority of total membership of each house, would have the effect of amending the constitution. This was accepted by the Constituent Assembly. The Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly later on reconsidered the procedure for the creation or abolition of second chamber and on July 30, 1949, Dr. Ambedkar introduced an amending Article 148-A, which authorised Parliament by law, to create or abolish the Legislative Council of a State if the Legislative Assembly of that State passed a resolution to that effect by a majority of its total membership¹ and a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.⁽²⁾ This amendment was approved by the constituent Assembly and incorporated as Article 169 of the Indian Constitution.

It is evident, therefore, that the Constituent Assembly wanted, chamber to be established purely on an experimental basis. That is why a special procedure was laid down for their abolition so that, in future, the process of getting rid of the second chamber could be facilitated without going into the tiring process of a constitutional amendment.

Experience shows that the experiment has been successful and there is no justification for continuing Legislative Councils. The way they are working, they have become a sort of "employment exchange" for the rehabilitation of defeated politicians and other supporters whom the ruling party could not accommodate elsewhere. This back-door entry was an affront to democracy and public opinion as it gave a chance of legislating to those who have been

rejected by the people at general elections. The second chambers have failed to perform their duties as revising chambers. To cite the case of Uttar Pradesh; out of a total of 288 bills sent to the Legislative Council in the last thirteen years, only four were amended by it. They have thus become 'superfluous' in the words of Abbey Sieyes.

Elections to the upper house entailed double voting for certain categories of electors like teachers and graduates. These persons vote at the general elections and also while electing members of the Council. This is a negation of the principle of "one man, one vote" for it gives them the right to elect two representatives in the legislature.

The existence of upper chamber made no difference to the quality of legislation and there is no proof to show that its existence has resulted in better measures. It was wrong to contend that single chambers would result in hasty legislation as the process of passing a bill in three readings ensured due caution. Moreover, unicameral system is working successfully in the majority of the States. There is, therefore, no justification in continuing bicameralism in several other States.

Those who plead for the retention of the Legislative Council in States try to equate it with the Council of State at the Centre. But there is big difference between the two. While the Council of State represents units in a federal system of government that has been adopted in our country, the Legislative Council represents no such thing. Moreover the upper house of the Union Parliament has coequal powers with the lower house with regard to passing of ordinary bills and constitutional amendments. In addition it has certain exclusive powers which have not been given to the House of the People. They have the right to pass resolution for the creation of an all-India service and authorising

Parliament to make laws with respect to any matter enumerated in the State List. The Legislative Council has no such powers. Even in the passing of ordinary bills its powers are drastically reduced. Thus, its role as a revisionary chamber has ceased long ago. It has for the most part been reduced to an ornamental institution, generally content to duplicate the functions of the lower house.

It is, therefore, concluded that second chambers in States have become useless institutions. At present our country is passing through such a stage of financial paucity that we are not able run our five-year plans. Retrenchments in services are made to effect economy. The way the Legislative Councils are working at present, their abolition would result in greater economy of time and money.

1. Similar resolution was also passed by the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, but the Chief-Minister and the ruling party prevailed upon the Centre not to move a bill in Parliament to give effect to the resolution (National Herald, Lucknow, dated 28.4.1970)
2. The Constitution of India Art. 169 (1)
3. Ibid., Art. 169(3).
4. For Minutes of the Provincial Constitu-

tion Committee, see Rao B.S. 'The Framing of India's Constitution—Select Documents' (1967) Vol. II 22, p. 647.

5. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, pp. 579 ff.
6. Three States were subsequently added to the list—Andhra Pradesh by the Legislative Councils Act, 1957 ; Madhya Pradesh & Mysore by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act 1956. Further, in the existing list the word 'Maharashtra' was substituted for the word 'Bombay' by the Bombay Reorganization Act, 1960 and the word 'Uttar Pradesh' was substituted for the word 'United Provinces' by the Constitution (Amendment of the I & II Schedules) order, 1950 (C.O. 3. dated 25.1.1950).
7. Constituent Assembly Debates Vol. VII p. 1309.
8. Ibid, p. 1310.
9. Ibid, pp. 1311-12.
10. Ibid, p 1312.
11. Ibid, pp. 1315-16.
12. Ibid, pp. 1306-7.
13. Ibid, pp. 1307-9
14. Ibid, p. 1317.
15. Ibid, Vol, IX p. 13.



PSYCHOSIS OF CONTROLS

N. KAMARAJU PANTULU

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, one of the greatest living philosopher of the world and a former President of India, while analysing the causes of the present degeneration of the political life and the degradation of the moral values of our administrators, statesmen and politicians in general said that the whole nation was facing the greatest crisis of character. In my view it is not crisis of character but the crisis of the controls that is rocking the very edifice of our nation building programmes and striking at the very roots of our economic development and planning schemes aimed at improving the standards of living of the common masses and the establishment of an egalitarian society based on the concept of equal distribution of income and wealth. Various types of controls were introduced and clamped down on the production, distribution and consumption of the essential consumer goods, exports and imports etc., during the period of the second World War, in order to solve the problems of scarcity of day-to-day necessities, defence requirements and for conservation of foreign exchange resource for what were called dire necessities alone, from the strategic point of view. Soon after the second World War, several countries whose economies were plagued by the devastation of the War, viz., Japan, Germany, France and England etc., had removed the controls by a phased programme. But unfortunately the Indian Government did

not emulate the worthy example of the Western European Countries in this regard, despite the fact of our slavishly clinging to all the administrative patterns, principles, procedures, rules and regulations etc., set up by the British Government in a most unabashed manner. Instead of removing the controls our government is going on introducing and experimenting with innumerable novel methods of controls, unheard of in any other part of the civilised world. The Parkinson's Law is operating in the Indian Administration and planning mechanism. The growth rate of our economy is one of the lowest in the world in spite of having more than 275 controls in varied spheres of economic activity. It is no wonder, that the growth rate of the economies of Japan, Australia, New Zealand etc. which have the least number of controls is comparatively much higher than that of India. Mr. A. D. Shroff had aptly observed, though humorously, while delivering a lecture in Bombay on 1st September, 1960, organised by the Forum of Free Enterprise, that one very obvious reason for the acute scarcity of paper in the country is the existence of these manifold controls and regulations. The magnitude of controls in India can be very easily measured by the following remarks of one of the leading industrialists of India "I found that year in and year out we had to employ 16 clerks to

fill these various forms and returns which had to be submitted." It is an obvious fact that 99% of the returns and forms will safely go into the pigeon holes of the various offices of the government at the Centre and the States. The theoretical objectives of the manifold controls are very advantageous, but their impact on the enterprise, promotion and growth of Industry and Commerce is highly deleterious. Sir Winston Churchill said very correctly "If you destroy a free market you create a black market. If you have ten thousand regulations you destroy all respect for law." I think, Sir Winston Churchill's prophecy has come true at least in the case of India, hundred per cent. I need not reiterate here the untold misery caused by the controls to the common man, and the large scale black marketing, hoarding, profiteering, and other multifarious activities of the anti-social elements in India. In my view, the Government itself is to be blamed for this virtually chaotic state of affairs in the country, where the law of the jungle rather than the law of order by existence is prevailing in every walk of economic, political and social activities of the citizens. Mahatma Gandhi opposed controls tooth and nail and at his instance, only as every body knows, food controls were removed in 1943. On the eve of the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations, our too shrewd and wise politicians, quite conveniently forgot Mahatma Gandhi's views on controls.

During the period of the Second World War controls were imposed under the Defence of India Act to protect the freedom of the people from enemy invasion; whereas today's controls are for the defence of the people against themselves based on silly ideas and initiatives, rash enterprises and crazy notions of freedom; for the government thinks that it knows better than you and me

what is good for us and what we should and should not do.

Mr. Morarji J. Vaidya, a leading industrialist of Bombay, who expired recently said, while analysing the impact of controls on the economic life of people, that we have been living constantly under a spell of controls over imports and exports, capital issues, consumption, distribution of all essential commodities right from the beginning of the second World War and appealed earnestly to give up what is called the psychosis of controls.

Mr. F. A. Hayek, an eminent thinker, in his well known book "Road to Serfdom" described the disastrous effects of controls in the following words "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest, it is the control of the means for all our ends." That is what we are experiencing in this country for the last several years. Professor Hilaire Belloc, another eminent economist measured the impact of controls on the day to day human activities thus "the control of production of wealth is the control of human life itself." Mr. G. D. H. Cole, in his latest book "History of Socialistic Thought" called for an enlistment of the active participation of as many as possible of its citizens in the task of democratic self government. India is one of the greatest democracies in the world striving during the last 18 years to break the vicious circle of poverty through economic development and planning schemes, without stifling at the same time the fundamental liberties of its citizens, unlike in the communist countries of Russia, China and East Europe. I wonder, as to how we can enlist the active support and fullest co-operation of each and every citizen of this great nation and develop this country and promote social justice by not involving ourselves in a crisis of controls.

Controls when once introduced perpetuate

themselves and begin to spread at a furious pace. The theory of multiplication and acceleration will work in its full swing in the case of controls. Mr. Leyland Hazard, Professor Emeritus in Industrial Administration and Law at Carnegie Institute of Technology, in an article published in "Atlantic Monthly" in December, 1965 gave a very practical illustration of this phenomenon. "Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Prime Minister of India thought the hundred regulations in the field were too many and appointed a commission. When the commission finished its work, the hundred regulations had become three hundred." The excuse for the introduction of controls is the shortages. It is a very common experience for all of us to find the shortages and scarcity of several essential commodities increasing, the moment controls are introduced, as the bulk of stock will find its way into the black market from the free market. The only thing that is in abundance is the number of controls. Mr. S. K. Datta, former chairman of the Indian Engineering Association has described the whole situation in a very picturesque manner. "Our country to-day is a land of shortages. But there is one thing which we all have in super abundance and that is Government Controls. Nor is there any shortage of Government Officials to interpret and apply these controls."

We have in India the greatest of powers, the immeasurable reservoir of the people's faith and response, energy and endeavour, which can be channelised into the stream of economic development and planning of India. But as Mr. N. A. Phalkiwala a leading Taxation Consultant said, the imponderable human force is beyond the vision of our restrictive regulations and plans. Our system of licensing for commencement, diversification and expansion of production has put out of commission, the two greatest economic power houses—

price and competition. Inefficiency, incompetence and profiteering are provided sheltered markets.

Controls propel tendencies which can obstruct effort, deflect enterprise and constrict growth and prevent the bringing forth of the maximum gifts of each for the fullest enjoyment of all. Doctor V. K. R. V. Rao who has been associated with the economic development and planning administrative mechanism, in some capacity or other either as member of the Planning Commission or Minister in the Government of India for the last so many years, himself admitted the failure of the controls in achieving their objectives in a most frank appraisal. "The armoury of controls and regulations that accompany the attempt at governmental operation of economic development are proving ineffective and coming into conflict with the forces of private or personal economic growth with the result that the whole apparatus of planning is undergoing a radical change."

How can we have export promotion when we have so many controls over exports and the entire machinery of the Government from top to bottom is control-minded? The crisis of controls has permeated the entire administrative structure of the government. Controls have become an integrated and essential part of the planned economy of India. When the crying need of the hour is an increase in the industrial and agricultural production and the promotion and growth of enterprise on a war footing, how we will tackle this gigantic task, when these extensive controls suffocate and stifle the growth of the economy, regiment and emasculate the entire productive activity; and honesty, integrity, initiative, enterprise and abilities of the common citizens are forced into oblivion, by an omnipresent and all-pervading psychosis of controls, throughout

the length and breadth of the country. Several economists holding the reigns of administration in the government and at the helm of affairs in the Planning Commission and the various economic departments of the Central and State Governments, known for their conciliatory approach and non involvement in the ideological warfare, are pleading time and again that some sort of controls are necessary in planning and that these should be selective controls. Nobody will deny that some sort of controls are necessary, but these so called selective controls will only lead to selective corruption, as one of the leading industrialists remarked sometime back.

Whether it is desirable or possible to do away with all these controls—controls on capital issues, controls on exports and imports, controls on foreign exchange resources utilisation, controls on foreign travel, control on the production, distribution and consumption of essential food-stuffs and industrial raw materials, controls on expansion and diversification of production in the companies etc., is a 64 million dollar question that is worrying the thinkers of our country night and day and haunting them even in their dreams. Late Mr. S. G. Barve who wrote a series of articles in The Times of India in April, 1966 under the heading "The industrial growth" stressed that the whole policy of development and regulation under the licensing system for starting industrial units are expanding old ones, and required a thorough review. "The climate for free enterprise must be considerably improved if we intend to brighten the economic environment and the liberalisation of the controls is a fundamental pre-requisite for this purpose. The need of the hour is to co-ordinate the different legislations so that the confusion and mis-understanding vitiating our industrial atmosphere and retarding our industrial growth are dispelled. The industrial development and procedures committee

(Swaminathan Committee) appointed in September, 1963, also pointed out several undesirable administrative features of the present licensing system and had suggested some kind of liberalisation. A high power study team set up by the Administrative Reforms Commission suggested the scrapping of the industrial licensing system as it had failed to achieve the social and economic objective for which it was designed. A suggestion was also made by Prof. Hazare that all licensing might be withdrawn when it did not involve foreign exchange for capital goods or for industrial raw materials. Dr. Hazare left a cautious note in his report on "Industrial Planning and Licensing" released recently, by saying that before industrial licensing was so dismantled it was necessary to ensure that adequate instruments were devised for securing some of the purposes for which the licensing system was employed, such as preventing the spread of capital intensive and automated technologies in fields which ought to be reserved for labour techniques, protecting small producers against dominant or joint producers of the same commodity. A rational approach towards the price controls was also called for. Licensing policies should be not only reviewed and recast but also reinforced and supplemented by supporting fiscal measures and administered much more purposefully and efficiently. Prof. Hazare submitted a number of suggestions for industrial planning in which licensing could play a very limited role.

The Capital Issues Advisory Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. H. Bhabha also pleaded for liberalisation of the controls on Capital Issues. The views expressed by Prof. W. Arthur Lewis, a leading authority on growth economics need to be constantly kept in mind before taking any further steps in the direction of perpetuating or dismantling the

apparatus of controls in India. According to Mr. Lewis, licensing is one of the obstacles to development in the poor countries. In most countries licensing means inordinate delays and inexplicable decisions. If licensing can not be administered promptly and efficiently the country would be better off without it. Economic growth cannot be produced by legislation, administration, regulation or exhortation without the accompaniment of high material incentives. The Indian Economy should be more fully decontrolled. It is a hodge-podge of price and other economic and bureaucratic controls which make fruitless jobs for lakhs of clerks, create innumerable bottlenecks, often ultimately broken by graft and provide power-seeking bureaucrats with opportunities for maintaining their own private pen and pencil armies as stated by Mr. Leyland Hazard.

I think, the economy of our country has reached the most crucial stage and the testing time has already arrived in our journey on the path of economic progress and develop-

mental planning and establishment of a welfare state through democratic processes, and to choose between Swaraj or Control-Permit-Licence-Quota Raj (to use the words of the elder statesman of India Shri C. Rajagopalchary). If perchance we decide to perpetuate the Control Raj, instead of striving to establish a real Swaraj divested of all the plague of controls, licenses, permits, quotas etc., controls on war footing must be clamped down on the following, as advised by Mr. M.A. Srinivasan; humorously, though coupled with little sarcasm :--

1. Controls on deficit financing,
2. Controls on the output of the currency printing press at Nasik and a ban on the erection of more currency printing presses,
3. A control of the imposition of new controls,
4. Licensing of speeches, and the levy of steeply graded license fees on speeches exceeding five minutes duration with surcharge on platitude, piffle and twaddle; and penalties on sermonisation.



Current Affairs

Slow Down Sit Down And Stay At Home

There is a much used phrase "terms and conditions of service" which describes the obligations and undertakings of employees. The employees accept money from the employers and they agree, in exchange, to do certain work, at a certain time and in a certain manner. If they violate these terms and conditions of service they render themselves liable to suspensions, pay cut, fines, demotion or dismissal. The terms and conditions of being employers are seldom stated as clearly as the terms and conditions of being employees ; but the employers are bound by the provisions of the Acts, of which there are several, which lay down what employers must do as well as what they cannot do.

The present day troubles that arise out of disturbed employer employee relations are mostly caused by the employee's demands upon the employers in excess of what the Acts or Rules of Government lay down. The terms and conditions of service do not prevent employees from taking out processions, shouting slogans and displaying posters in order to achieve their objectives relating to bonus, increase of wages etc. etc. There are, perhaps provisions in these terms and conditions and in standing orders which enforce discipline on the employees ; but there are wide gaps too through which insubordination, refusal to work and misdemeanour can easily pass without sure detection. In fact all terms and conditions of service, standing orders, Acts, Rules and Regulations have lacunae which can be and should be removed. This can be done only by legislation and the legislation

should be preceded by thorough discussions which should allow all opinion to be fully expressed. Society cannot run effectively and to the advantage of most members of it if all responsible and working persons pass their time in demonstrations, making endless demands which may or may not be unreasonable and in sit downs, slow downs, lock outs and *tundhs*. Laws, Rules and Regulations must be made more elaborate, clearly comprehensive and they must state all rights and obligations fully and well without leaving any wide gaps through which disturbing misunderstandings can creep in. As things are the rules and regulations are rather vague and general and the persons for whom these have been made do not think that they cannot demand more than what the rules and regulations guarantee. The laws, enactments, rules and regulations must be made more exact so that people do not indulge in speculative demand making or in refusing demands. Estimates of profitability or ability to pay should be more precise and job valuations must be as nearly accurate as possible. If we know with certainty the true dimensions of what we argue about and bargain for, the chances of aimless wrangling are reduced to the minimum. People must be forced by law to state everything clearly, fully, unambiguously, precisely and with the maximum exactness of details. Unless that is done disputes will gain in intensity while efforts are made for their settlement.

Among current general disputes one might mention the demand for an annual bonus. Under the law the bonus should be 4 p. c. of total wages even if the company paying this

has not made any profits. That means, if the company has incurred an overall loss of 5 p. c. of the total value produced, that loss would be enhanced by another one or two percent, by payment of this bonus. The current dispute over raising this minimum compulsory bonus from 4 p. c. to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total wages therefore concerns the very existence of some firms which run somehow without making any profits. Economically this may not prove to be very advantageous. There are things like trade cycles and firms may sometimes run at a loss over 5 or 6 years. When that happens, the increase in the quantum of loss made by payment of 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. increased wages (bonus) might cause the close down of some industries.

Question of Minimum Earnings

How much should workers receive in wages (inclusive of all extra payments like bonus of various kinds and provisions for provident fund, gratuity and pension) in order to live like human beings? The answer will no doubt be different for different areas and will depend on cost of living. It may be assumed, however, that if an industry cannot pay a living wage to its workers, that industry should not exist as an accepted part of the economic structure. There will be exceptions, for workers will not only work in permanent establishments but will also be engaged for work in seasonal factories, in temporary jobs and as day labourers in loading-unloading, stacking, sorting, cleaning, carrying etc. etc. There are also persons who work as nurses, attendants and do other work on a day to day basis. There shall of course be differences of opinion when one comes to settle the question of basic or minimum standard of living. Food, clothing, housing, education, medical aid, necessary luxuries; all have varying standards as one considers persons belonging to different cultural, racial, social and national groups. Taking all such differences into account one

can still fix standards of bare minima in the field of wage and amenities. When these are settled by persons who represent all opinions one can take up the questions that affect the workers and the managers of establishments where profits accrue and people produce values in excess of the minima that one expects to be produced in the establishments which just manage to carry on. At present all things are conjectural to a great extent for the reason that the laws are hazy, vague and deal with basic conceptions without going much into details; and all disputes are discussed, fought over and settled in an empirical manner. When facts and realistic considerations dominate general ideas and ideals; things will rise to the level where stable settlements will be possible. All efforts now should be directed towards attainment of accuracy, precision and a totally realistic approach to our economic problems.

Death of Khrushchev

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev was born at Kamsk in 1894. His father was a miner. Khrushchev worked in a mine too and joined the communist party in 1918 after being engaged in revolutionary activities for some time. He took part in the fighting that followed during the Civil War. He soon made a position for himself in the party and became a member of the politburo. During the second World War Khrushchev was the organizer of the Ukrainian guerrillas and he later became the chairman of the Ukraine Council of Ministers in 1947. In 1952 he became a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He was Secretary General of the C.C.C.P in 1953. He succeeded Bulganin as Chairman of the Council of Ministers in 1958.

He was a supporter of Stalin during the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky; but he

later denounced the personality cult of Stalin and also his policy of repression. He began de-Stalinisation in 1961 and preached a policy of peaceful conquest of capitalism. He had to resign in 1964 as his foreign policy was found defective mainly in his dealings with China and his handling of the Cuban situation. Khrushchev was not a pacifist though he supported the theory of peaceful coexistence. His suppression of the Hungarian attempt at defying hard core communism, was ruthless. He also encouraged the East Germans to build the Berlin wall. It was again Khrushchev who sponsored the exploding of the 60 Megaton nuclear bomb. His death at the age of 77 has brought him into the lime light again and people are remembering his clever and powerful personality.

International Conference on Bangla Desh

The members of the International Conference on Bangla Desh which was held at Delhi recently came to conclusions that were inevitable considering the genocidal barbarities committed by the Pakistan army on the peoples of East Bengal. This conference reiterated all the accusations against Yahya Khan that had been made by different persons belonging to different nations at different times since the end of March 1971. The conference served a useful purpose to that extent. The members later on wanted to cross over into East Bengal territory; but after mature consideration decided to give up that idea. They thought their discussion of matters relating to the civil war and the conclusions they have arrived at were of greater importance than any action taken by them; and that the members of the conference should avoid any involvement with the military administration of East Bengal in order to maintain their status of neutral observers. It was also pointed out by some of the members that they had come to the conference

which was held at Delhi as guests of the Government of India. If they crossed over into Bangla Desh from across the Indian frontier it might place India in a delicate and controversial position. In the circumstances, though the Bangla Desh Government had granted them visas to enter East Bengal, they had decided not to make use of the same. The International conference therefore dissolved after it fully discussed the affairs of Bangla Desh and came to certain well considered conclusions. It served a very important purpose in so far as it was an organised conference in which discussions were free and fully unrestricted.

Is Mao t'se Tung Alive and Well ?

Rumours were being circulated recently relating to Chairman Mao t'se Tung's physical condition. Some said he was very ill and was undergoing treatment in a very specialised nursing home in a secluded corner of China. Others said Chairman Mao was no longer alive, but had already gone the way of his ancestors. But officials of the Peoples' Republic of China published denials of both the tales of the Chairman's illness and of his demise. The official reports said the Chairman was in perfect health and was attending to his own work in his usual wholehearted manner. Responsible people all over the world have found no reason to disbelieve the official reports. It may therefore be assumed that Chairman Mao t'se Tung is alive and well. His absence from this function or that; or the cancellation of some annual show and demonstration must have other explanations than the one suggested by the rumour mongers.

An Indonesian Statesman Speaks on Bangla Desh

Dr. Adam Malik is the president of the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. He said on September 22,

that he was not in favour of a debate in the Assembly on the problem of East Bengal because there would be no end to it and the problem could not be solved quickly. He thought one could solve the problem by working "behind the scenes". He said India and Pakistan should be "pushed" to come together and "to solve this political problem".

Dr. Adam Malik appears to be suffering from an utter confusion in his mind about the problem of East Bengal. The problem is that half a million Bengalis of East Pakistan have been butchered by West Pakistani soldiers working under order of Yahya Khan's generals, fifty thousand East Pakistani women have been raped by the same West Pakistani soldiers and eight million East Pakistan Bengalis have been forced out of their homes and made to flee the country. How does Dr. Malik propose to "push" anybody to solve this problem? It seems the learned statesman from Indonesia is suffering from some hallucination produced in his mind by his eagerness to find an easy escape out of this gruesome vortex of murder and rapine that Pakistan is now floundering in. India is now being "pushed" by eight million refugees to spend thousands of million rupees to solve one part of the problem. Dr. Adam Malik should arrange to "push" the soldiers of Yahya Khan out of East Bengal to solve another part of the problem. After that the rest of the problem should be easy to solve.

Revolt of Youth

Revolt of Youth in India, with special reference to West Bengal, is nothing unique and unparalleled. Since the end of the second World war, angry youngmen have become an institution and all countries have been facing a problem for the appeasement of this anger and spirit of discontent with the social order. Younger people do not think that the old order was any good and although they have

not much to suggest as alternatives that is of any constructive value; they engage in criticism of a drastic sort which becomes violent and materially destructive too at times. Young men and women have used bombs, engaged in incendiarism and fired guns and revolvers upon the custodians of educational and other institutions as well as on the police. This has been called a revolt of youth by many and the universities of some American States have been experiencing violence in which students and armed forces of the States have played an equal part. Whether one should call it a revolt or a crime wave of a peculiar type, in which the criminals are young men and women of healthy origin who have adopted lawlessness as a method of political and economic reform; is a matter of choice for the public. When crimes are committed not for individual gain or for satisfying individual urges or obsessions, but for the advantage of a large or small group of persons or for the fulfilment of the wishes and desires of a band of people; the crimes do not cease to be crimes. The *Bargis*, the *Pindaris* or the *Thugees* were criminals and so were the *mafia*, the *Ka Klux Klan* or the war criminals. Their numbers did not make them followers of accepted codes of human conduct. The young criminals who now infest university campuses, particular zones of towns and cities and other centres where young people come together for any collective purpose are, a dangerous force which might destroy the nation. The USA Government have made a special study of the situation in that country where violence has become widespread and created a problem which must be solved. A report by a high power body of top ranking administrators published a year ago said. "We believe it urgent that Americans of all convictions draw back from the brink.....we must declare a national cease fire.....if this tune continues... the very survival of the nation will be threa-

tened." For, the national commission thought "A nation driven to use the weapons of war upon its youth is a nation on the edge of a chaos. A nation that has lost the allegiance of part of its youth is a nation that has lost part of its future. "So that if shooting becomes the only acceptable remedy for the revolt of youth, the administrators who order that shooting would stand self condemned. Such administrators should retire from their work and let others deal with the matter in a more human and nationally safe manner.

Is Bangla Desh an Internal Affair of Pakistan ?

When Mr. Swaran Singh, India's Minister for External Affairs addressed the United Nations and referred to the Pakistani terrorism in Bangla Desh which caused eight million people to run away from East Bengal and to seek refuge in India ; the Pakistani representative objected to Mr. Swaran Singh's speech on the ground that the matter referred to by him was an internal affair of Pakistan and could not therefore be discussed in the U. N. Mr. Swaran Shingh, however, did not accept the Pakistani objection as justified ; for when eight million people had left Pakistan territory due to the barbarous activities of President Yahya Khan's soldiers and entered India as refugees the matter did not remain an internal affair of Pakistan any longer. Moreover the soldiers of Pakistan were continuing to behave in the same inhuman manner as before and were thus increasing the chances of retaliatory action by other nations. If such retaliation began to take place, war on a large scale would follow and the consequence might be global. The U. N. should therefore take note of what is happening in East Bengal. India has been protesting to Pakistan about this mass entry of Pakistani refugees which has several aspects which had to be seriously considered. Firstly eight million Pakistanis have entered India

without proper visa for entering a foreign country. Secondly these people had no means of maintaining themselves in India nor had they the means to go back to Pakistan. Thirdly though all the eight million people were seeking refuge in India, many of them were infiltrators and spies. Pakistan's fifth column was entering India in the guise of refugees. Fourthly India could not support eight million persons and was facing great financial difficulty on account of this Pakistani inroad into her territory. The Pakistan Government was doing nothing to put a stop to this preventible attack upon India's financial stability. In these circumstances India had every right to bring the matter to the notice of the United Nations. The other alternative was occupation of East Pakistan by Indian soldiers.

Is Ownership of Property an Evil ?

If an individual owned a nuclear bomb or several cylinders of deadly poison gas, that would be an evil of terrifying potentiality and all efforts should be made to prevent the acquisition of such things by anybody. That means society too should be prevented from owning such things. Among things which are not so death dealing, and are perhaps life giving one may mention types of property which can be possessed by persons without endangering other human beings. Food articles, clothing, books, medicines, houses or the components thereof can be mentioned as the good things of life which people could possess without endangering the lives of other members of society. But if these are owned in very large quantities by a few persons, the others who do not get any of the same may suffer from want which may be dangerous for their comfort, safety and well being. So that even good things should not be possessed in excessive quantities by limited numbers of men and women. Let us say all people should

possess some purchasing power which they can convert to goods or services as and when they required the same. But how much? Even money or purchasing power should not be possessed in excess of some maximum fixed by specialists who study the economics of human well being. Generally speaking when we discuss incomes we agree to pay x as wages to unskilled workers doing common non-hazardous duties. We pay higher rates for work requiring great skill, knowledge and ability or involving extraordinary discomfort or risk. The wages at the other extreme may go upto $100x$. If the minimum of ownership of property is fixed at y them one may say that the maximum of ownership of wealth should not exceed $100y$. If y is equal to a

hut, a plough and $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of land together with a well or pond, some furniture, clothes, ornaments, utensils and stores worth about Rs. 10000/- for a family of three members. $100y$ then should be worth 10,00,000 (ten lakhs of rupees). In India the minimum earning of a family of three comes to about Rs. 1000/- p. annum. But the highest salaries often come to 200,000/300,000 rupees p. annum including amenities. That is $200/300x$. In the circumstances the maximum value of property to be owned by a family of three would less than ten lakhs. But among those who earn top salaries or fees the family members often exceed three and go upto 10 or 15. Thus their property may also go upto 10/15 lakhs

SULEKHA MEANS QUALITY

QUALITY MEANS SULEKHA



Sulekha SPECIAL

PERMANENT :
BLUE BLACK
ROYAL BLUE
BLACK ● BROWN
WASHABLE :
ROYAL BLUE
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VEDANTIC AND BUDDHISTIC INFLUENCE ON MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

Y. N. VAISH

The Vedantic and Buddhistic philosophy has exercised a noticeable influence on the minds of the modern English poets because the 'Pagan religion must have been, and in fact was, quite favourable to freedom, because it endlessly multiplied its gods, turned heaven into a kind of republic, and subjected Jove himself to the laws of fate, and to other usages and privileges of the celestial court.'¹ On that account 'India's cultural influence spread to many countries and left its powerful impression upon them.'² In India's culture, 'there is mystery and magnificence.'³

There is no doubt that 'there are many today who watch the cloud over Europe....'⁴ 'Nations prepare for war'⁵ and at the same time poets are pessimistic and wish to turn the cloud back. A tide of world weariness has come upon the Western World. The minds of the Westerners 'gradually cease to be creative'⁶ because they are spending their energy for gold and power. 'Material victories are often spiritual defeats.'⁷ There are cultured men and women who are weary of this competition, this struggle, this brutality of their commercial civilization. So, they are looking forward towards 'a brother of new faith.'⁸

The thoughtful men of the West find in India's ancient philosophy, especially in *Vedanta*, the new impulse of thought, they are seeking, the new spiritual food and drink, they are hungering and thirsting for. Dr. Barrows feels that the *Vedanta* also can become the universal religion and there is no other religion which can end the evil. So, W. B. Yeats and T. S. Eliot turned to the study of Vedantic and Buddhistic philosophy and for

them '*Hindu* mysticism seemed the last straw !'⁹ Now Buddha has also been recognized by the major poets as 'the supreme personality of history.'¹⁰ Before these poets, '.....the most eloquent tribute to the Upanishads and to the later book, the Bhagavat-Gita, was paid by A.E., the Irish poet. Goethe, Wordsworth, Emerson and Thoreau among moderns, have something of this vitality and wisdom, but we can find all they have said and much more in the grand Sacred Books of the East.'¹¹ But there were other contemporary poets—William Blake, S. T. Coleridge, P. B. Shelley and Walt Whitman. William Blake studied the Gita which was translated by Wilkin. After studying the Gita, Blake wrote, 'The subject is, Mr. Wilkin translating the Gita ; an ideal design, suggested by the first publication of that part of the Hindoo Scriptures translated by Mr. Wilkin. I understand that my costume is incorrect, but in this I plead authority of the ancients, who often deviated from the Habits to preserve the Manners, as in the instance of the Laocoon, who, though a priest, is represented naked.'¹² The tribute was also paid by the German thinker and philosopher, Schopenhauer, 'From every sentence (of the Upanishads) deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit...In the whole world there is no study.....so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads...(they) are the products of the highest wisdom.It is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people.'¹³ And so now the Gita's 'teaching is universal whatever may have been its origins.'¹⁴

The modern poets turn to realism and

they adopt the Vedas because 'the Vedanta is realistic from the phenomenal stand point of reality.'¹⁶ They have to discard nature because nature presents 'a vision of beauty, but of undefined significance.'¹⁶ 'It is held that the *purusa* is reality, is eternally pure, eternally enlightened and eternally free.'¹⁷ William Blake also condemns nature because nature 'is the cause of the bondage.'¹⁸ So, it is devil to him and even to the modern poets. We, the modern poets, do not believe in religion which is impracticable in life. 'What religion opium!' Clean up your slums, establish prenatal clinics, provide free education, share the profit of industry. Never mind your promise of justice in heaven. Let's have justice here on earth.'¹⁹ If there is no justice on earth there is hell. Before the acquaintance with Vedas and Buddhist Scriptures in Europe and America, there was no justice and freedom.

The Vedanta 'dealt with sacrifices and rituals, and had nothing to do with philosophy.'²⁰ Neither Vedanta nor Buddhist Scriptures is 'opposed to social work or to any other kind of constructive activity in the world. That is an idea which is always being spread around about Hindus, that they disdain activity and withdraw from it; and it is complete libel. They absolutely agree that the world's work has to be done. Only they point out that the *attitude* of the worker towards the work is all important, and that, in the cultures of the West, this attitude is usually distorted.'²¹ The modern poets do not preach but they 'believe in action.'²² Before the introduction of the Vedas and the Buddhist Scriptures to the Western World, the Western World was ignorant about the definition of spiritualism. So, 'Jones' attempt to acquaint Westerners with Hindu mythology had met with jubilant success.'²³

In modern poetry one has to read the

names of 'Rama, Krishna' Buddha and Christ as Avatars along with several others,'²⁴ while 'India has from ancient times held strongly a belief in the reality of the Avatar, the descent into form the revelation of Godhead in humanity.'²⁵ Now this belief has also become the belief of the West. 'Everyman in Christian countries has huge cathedral on his head, and on top of that book . . . The range of idols is from wood and stone to Jesus and Buddha.'²⁶ It has been admitted by the English poets that 'the first spiritual note in our literature was struck when a poet generally regarded as pagan wrote it as the aim of his art to reveal :

In all poor foolish things that live a day

Eternal beauty wandering on her way.'²⁷

Now the Indian myths have also been used by the modern Western poets as symbols. They have used them frequently in their poems.

'August fades but the voices bloom in the sere :

Thor and Krishna, Isis, Ariel, Pan,

'Thundering, fluting, whispering ; while Puck
and Lear

Further the drive of life with voice on voice.'²⁸

Reading through the modern Western poetry one appears to have a feeling as though the poets are becoming more and more conscious in the field of Vedantic and Buddhist literature. For awakening spiritualism in the West at the time when there is competitive commercialism and craving for power, they turn to the East for their remedy. 'In his introduction to the Upanishads he (Yeats) remarked that we have to discover in the East something ancestral in ourselves, something we must bring into light before can appease a religious instinct that the first time in our civilization demands the satisfaction of the whole man.'²⁹ So, they discover the solace in the potentiality of the Vedic and Buddhist scriptures. As Mr. Conrad Aiken writes -

'Look now, Confucius !...Jesus of Nazareth !...
Buddha, whose heart is an eternally opening
flower—!...

(The Pilgrimage of Festus)

Yeats 'told lady Gregory that the god of the new age would be a Buddha or Sphinx, both of them Asiatic symbols.....'³⁰ These symbols are used by W. B. Yeats in *The Double Vision of Michael Roberts* while T. S. Eliot quotes *Vedas* in *The Waste Land*. The play of W. B. Yeats *The Shadowy Waters* is based on Vedantic philosophy. 'In the programme note, Yeats offers the suggestion that these may correspond to Tamas, Rajas, and Sattva qualities of Vedantic philosophy.....'³¹ When Yeats was dreaming to sow the West with Eastern thought, 'Other literary men and artists shared his preoccupation. Laurence Binyon studied Chinese and Japanese paintings; Farr and Moore studied Buddhism; Ezra Pound and Arthur Waley translated Japanese and Chinese; and in America T. S. Eliot applied himself to Sanskrit.'³²

The influence of Vedantic and Buddhistic philosophy did not disappear with the death of W. B. Yeats and T. S. Eliot. The influence of the Vedantic and Buddhistic philosophy is extending day by day as there is the rapid progress of science in the West. It is clearly visible that there is the influence on the contemporary and younger poets: W. H. Auden, Hart Crane, Vachel Lindsay, Christopher Isherwood, A. Huxley, Louis MacNeice, Gevin Bantock, Conrad Aiken, Frederick Manchester, I. A. Richards and others.

NOTES

1. Vittoria Alfieri : *Of Tyranny*, p. 41
2. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*, p. 203
3. A. E. : *Imagination And Reveries*, p. 5

4. *Ibid.* p. 87
5. *Ibid.* p. 86
6. W. B. Yeats : *Introduction On Gitanjali*, p. xii
7. A. E. : *Imagination And Reveries*, p. 86
8. *Ibid.* p. 162
9. Christopher Isherwood : *A Meeting By River*, p. 13
10. Vachel Lindsay : *Collected Poems*, p. xxviii
11. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India*, p. 82
12. William Blake : *Poetry And Prose*, p. 804
13. Jawaharlal Nehru : *Discovery of India* p. 81
14. Sri Aurobindo : *Essays On Gita*, p. 7
15. D. N. Shastri : *An Outline of Critique of Indian Realism*, p. 47
16. A. E. : *Imagination And Reveries*, p. 53
17. D. N. Shastri : *An Outline of Critique of Indian Realism*, pp. 75-76
18. *Ibid.*
19. Christopher Isherwood : *Vedanta For the Western World* p. 12
20. D. N. Shastri : *An Outline of Critique of Indian Realism*, p. 65
21. Christopher Isherwood : *The River*, p. 17
22. *Ibid.* p. 85
23. Garland Canon : *Oriental Jones*, pp. 135-36
24. Christopher Isherwood : *Vedanta For The Western World*, p. 10
25. Sri Aurobindo : *Essays On Gita*, p. 12
26. Christopher Isherwood : *Vedanta For The Western World*, p. 24
27. A. E. : *Imagination And Reveries*, p. 122
28. Louis MacNeice : *Collected Poems*, p. 332
29. Richard Ellman : *The Identity of Yeats*, p. 81
30. *Ibid.* p. 187
31. *Ibid.* p. 184
32. *Ibid.* pp. 182-83.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Seminar on Explosives

A seminar on explosives was organised at Dissergarh Club (Asansol area) on August 29, 1971. Shri H. B. Ghosh, Director General of Mines Safety presided over the seminar. In his speech Mr. Ghosh said :

We, the mining Engineers were just given the finished product by these chemical engineers to wield as best as possible for getting the minerals which are so essential for the economy of the nation. There is no doubt that the explosives are one of the most powerful and useful source of energy given to us for exploiting the riches from mother earth. One cannot just imagine the plight and drudgery of the miners of days of yore when various ancient workings like those near Zawar in Rajasthan were made without the help of explosives.

As you know, out of the commercial explosives produced in India almost about 70% is being used for mining operations and out of the remaining 30% almost half are being used for tunneling operations under various hydel and railway schemes and thus quasi-mining operations though without the objective of winning mineral. Thus this seminar of explosives so vital for mining industry has been a really useful forum to pool the views and ideas of various persons looking from various angles and to put forth these views and ideas for general discussion.

In the last decade or so there has been lot of research for developing safer and more effective explosives. The explosive manufac-

turing and utilisation has also seen vast changes in products and outlooks. For example, the idea of delay blasting in coal which was unacceptable in 1950s has now become a normal practice in some of the western mining countries. The credit for such rapid changes must go to the all round co-operation between the researches, manufactures, consumers and custodians of safety. Without such a co-operation and understanding of the needs and interest of one another his progress would not have been possible. Another classic example is the introduction and spread of slurry explosives and slurry blasting agents which has not only given us an explosive of greater power and selective applicability according to the type of rock to be fragmented, but has also provided us a much safer explosive from the point of view of transport, storage, handling and use as compared to the conventional Nitro Glycerine based explosives. In fact, the introduction of both these new types of explosives should eventually reduce many of our handicaps and go a long way to achieve greater production at lesser overall costs and in my opinion, in the present day context of our national economy these two are the most essential objectives to aim at.

But, at the same time, the problem of safety should not be overlooked and while examining any of these innovations when the Government agencies put forth their views these should not be misunderstood. As for myself, I would always be ready to put to trial any new sugges-

tion once I am convinced that the all three of us, namely consumers, manufacturers and the government agencies have fully appreciated the probable dangers and taken due care of the safety aspect. If such trial shows that the new suggestion is practicable, safe and effective in increasing production and reducing cost, I would not hesitate to go even to the extent of changing the existing statute in line with the experience so gained.

During last year twice we saw disruption in the supply of explosives and consequent serious confusion in the mineral production of the nation and wasteful forced lay-offs. The consumers and the statutory authorities responsible for safety in mines, who have to take steps to make the best of the available explosives during such crisis, have every right to be kept informed of any such possibility of disruption in supply so that the corrective step—apart from those taken at the manufacturers end could be taken with proper deliberations in order to achieve least possible loss of production or of safety *Coal Field Tribune*.

Economic Recovery of West Bengal

The West Bengal Letter in *Swarajya* of September 4, 1971 discusses the new central plan for setting West Bengal back on its feet in the field of industries and commerce. We are reproducing it below :

CALCUTTA, August 22 : With a fanfare of publicity the Union Government has released a 16-point economic recovery plan for West Bengal. Although it was decided upon in New Delhi, two Ministers flew to Calcutta to release it with a touch of drama. They also met the industrialists to find their reaction.

The plan, as it stands, is welcome. Along with the assurances given by Mr. S. S. Ray, Union Minister for West Bengal Affairs, it should go a long way in removing the industrialists' difficulties. Under the plan, the

State's raw material requirements will be considered with special sympathy and, if necessary, imports will be arranged. There will be a raw material bank to look after supply and coordination. This is likely to be of considerable service to comparatively small industries which have been starved in recent years by the shortage of raw materials. Licences for the expansion of the existing industries as also for the establishment of new industries will be issued promptly. The applications from big houses will be considered on merit, although the existing restrictions will not be relaxed and the Monopolies Act will be adhered to. Perhaps, the big industrialists cannot expect anything more at the moment.

One of the most meaningful features of the plan is the provision to treat the entire State except Calcutta, Howrah and the 24-Parganas districts as "backward area" for the purpose of concessional finance for industrial development. The concentration of industries in Greater Calcutta has done a double injury to the people. To outsiders it has conveyed an unreal picture of prosperity in the State. To the local people it has meant neglect of the rural areas outside the metropolitan region. This unbalanced economic development is also responsible for much of the misery of Calcutta itself ; this congested city attracts people in search of jobs not only from all parts of the State but also from several other States. If this policy is given an honest trial, the face of rural West Bengal may change and one may even hope that the pressure on Calcutta will, to some extent, be relaxed.

At the same time there are features in the plan which create misgivings about the Government's approach to the question of industrialization. The legislation proposed to take over closed units follows a reported warning to some 350 closed units that they will be taken over without compensation should

they fail to reopen by a specified date. This explains the Government's attitude and its unwillingness to face the problem on a realistic basis. Factories have been closed for a variety of reasons, mainly, because of labour indiscipline.

While the industrialists should cooperate with the Government, the role of labour is no less important, if the plan is to be successfully implemented. The labour leaders, who guide and mould the working class, are yet to show a sense of realism. More than anybody else it is the left political parties and their trade unions which will make or mar the plan. Nothing can bring about economic recovery unless labour changes its attitude.

Again, lawlessness has to be curbed, if economic activities are to be resumed in full swing. The President's rule has witnessed a rather sharp deterioration in the law and order position. No doubt, the CPI-M and the naxalites are generally thought of as being responsible for the present state of affairs. But, the Congress (R) cannot claim innocence, especially after the "mass murders" in Cossipore-Baranagar area early last month.

About Bangla Desh Guerrillas

A special correspondent of the *New Statesman* describes the composition of the Mukti Foj of the East Bengal people who have broken away from Pakistan. We reproduce portions of this article below :

Until recently commando tactics were used to hit the Pakistani army through ambush and sorties. Sabotage action against communication links was aimed to disrupt the mobility of the Pakistani army and deny them access to economic resources. Collaborators were singled out for attention. Actions, however, were scattered and on a small scale so that they did not earn any headlines. More recently, the occasional set piece battle, as at Belonia in the east or near Satkhira in the

West, has shown the Pakistani army that the Mukti Foj can, when they choose, stand and fight. At Belonia they killed 450 Pakistani soldiers at a cost of 70 dead and it took two brigades of the Pakistani army to overrun the area. The action went on for nearly three weeks during June and towards the end the Chief of Staff of the Pakistani army had to go down to review the action. Again near Satkhira the Pakistani army left 300 dead against a toll of about 20 Mukti Foj. But such actions are as yet limited and the tactic remains to keep the army off balance.

Faced with this invisible enemy the Pakistani army operates only during daylight hours. They move in heavily fortified concentrations on the hard-topped roads. Heavy machine guns cover the main convoy from a distance of three to four hundred yards, to be used in the event of ambush. Mobile fire control units follow the heavy machine guns to call in artillery fire on the point of ambush. This imposes both speed and mobility on the Mukti Foj during an action. Shortage of machine guns and even mortars restricts their capacity to make a fight of it and wherever one goes one meets the common refrain that more automatic weapons and heavier fire power in the shape of mortars and the Katyushka rockets used by the Vietcong would be enough to make the Pakistani army position untenable within six months.

Each action of the Mukti Foj converts a segment of the local population from passive enemies of the Pakistani army to active collaborators of the Mukti Foj. Already the Pakistanis have taken a disturbingly high casualty rate—one estimate reckons as many as 18000, with a high proportion of officers—against a modest toll of Mukti Foj. It is estimated that it costs 10 Pakistani soldiers to

kill an armed Bengali. As Mukti Fauz action intensifies, the Pakistani army will be hard put to use this poor material (Razakars) to reinforce their ranks and already they are trying to raise new divisions in the West.

Bangla Desh must be Freed

Peter Shore writing in the *New Statesman* under the above caption, says

At the heart of the great crisis in Bengal is the break-up of the state of Pakistan. What Jinnah created with his fanatical resolve in 1947 has now been irrevocably destroyed by the stupidity of Yahya Khan and the ferocity of his generals.

Ironically, last year's election, with its overwhelming victory for the Bengal based Awami League and the subsequent negotiation for far-reaching autonomy between Sheikh Mujib and the Pakistan President offered the last chance for a single Pakistan. It was destroyed not by the declaration of independence by the Sheikh, but by the President's prior command to his troops to destroy the Awami League and to teach the Bengalis a lesson that they would never forget.

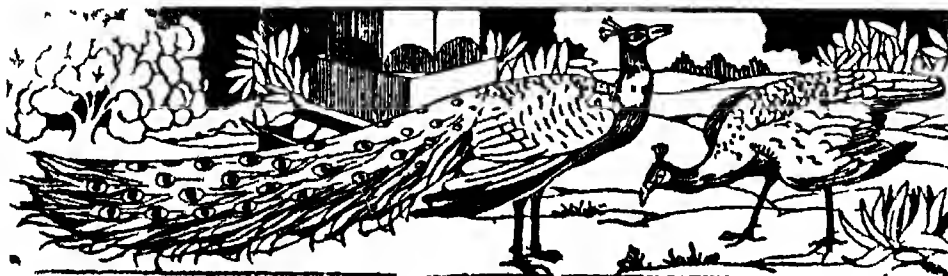
Try as he may to disguise it, the situation is no longer in the President's hands. The fury of Tikka Khan's soldiers has released forces that will sooner or later destroy not only them but Pakistan.

Population Problem in Europe

The *Guardian* published an interesting article on the population problem that many countries in Europe are now facing. The article begins with the following passages

Europe is going through a birth rate crisis. In several countries the rate of reproduction may no longer be high enough to maintain the population at current levels.

This, according to the article, is due to the changed outlook of the women of Europe. They do not want to have families, but wish to lead an independent life of their own. As a result of this the pattern of population is quite different now from what it used to be in the past. About 7 percent of the population are now over 64 years of age. The population experts are also worried about replacing factory workers by younger people as those who operate machinery become aged and unfit to work in the intensive manner required by modern industry.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

VEDANTA DARSANA—With Sankara Bhashya and translation and elucidation by Swami Viswarupananda, published by Advaita Ashrama, 5 Dehi Entally Road, Calcutta.

Price Rs. 52.00.

It is a monumental work in seven volumes containing about three thousand and five hundred pages. Sankara's commentary has been translated into lucid, elegant and fascinating Bengali. The 'Bhava-Dipika', the author's elucidation, is a masterpiece of scholarship and comparative evaluation. It is the outcome of twenty years of concentrated labour, which must be hailed as a stupendous achievement. The philosophical literature in Bengali has been distinctly enriched by it. The work maintains uniformly a high standard. It is bound to be regarded as a classic. Such a work, involving tremendous labour, extensive study and deep penetration, cannot possibly be expected in these days of hardship and unparalleled confusion of thought and worry from scholars who aim at a material advance. It is only a dedicated monk with a

mission who could accomplish this task of tremendous magnitude. I have derived immense pleasure and benefit from its perusal. I hope to be able to write a detailed review which will cover several pages before long, if circumstances do not place an unwelcome impediment. The author is a monk of the Ramakrishna Mission, but had to procure funds for the printing and publication with great difficulty. I appeal to the Ministry of Education, both in the Centre and the State of West Bengal, to reimburse the author as a matter of duty and as a token of appreciation of scholarship. This work will bring classical Vedanta philosophy within the reach of serious scholars who want to make their knowledge of this wonderful system of thought, free from the charge of amateurish acquaintance. Every research Library should have one copy at least in its shelf.

Dated : (Dr.) Satkari Mukherjee
The 18th Aug. 1971 Rtd. Ashutosh Prof.
41/1, Babu Bagan Lane Calcutta University
Calcutta-31.





Pen and Ink Sketches (drawn in 1886—94)
By—ABANINDRANATH TAGORE

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CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER 1971

WHOLE No. 779

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Notes | ... | ... | ... | 321 |
| Rate of population growth in Sumer in the Third Millenium B.C.—Jatindramohan Datt | | | | 329 |
| The Right to Freedom of Religion in the Indian Constituent Assembly | | | | |
| —Brundaban Patel | ... | | | 337 |
| Recognition of Bangladesh—Rajani Mukherjee | ... | ... | ... | 345 |
| *Cabinet System in India—Nirmalendu Bikash Rakshit | ... | ... | ... | 350 |
| The Second Triennale—India—Usab | ... | ... | ... | 355 |
| Zamindari Abolition in Jammu and Kashmir—Balbir Kumar Jain | | | | 361 |
| C. V. Chintamani—L. Dewani | ... | ... | ... | 367 |
| Change of Kings—Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 370 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 38 |
| Smriti and Bismriti —Sibnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 38 |
| In Sacred Memory —Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 39 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 39 |
| Book Review | ... | ... | ... | 39 |



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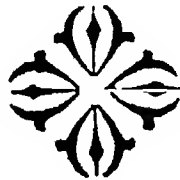
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NOTES

Lord Sorensen

We are extremely grieved to learn about the death of Rev. Lord Sorensen. Lord Sorensen was born on June 19, 1891. On his father's side he had Danish blood and his mother was the daughter of an English fisherman. He was educated in an elementary school and a religious institution ; but he had to work for his living when he was barely fourteen years old. In 1914 he became pastor of the Walthamstowe Free Christian Church. He began to take a keen interest in Labour matters with special reference to the cooperative movement in farming and soon became member of various public committees, councils and progressive organisations. He began his parliamentary career a few years after the end of the 1st World War and through long years of political activities he supported India's demand for freedom. His questioning of the secretary of state for India became a regular feature of British Parliamentary history. In 1946 he visited India as a member of a British parliamentary delegation and worked hard for the transfer of power that took place in

August 1947. Lord Sorensen also fought for the freedom of other British occupied territories and his name will go down in history as that of a man who fought to rectify the political injustices committed by his own people against other races of mankind.

Road Repairs in Calcutta

No one can remember when Calcutta roads were last repaired with any degree of thoroughness. That is when any of the roads of Calcutta were dug up, uniformly covered with road metal, rolled properly by steam or diesel rollers and given a top dressing of tar and sand dusting. We have seen pot holes being partly filled up with debris collected from demolished houses and the loose debris rammed down by hand operated drubbing instruments ; but such efforts were made leaving ninety percent of the pot holes untouched. Those that were filled up lost their brick and mortar dust quite soon and became bigger pot holes than ever before.

We hear about money grants from Delhi or Washington for road repair in Calcutta

but we never see any actual repair being undertaken. Calcutta people pay very high taxes to the Calcutta Corporation and car owners pay heavy motor vehicles taxes too. What happens to all that money? Who uses that money and for what purpose? Why do we have to go to Delhi or to Washington in order to get our roads repaired or touched up? It is high time the citizens of Calcutta demanded the service that they paid for. A citizens' association should be formed and an organisation should be set up to see that we get proper roads, lights, water supply, drainage and conservancy. It is becoming a national disease to pay for things without getting anything in return. We should begin to ask for the goods and services that we habitually pay for.

Power Supply in Calcutta

We donot know how power is supplied to the public in Calcutta. But we all know how the supply is often cut off, sometimes for hours, and how shops, industries, hospitals, nursing homes, restaurants, offices and dwellers of multi-storied buildings suffer great loss, inconvenience and extra hazards of health and living conditions by the sudden stoppage of all electrical apparatus such as air conditioners, refrigerators, lights, fans, exhausts, lifts, cookers, water heaters, pumps, hair dryers, shaving razors, kitchen aids etc. etc. The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation Ltd. call this switching off of all electric supply by the generic name of power or load shedding and that is about all that they do about it. They donot try to improve conditions of power supply, as is obvious from the fact that this power or load shedding is on the increase and we donot feel that the C.E.S.C. is moving towards conditions when they will be able to keep up supplies round the clock. The State Electricity Board, which must be somehow responsible directly or indirectly for the loss

and inconvenience caused to the public by repeated failures of power supply, say nothing about this mishandling of an important public utility service. This, of course, is a privilege of a state department and one cannot use any adjectives like shameless, irresponsible, inefficient or useless to describe the management of any government department for the simple reason that human values are not recognised by statutorily set up public bodies. But the public should not suffer all this inconvenience and loss without taking some action to rectify matters. We have already suggested the setting up of a citizen's organisation for making conditions of living as they should be in this city with particu'ar reference to the utilities that the public pay for. Electricity, gas, water supply, drainage, medical aid, conservancy, crowding of roads by hawkers and footpath dwellers and various other things come within the purview of living conditions. The citizens have a right to demand that public utility services and general conditions of living in this great city should be maintained properly. This demand should be expressed in a manner which would yield results by removal of the short-comings.

Fee for Parking Cars

The Calcutta Corporation has introduced a system of charging fees for parking car in certain areas of Calcutta. This is over and above the road tax that all cars have to pay annually for the privilege of using the roads maintained (?) by the state. The road tax is not paid exclusively for keeping cars moving along these roads but also for keeping the cars in a stationary position on these roads. What right the Calcutta Corporation has to stick up "Fee Parking" notices on certain roads is a question of law that should be discussed by expert lawyers who should analyse the rights the car owners earn by payment of the road tax for motor vehicles. If the Calcutta Cor-

poration can charge extra fees for parking a car on Park Street inspite of the car paying an annual road tax for using Park Street for running along it, what will prevent the Calcutta Corporation from charging special fees for using selected roads even for driving along them? What is the road tax for? Only for running a car along the roads and not for keeping the cars in an immobile position anywhere on the roads? Our understanding of the logicity of things make us think that this parking fee has no logical basis. It is unjust and should be stopped immediately. It is also iniquitous in so far as some car owners have to park cars in front of schools, shops, dispensaries or post offices where parking fees are charged. Their purpose in going to these places have a great social value and other car owners who park their cars in front of the race courses or other gambling centers where no such fees are charged go to these places for no laudable purpose. A car owner may have to pay a rupee a day in parking fees for sending his daughter to school. Or a doctor giving patients free treatment may have to pay two rupees a day in these fees. We draw the attention of the Government to this iniquitous and unjust practice introduced by the Calcutta Corporation.

CPM Wants Right of Secession for States

What the Communist Party Marxists want is seldom anything precise, logically anchored to established facts or correctly balanced with their hitherto stated desires and ideals. Basically they want a world wide state established under a dictatorship of the proletariat. If they could ever create such a state there should be no possibility of any part of it breaking away for the realisation of any ideals of independence of a part of the world state. We think the CPM would like to have a single capital city for this vast political body and a small body of Marxist experts to sit in that

city as the rulers of the world. The idea of secession from a parent state does not somehow fit in with this idea which aims at abolishing all independent states for the formation of a single monolithic giant state to rule all humanity. But the idea of secession by a state of the Indian Union seems to appeal to the CPM nevertheless. Why? Is it because such secessions will be a useful method of breaking up India and to collect all the scattered parts at a later and more opportune occasion for the purpose of linking all of them with the Peoples Republic of the Earth? The existence of large and powerful states like India is a deterrent for the smooth establishment of this proposed mammoth state. It is therefore desirable that all large and powerful non-communist states break up in order to be swallowed up by the single world state in due course. The CPM therefore have a motive in backing the idea of secession and we who want a strong India have no wish to subscribe to this alleged endeavour to earn more freedom for the peoples of India. The CPM, of course have not much hope of ever coming to power in the Indian legislature which alone can consider any demands for secession from any state of India. Nevertheless, we should, at all times oppose all ideas of secession.

The formation of a separate state of Pakistan was no doubt the beginning of this idea of secession in our subcontinent. In a limited sense the spirit of separatism found support among all those who wanted to form states of their own within the Indian Union. The formation of Gujerat, Haryana, Nagaland and Meghalaya are some examples. The formation of a large number of states was no doubt an idea which had the approval of Pandit Nehru and his fellow Congress leaders. This helped them to give lucrative appointments to a large number of political sufferers

all over India. To-day, when political sufferers have mostly passed out of the active political field, professional politicians have cited race, language and historical background in order to demand special consideration for small groups of people. In fact, if the whole of India could be reorganised politically to form four or five administrative zones, and the large number of states abolished, things would be less expensive and the chances of an Indian Nation coming into practical existence, would be increased. This idea, no doubt, will be opposed by professional politicians, but it may find favour with the people if they understood that this might eventually lead to tax reduction and to adoption of wider social security measures. It will also nip all thoughts of breaking up India in the bud.

Fresh Taxes

Fresh Taxes have been imposed by an Ordinance in order to raise an estimated extra revenue of seventy crores. This has been planned to be achieved by raising railway fares, postage and by putting an excise duty of two paise per copy on newspapers which have a circulation of more than 15000. Railway fares had many increases in recent years and so had postage. Newspapers, of course, never had any excise duty attached to them. The price of newspapers have been increased on occasions for additional costs of paper, printing etc. People who travel, write letters or buy newspapers are not the most affluent among the people of India. Many travel with great difficulty and have to borrow money to do so. In the circumstances, the increase of fares for third class passengers should not have been made. The newspaper duty will also be very difficult to work out for the reason that the number of unsold newspapers cannot be worked out until long after publication. Also if the duty is added to the

price it will affect the circulation of the papers. If, on the other hand the publishers have to pay the duty, it will be a 10% charge on the price of daily newspapers. Most papers do not make a 10% profit on gross sales. Also if the price is raised to 22 paise it will be a difficult amount to pay in view of the dearth of two or three pice coins. Raising seventy crore extra revenue could have been managed by putting a surcharge on bank borrowings. We think a surcharge at a low percentage could yield much of the seventy crores required by government. Bank loans to persons and institutions would amount to several thousand crores of rupees and an additional charge of one per cent on these loans can yield 30/40 crores of rupees. If the borrowings on notes of hand are made subject to a stamp duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent rather than to a fixed priced revenue stamp for all amounts borrowed in this manner; the yield could come to a few crores. In all foreign countries cheque forms have to have a stamp on them. In India no such stamps are affixed to cheque forms. A five paise stamp on cheque forms could yield Rs. 50000/- per million cheque forms used by the public. Those who use cheques or borrow money from banks are usually relatively more affluent than third class railway passengers. Then, this increase of railway fare is iniquitous considering that bus fares are not being raised. As there is quite a bit of competition between railways and buses, the enhanced railway fares would lead to loss of passenger traffic for the railways. There may be other ways of raising revenue which the government do not consider. We can think of a stamp duty on posters as found in France and on signboards displayed by shops and advertisers. Why do the Finance Department overlook these?

B. C. Ganguly and Hanumanthaiya

The affair Hanumanthaiya-Ganguly is a

disgraceful show of ministerial thoughtlessness. Many Ministers have removed many top officers before this ; but never with such disregard for official decorum. Mr. Hanumanthaiya appeared to have forgotten that the people of India expect even Cabinet Ministers to observe the rules of courtesy and decency in their dealings with their subordinate officers. The Ministers of course obey the provisions of the labour laws when they deal with coolies and other low paid workers. They have to control their urges for taking summary action ; not merely because there are these laws but also on account of the ability of the working classes to be as ill behaved as even the worst of authoritarian rulers can be. The laws say that a person who can terminate the service of a subordinate has to state the grounds on which such termination of service is contemplated, in writing ; and the service holder must get all opportunities for defending himself. And even after that if a dispute arises over such termination of service ; the elaborate provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act come into operation with a view to guarantee justice to the employee. It would appear that the Chairman of the Railway Board has not the protection that the laws provide to the ordinary workman. In any case, the public think that the Minister has acted in a manner in this case which is extremely high handed and unseemly. One cannot say anything about the case against Mr. Ganguly as nothing is clearly known about it. Mr. Hanumanthaiya is more before the bar of public opinion to defend and justify his peculiar conduct ; but he has not done anything so far to clear his reputation for sanity and rationality. Mr. Ganguly too has to explain to the people of India why he had to act in the manner that he had.

Pakistan has no Right to Occupy all Muslim Majority Areas

When India was partitioned, any territory in the subcontinent which was not directly under British rule had the choice to accede to either India or Pakistan in order to be included in any of these two states. Generally speaking Muslim or Hindu majority territories acceded to Pakistan or India ; but there was no hard and fast rule about it. Pakistan however ignored these rules relating to accession and tried to gain territory by conquest early in the days following the partition. Thus Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir destroyed the convention relating to accession. It also set in motion forces other than those of a peaceful nature. The World Powers including Britain tolerated Pakistan's lawless conduct by allowing the setting up of 'Azad Kashmir which was Indian territory by accession but had gone under Pakistan through violent and aggressive action. Had Pakistan not invaded Kashmir, that state would have remained independent, like Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim and not created a battle field for Pakistan and India. Pakistan's idea that Kashmir being a muslim majority area must necessarily join up with Pakistan, is thoroughly unreasonable. There are many muslim majority places in this world and they cannot all join Pakistan. Nor did Pakistan join the Turkish or Arabic republics. China has several muslim majority areas within it and these have not joined any muslim state. Russia too has similar muslim regions. India has got Kashmir by accession and not by conquest. India never tried to occupy Nepal on the ground that the Nepalese were Hindus.

War Fever

The military dictators of Pakistan have developed a murderous frenzy which has driven them to kill hundreds of thousands of persons

in cold blood, rape and abduct numerous helpless women and to terrorise nine million persons into a mental condition in which they have abandoned their home land and run away to seek refuge in other countries. They have burnt down hundreds of villages, destroyed schools, colleges, universities, temples and factories and generally behaved like the barbarian hordes of ancient times. Yet they have claimed the friendship and assistance of other nations, enjoyed diplomatic privileges and moved about in the civilised capitals of the world with the air of persons who are morally conscious, clean in conduct and unblemished by any criminality or viciousness of outlook. They have tried to white wash their own actions by slandering their victims and by starting a campaign of lies against India, the country into which the majority of their victimised fellow subjects of Pakistan have entered as refugees. The war fever that is now raging in Pakistan is a creation of the same killers who are responsible for the barbarities committed in East Bengal, now called Bangladesh by the people of the area who no longer wish to remain subjects of the state of Pakistan. They have started a "hate India" campaign with a view to divert public attention from their sadistic killing of half-a-million East Pakistanis, their lustful attacks on fifty thousand women of East Pakistan, their burning of thousands of East Pakistan villages, factories, worker's bustees, schools etc. and their deliberate chasing out of 9½ million East Pakistan people into Indian territory. In fact the military junta of West Pakistan have destroyed the state of Pakistan by their barbarous treatment of the people of East Pakistan who shall never again agree to remain in Pakistan. Pakistan is finished and the war fever is the artificially created frenzy of the West Pakistanis to start a war with India, so that the world will not know the truth about the end of Pakistan. Yahya Khan

and his generals have destroyed Pakistan by exploiting the Pakistan subjects of East Bengal for many years and by letting loose on them a reign of terror when they wanted to form a democratic government after winning a spectacular victory in the elections that Yahya Khan himself organised early this year. Yahya wants war with India so that he can have Pakistan defeated by India and not disintegrated by his own folly and rabid disregard for the rules of chivalry, political morality and civilised conduct. But he finds, much to his dissatisfaction, that India is not reciprocating by contracting the Pakistani war fever. Yahya can, no doubt, start the war; but that will defeat the purpose for which he wants the war. The world will then know that Pakistan has started the war. The world will ask "why"? And the answer will condemn the criminals of West Pakistan. It will also answer the question, "who destroyed Pakistan?"

Cyclones and Tidal Waves

Once, many years ago, a tidal wave swept into the district of Midnapur in West Bengal and caused the death of a few thousand persons. The loss of property was very great too. In those days no one suggested any cures for tidal waves nor about protective measures for the safety of people living in sea side places. Even to-day there are hardly any protective arrangements against cyclones and tidal waves lashed up by the cyclones. It may be possible to build break water walls in estuarine areas but no one can put up such walls along hundreds of miles of exposed sea coast. In the circumstance all towns and villages of the sea side areas should try to build houses on raised ground as is done by people in certain parts of East Bengal. Little hillocks are first built and the houses go up on those hillocks. These raised mounds are

sometimes 20/30 feet high and stay above all flood level. It would seem that human habitations in areas bordering the sea should be built at least twenty feet above sea level. Townships can have their own break water walls and the houses too should be built on high ground. These measures should be taken to prevent the serious emergencies that cyclones and tidal waves cause every now and then. In the interior villages too safe zones should be created and communications improved, so that people can be warned in time to take shelter in the safe places.

Death of B. B. Ghosh

Mr. Binoy Bhushan Ghosh, the former chief adviser to the Governor of West Bengal died suddenly of a heart attack on Wednesday the 27th of October 1971 at his Calcutta residence. He had attended a few official meetings that morning and had been to a lunch party given to the President of the Ford Foundation by the chief consultant of the Foundation. He returned home and was planning to go through some files of the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Association when at about 4 p.m. he felt unwell. His family physician was called and a local practitioner was also summoned to give him immediate relief. This however failed to work and Mr. Ghosh expired very soon after attempts were made to stay the development of the attack. He was due to leave for London on the 30th of October 1971 to attend a meeting of the shareholders of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation.

Mr. B. B. Ghosh was 67 years old at the time of his death. His was a life dedicated to work and service to his fellow humans. His sudden death is a great loss to the country. Mr. B. B. Ghosh had a prolonged official career during which he held many important positions. He began his official life in 1930 in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. He

was in the Finance Department of the Central Government from 1939 to 1947. Thereafter he was Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Defence. He became secretary Ministry of Food and Agriculture in the Department of Food in 1956 and retired from that post in 1962. In the same year he was made chairman of the Port Commissioners, Calcutta and he did most of the work in connection with the Haldia Port development scheme. He had also much to do with the Farakka and the second Hoogly Bridge projects. He later became head of the West Bengal Council for Industrial Development. In 1970 when President's rule was ordered to be imposed on this state Mr. Ghosh was made adviser to the Governor. He was later made the Principal Adviser to the Governor. After retiring from this post Mr. Ghosh was made chairman of the CMDA and he was connected with many industrial concerns which consulted him with a view to gain from his wide experience and general knowledge of the economics of trade and industry.

Mr. B. B. Ghosh was the eldest son of the late Srinath Ghosh who was a high official connected with the Barisal District Board. Mr. B. B. Ghosh was born in Barisal in 1905. He finished his education in Calcutta. He stood First Class First in the M. Sc. examination from the Presidency College in 1926. He did well in the B. C. S. examination but having also passed the Indian Audit and Accounts Service examination he joined the Government of India's service in 1930. He was much sought after for his versatile knowledge of a wide variety of subjects, his unchallenged integrity and his willingness to be of help to all who approached him for advice and assistance. He was hard working in the extreme, indefatigable in his efforts to unfathom facts which were not easily seen or discovered and totally reliable when it came

to determining what was fair, true and just. It will be very difficult, if not impossible to find another man like Benoy Bhushan Ghosh.

Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee

The death of Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee at Chaibassa at the age of 74 has removed from amongst us an associate who had been closely connected with our journals, *The Prabasi*, and *The Modern Review*, for about half-a-century. Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee joined this publishing house after he graduated, as a member of the editorial staff of the Bengali journal *Prabasi*. He soon established himself as a highly popular satirist. He wrote both prose and poetry and was remarkably good at composing parodies. He was also a publicity expert and later specialised in that line and was retained by several important concerns as their advertisement consultant.

Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee wrote for the *Prabasi* regularly and his "Bengal and the Bengalis" which appeared every month in that journal was extremely popular. He also edited certain journals as a labour of love and contributed to several daily papers quite frequently. In his youth Hemanta Kumar Chatterjee was one of the founders of the well known Bengali journal "Sanibar Chithi". During the First World War he was a member of the Bengal Ambulance Corps for some time. He was fearless and adventurous by nature and one recalls how when he was only twelve years old he ran away from Darjeeling and reached Calcutta by walking along the railway track and taking occasional free rides in railway trains. He is survived by his widow and two sons.

President of Yugoslavia Visits India

President Tito and Madame Broz's visit to India greatly pleased the Indian people. President Tito is much admired in this country as a remarkably courageous person who has

faced the Russian giant with undaunted tenacity of purpose and attachment to his principles. Love of freedom and the right to choose one's own path of progress have been the guiding lights of the President's life. All Indians consider President Tito as a man with an assured place of honour in human history. His arrival in India at a time of national crisis has been of very great value to us. He has seen with his own eyes what Pakistan has made of Pakistan and his views of the disgraceful episodes will be difficult to challenge. This great leader is renowned as a person who convinces others when he gives out his conclusions about any matter after proper examination and analysis.

China Joins the U. N.

The People's Republic of China was recognised by the United Nations Organisation on October 25, 1971 as "the only legitimate representative of China." The voting was 76 for and 35 against this decision with 17 abstentions. It was also decided that Taiwan had no locus standi and should not therefore remain a member state of the U. N. Thus ended the long battle to uphold a fantastic untruth namely that the handful of Chinese in Formosa were the true representatives of the Chinese people and that the near 700 million Chinese of mainland China were not representative in character of the Chinese nation. The United States of America had been backing this preposterous master piece of unreason for many years and their defeat in the General Assembly was hailed by all sensible people as the renaissance of logic and truth in the United Nations Organisation.

For 20 years attempts had been steadily made to rehabilitate truth in the U. N. but without success. The following figures show how the voting went year after year from 1951 to 1971.

(Continued on page 387.)

RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH IN SUMER IN THE THIRD MILLENIUM B.C.

JATINDRA MOHAN DATT

1. All archaeologists are agreed that the population growth in Sumer in the Third Millenium B. C. was very rapid. How rapid or how fast is the question. Ancient populations increased very slowly. Dunbar gives the world population in 8000 B. C. and 1. A. D. as :---

| | 8000 B. C. | 1 A. D. |
|---|------------|---------|
| "Medium" estimates (millions) | 5 | 300 |
| Range of "low" and "high" variants (millions) | 2-10 | 200-400 |

The "medium" figures give us the rate of growth to be 5. 1 per cent per century ; Combining the "low" for 8000 B. C. with "high" for 1 A. D. we get the rate to be 6. 2 percent per-century (Dunbar—Modern Explosion of World Population, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society Vol. 111 P 133—1967).

2. The floor of the granary at Mohenjo-daro (the Indus Valley civilisation—3000 B. C.—1500 B. C.) was increased by 37 percent, presumably to provide food for the increased population. Archaeologists tell us that the additions were made at least 500 years after the granary was built, population increased by 37 percent in 5 centuries. The rate of growth works out to 6. 5 percent per century.

3. But even in ancient times some populations increased at a faster rate. The Israelites at the time of the Exodus from Egypt were numbered. The number of male adults above 20 able to bear sword was 601. 730 (The Numbers 26. 51).

When David numbered the people in Judah and Israel (1 chron. 21. 5) the numbers

were 800.000 men in Israel that draw the sword, and 500.000. men in Judah.

The Exodus took place in 1320 B. C. and David reigned till 978 B. C. The interval is 340 years ; the rate of growth works out to 24.9 per cent per century—nearly five times greater than the world rate of Dunbar.

4. The Sumerians were immigrants into Mesopotamia. Gordon Childe writes "Sumer cannot have been the scene of 'Neolithic Revolution ; links with the old stone age cannot be expected in this new land. Its first inhabitants must have come from elsewhere, from older land, perhaps the steppe zone to the north-west or the mountains to the east, where urial, moufloun and goat roam wild and where cereals reputedly grow spontaneously", (New Light on the Most Ancient East P 104).

5. "Sumer was new land only recently raised above the waters of the Persian Gulf by the silt carried down by the two rivers (the Enphrates and the Tigris). It was still covered with waste swamps, full of towering reeds, interrupted by arid banks of mud and sand, and periodically inundated by floods. Through tortuous channels among the reeds the muddy waters flowed sluggishly to the sea. But the waters teemed with fish, the reed brakes were alive with wild fowl, wild pig, and other game, and on every emergent patch of soil grow date palms offering every year a reliable crop of nutritive fruit.

By contrast to the arid desert, the jungle must have seemed a paradise. If once the flood waters could be controlled and canalised, the swamps drained and the arid banks

watered, it could be made a Garden of Eden. The soil was so fertile that a hundred fold return was not impossible. Actually, documents dating from 2500 B. C. indicate the average yield on a field of barley was eighty-six times the sowing. Here, there, farmers could easily produce a surplus above the domestic need". (Gordon Childe in *What Happened in History* pp 89-90).

6. "The land, in any case, has changed considerably even in historical times. The deposit from the two rivers is still silting up the head of the Persian Gulf so rapidly that on one estimate the coast line advances $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles a century. In the seventh century B. C. the Kerkha, which now loses itself in the sands and marshes above Basra, debouched directly into the Persian Gulf; Sennacherib had to sail 160 K. M. from the mouth of the Euphrates to reach its estuary. At the beginning of historical times a series of tidal lagoons extended inland almost to the foot of the limestone ridge on which stand the ruins of Eridu, the first royal city of Sumerian tradition. The land as subsists to-day round Basra, where date palms innendation has been steadily raising the level of the land till today, even at Kish, the surface of the plain lies 25 feet above "virgin soil". (Gordon Childe—*New Light on the Most Ancient East* P 103).

7. The land of Sumer was very fertile, much more fertile than it is now. Mesopotamian civilisation was destroyed by the Mongols under Hulagu in 1290; and the Turks have ruined it. Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle in the presidency of the Lyceum and to whom Aristotle bequeathed his library writes his *History of Plants*:—"In Babylon the wheat fields are regularly sown twice, and then fed off with beasts to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf, otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done the return in lands that are badly antenated is fifty fold ;

while in those that are well farmed it is a hundred fold".

W. G. de Burgh in the *Legacy of the Ancient World* vol I p 24 says "it requires an effort of imagination to realise that Babylonia was once, like Egypt, one of the chief granaries of the world, where the crops bore fruits two and even three hundred fold, and the land even after the second reaping, furnished abundant pasture".

8. The condition of the land was ideal for a rapid increase of population, soil was virgin soil, very fertile, well watered by both the inundation of the rivers and seasonal and abundant rainfall twice during the year. The land was vacant free from external enemies; and climate mild. There was no frost as in upper Assyria.

9. Such a land is capable of supporting a very large population. The area of Sumer is 15,000 to 16,000 sq. miles. Deducting say 10 percent of the area for canals and irrigation channels, and for cities and building sites, we suppose that the remaining 14,000 sq. miles were under cultivation. In India an acre produces $10\frac{1}{4}$ mds. of barley; and annual per head consumption is taken as 4.7 mds. An acres' produce can maintain 2.18 persons. The possible population that can be maintained with a single crop is, therefore,— $14,000 \times 640 \times 2.18 \dots 175,32,800$. or 17.5 million. The density per sq. mile is 1395 per sq. mile. It may be higher still.

10. The average strength of a single unit family is 5 consisting of the husband and the wife and three children, half of them sons the other half daughters on an average.

After the death of the parents agricultural land descends to the the sons, who cultivate it to the exclusion of daughters. Among the Hindus and even among aboriginal population in India daughters do not get a share. Even amongst the Muhammadans of the Punjab

daughters do not get any share in agricultural land according to Riwaz—i—am. or customary law.

At each succession area of agricultural fields gets smaller, two—thirds of what the father cultivated.

11. In the Punjab an adult male with steel shod plough and a pair of sturdy bullocks (zebus) can cultivate 5 acres of land. In North Lakhimpore district of Assam a cultivator with bamboo plough can hardly cultivate more than 3 acres of land, often less.

In the third millenium B. C. when the use of iron was unknown, a Sumerian with heavy wooden plough consisting of a forked branch trimmed with stone adges or copper yoke is expected to cultivate less than 3 acres. Further weight for weight a horned cattle is less efficient than zebus. Yoking was less efficient and primitive. For all these reasons we think a Sumerian could cultivate 2 to 2.5 acres. A picture of the plough is given in Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East* p 128.

12. Gordon Childe in *What Happened in History* speaking of Lagash, one of the smaller Sumerian cities and its deities says (p 90) :—

“The divine estates, plots on which were allotted—perhaps periodically—to the deities’ people, may well be derived from the communally owned clan lands distributed annually for cultivation by the clansmen in many barbarian societies. But any approximation to equality of lots in such common farmland has disappeared by the time of the earliest Lagash accounts. While many of Sumer’s people seem to have held only 0.8 to 2.5 acres a high temple official held 35.5 acres.”

“Indeed, before 2500 B. C. the divine households have ceased to be anything like happy families”.

13. We need not postulate annual distribution of lands. 0.8 acres is equivalent to 1.6

acres as the land was cropped twice. An acre produces in India 10½ maunds of barley ; and annual consumption is 4.7 maunds. 1.6 acres produces 17.4 mds. food sufficient for 3.7 persons, while the average family strength is about 5. And it leaves nothing to the cultivator for his other necessities of life such as clothing. We think the initial equal distribution has been altered by sub-division on succession ; and the sons of poorer families had to work as share croppers in bigger fields or to take to some other occupations. Any area less than 0.8 acre cannot support a family—it is the limit of subsistence.

14. Agriculture was neither the sole or main occupation of the Sumerians. There were craftsmen, smiths, potters, brewers. There were merchants and traders. “Imports were essential for life on an alluvial plain. By 3000 B. C. copper or bronze, timber for building, stone at least for beams and door sockets had become necessities to the urban population. For the gods, gold silver, lead, lapis-lazuli and other precious substances were regarded as necessities, too. These and other materials were, in fact, imported, and that fairly regularly. Trade was indeed so extensive and so active that it brought from cities in the Indus valley manufactured articles—seals—amulets, beads and perhaps, even pottery bases.” (Gordon Childe *What Happened* p 96).

15. Not only there were large cities, but the proportion of urban population was great. Ur had 24,000 souls. “The populations of Lagash Umma and Khafajah are reliably estimated to have been 19,000, 16,000 and 12,000 respectively during the Third Millenium (ibid p 94). It has been estimated that 14.4 percent of the total population of the city or State of Lagash were urban (see App.A). A considerable portion of the townsmen in the several cities of Sumer must have been engaged in trade and commerce. The priests, clerks and

accountants and others followed non-agricultural occupations.

16. Paretos' Law of Distribution of Incomes is applicable to all countries and all times. It has been found to be so, wherever relevant statistics are available. It is applicable to Sumer in the Third Millenium B. C. The law is :—

$Y = NX^{-d}$, y —the number of persons having an income of X and above ; N and X are constants, which differ for different countries and different communities.

For over-whelming agricultural communities " d " is about 1.66 ; and for those which have trade and commerce it is usually about 1.5. We think the latter figure is applicable to Sumer.

It can be shown that the average of all incomes of x and above is $\frac{x}{x-1}$. Income from agricultural lands is proportional to area. The average of fields above 0.8 acre is $\frac{1.5}{1.5-1} \times 0.8 = 2.4$ acre.

17. An agriculturist tries to get as much land as he could get ; the only limitation being his ability to plough it. For the reasons stated above it must be much below 3 acres ; probably about 2.0 to 2.5 acres. So long as land was available at Sumer, with fast increasing population each cultivator got sufficient land to plough. The natural course of Sumerian expansion and later on of Babylonian expansion lay up-stream, for the Chaldean plain was enclosed to the south and west by the desert, and to the east lay the plateau of Iran. Already in the third millenium Sargon of Akkad had overrun Assyria and Mesopotamia penetrated round the north of the desert as far as Syria and Palestine. The date of Sargon has been given by Sir Leonard Wolley as 2360 to 2305 B. C.

By this time all land was fully cultivated.

Wolley in *Ur of the Chaldaes* p 83 says :— "of all the rulers who made themselves masters of Lower Mesopotamia in these troubled times of warring city states the most famous was Sargon", who formed a new city of Agade or Akkad.

The wars were either for hegemony over other city—states or for land. It may be inferred that pressure of population was great.

By the time of the temple records of Lagash from which Gordan Childe extracts the acres of fields, agricultural land was not easily available for fast increasing population. He writes :—"Almost the oldest legible documents, other than account tablets, describe wars between the adjacent cities of Lagash and Umma for the possession of a strip of frontier territory".

If no further land is available, fields are on the demise of their owners sub-divided amongst their sons ; and the area becomes smaller and smaller.

18. For the reasons stated above (in paras 11 & 17) the normal average area of an agricultural field is about two a half acres. If we suppose the area to have decreased from 2.5 to 0.8 acre i.e. by 3.125 times on account of succession, the population must have increased by 3.125 times.

The question is in how many generations the population has so increased. The answer to which we have arrived is three generations. Reasons are given below.

19. By applying Pareto's Law, and taking $d=1.5$ we find that the average area of a field is 2.4 acres. For every 100 persons with an area of 0.8 acres and above the number of persons having fields of area 2.5 acres and above is 19.2. The total land available is 240 or 250 acres. And the average area of fields greater than 2.4 or 2.5 acres is 7.2 or 7.5 acres. The area of land possessed by the bigger

owners is 19×7.2 or 19×7.5 acres = 136.8 or 142.5 acres. Deducting this area from the total $240 - 136.8 = 103.2$ or $250 - 142.5 = 107.5$ acres is possessed by 81 poorer persons.

The area now possessed by these 81 persons was originally possessed by $103.2/2.4 \dots 43$ or $107.5/2.5 = 43$ persons.

Some land has 1 succession, some 2 and some 3; and the average is 2 successions. This is very close to $1/4 \dots 1.9$. So to each 0.8 acres from 2.5 acres there must have been 3 successions.

20. The number of persons in a single unit family is round about 5; it may be 4.8, 4.9, 5.0, 5.1, and 5.2. In the Punjab and the U. P. (India) it is 4.8 or 4.9. In a family of 5, besides the father and the mother, there are 3 children, roughly half of them sons, the other half daughters. The land inherited by sons alone—this we have supposed from the example of the Tribal peoples, Adivasis and of Hindus in India. So 1.5 sons get the land; and their number in the second succession is 2.25 and in the third 3.39. But as the ratio is 3.125 there must have been more than 2 successions.

If we think the average to have been 4.9 persons per family, the number of sons is 1.45, which in 3 successions become 3.049 very close to 3.125.

As there is some masculinity at birth, the approach would be closer still.

So we think there had been 3 successions.

21. The population increased 3.125 times in 3 generations, Taking a generation to be 30 years (see Appendix B), it increased 3.125 times in 90 years. The rate of increase per decade is 13.75 percent.

Without appearing to be dogmatic it can safely be said that the rate of growth of population in Sumer in the Third Millennium B. C. was more than 12 percent per decade. If an opinion is to be hazarded we think it

was 15 percent per decade. It means that population doubles itself in fifty years.

This compared with the overall world rate as estimated by Dunbar is some 25 to 30 times the world rate.

This is population explosion in ancient times.

22. There have been very rapid growth of population in certain areas in the ancient world. For example, "countries in the barbarian fringe illustrates like growth. In Sicily by the fifteenth century the Bronze Age cemeteries consisted of from 1000 to 3000 family vaults as against 10 to 30 in the Copper Age, through the Bronze Age cemeteries are less crowded with skeletons". (Gordon Childe in What Happened in History p 173).

If the difference in time between the two periods is 1000 years as is likely, the rate of growth is 4.8 percent per decade.

23. Sir Mortimer Wheeler in Archeology from the Earth pp 39-40 hints at the explosive population increase in the Indus Valley civilisation. His opinion is tentative. The indications are that it flowered with an almost dramatic celerity, the sudden offspring of opportunity and genius. "A pace of increase, amounting even to "explosive evolution, may be assumed".

The village or town sites measured $1\frac{1}{4}$ acre to $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres; the area of Harappa is 480 acres and that of Mahenjodaro is fully 1 sq. mile. If the size of sites is an index of increase it is explosive increase.

24. There must have been some checks on such a rapid increase in Sumer, During a thousand year, 1000 people would increase to 11,750,000. And this for an area of the size of Denmark, i. e. 15 to 16,000sq. miles. The density per sq. mile works and to some 800. With a larger initial population, the increase would be proportionately larger.

We do not know, what the initial population was. But we need not be surprised at such density. The area of an average field is 2.5 acres; it supports 5 persons. The density per acre is 2. For a square mile of 640 acres it may be as high as 1280. Some deductions have to be made for dwelling houses and irrigational channels and boundary pills. The density per acre is about 1.8. In Palestine a thousand and five hundred years later it was 0.6 (see Appendix C).

In 1931 in the Bengal district of Dacca, we find in two sub-divisions :—

| Subdivision | Area | Density per sq. mile. |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| Munshiganj | 294 sq. mile | 2,413. |
| Manikganj | 503 „ | 1,048. |

In some exclusively agricultural thanas or police stations the density exceeds 3000 per sq. mile. In one Thana it is as high as 3228. 25. The pressure of population of Sumer about 2000 B. C. perhaps compelled Abraham to migrate from Ur. The date of his migration is given as 2200 B. C.—2000 B. C. in the Bible Cyclopaedia. It was not an individual emigration, but part of the Ferachid movement from Ur to Harra and westwards (see Albright -Archaeology of Palestine p83). 26. The rate found above is true for 2500 B. C. It may have been greater or less earlier than 2500 B. C. and after 2500 B. C. All that we can say that it was comparatively large. Most populations follow a "logistic" pattern of growth; the growth at then became slow and steady at the end. Possibly about 2500/- B.C. they were increasing rapidly and we have got an idea of it.

APPENDIX—A.

Urbanisation in Sumer c. 2500 B. C.

1. There were many cities in Sumer; and some of them had suburbs. Ur had Al Ubaid, four miles distant from the centre of

the city. Trade and Commerce was brisk and it is to be expected that there was a large urban population.

2. Instead of speculating as to what proportion of the total population lived in cities, we deal with Lagash one of the cities about which we have ample information as a sample of the whole. Lagash was neither the most important city, nor an insignificant one.

3. Gordon Childe in *What Happened in History* p 94 states that the city of Lagash had a population of 19,000; he further says that "a governor of Lagash, one of the smaller cities of Sumer about which we happen to be exceptionally well informed, claims to rule over ten sahrs of men a round number literally Ninety-six thousand, and perhaps applying only to adult males".

3. He in *Prehistory of European Society*. p. 81 says :— In the Orient "each little farmer, herdsman, or fisherman in the alluvial river valleys could—barring an "act of God"—produce enough food to keep himself and his fast growing family and a little surplus too".

4. This fast growing population is most likely to have been of Sindbargs' Progressive Type. The age—distribution of such a type is :—

| Age | 0-15 | 15-50 | 50-over |
|------------|------|-------|---------|
| Proportion | 400 | 500 | 100 |

Taking all those who are above 15 to be "Adults", the proportion of Adults to Minors is 600; 400 or 3 : 2

5. For 36,000 adults we have 24,000 minors. The total male population is 60,000. As the number of males and females are likely to be equal, the grand total comes up to 1,20,000.

And of them 19,000 live in the city. The proportion of Urban population is 15.8 per cent.

6. Probably the population was larger than what we have estimated above. In Herodotus we read that only a male above 20 was consi-

dered an Adult in the Persian empire of Darius I (c. 500 B. C.). So also at Sparta in Greece.

At the time of the Biblical Exodus from Egypt the Israelites, while in the peninsula of Sinai, were numbered, only those who were above 20 were so numbered. The Exodus took place in 1320 B. C.

In Davids' time the Israelites were again numbered. Only those who were above 20 and able to bear sword were so numbered. David died in 978 B. C.

7. Very likely the adults of Lagash were above 20. The proportion of those who are between 15 and 20 is generally about 8 or 9 per cent, especially in a population of progressive type. So the proportion of those who are between 0-20 is $400 \div 80$ or 90; and those above 20 is $500 \div 100 \div 80$ or 90. As a matter of caution we take 80 instead of 90. So the proportion of Adults : Minors.....520 : 480.

The total population of Lagash is then estimated to have been $2 \times (36,000 \div 36,000 \times 12)$ or 1,32,800. In round numbers 1,33,000.

$\frac{13}{13}$
The proportion of urban population is 14.4 percent.

8. Whether the proportion be 15.8 or 14.4 percent it was large. In Great Britain the urban population is eighty percent; and the proportion of those who live in greater London is 16 percent.

APPENDIX—B

Length of a Generation :

The length of a generation is generally taken to be 25 for eastern countries and 30 for western countries. But such assumptions are not quite justified.

In the Bible (St. Mathew Ch. I v 17) we read "from David until the carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away into Babylon upto Christ are fourteen generation."

The death of David took place in 978 B. C. and that of Christ in 30 A. D. The average length of generation is 36.0 years.

From the death of Babur, the founder of the Moghul Empire in India, in 1530 to the death of Bahadursah II in 1862, eleven generations intervened. The average for a generations works out to 33.2 years.

The sage Vyas, a contemporary of the Great War of the Mahabharata (c. 1450 B. C.) lived in later life at Benares and composed Vyas Samhita, a law book. In it he lays down that if land is possessed for three generations or for sixty years, the title is perfected. The length of a generation is 20 years.

No generalisation can be drawn from these examples. What was the length of a generation in Sumer about 2500 B. C.

Sir Leonard Walley thinks the Mes-ani-padda and A-ani-padda of the First Dynasty of Ur ruled for 80 years (P 74 of the Ur of the Chaldees).

From 2079 B. C. to 1960 B. C. Ur became the capital of the Sumerian empire. The founder of the Third Dynasty and of the Empire of Ur, was Ur—Nammu and "he founded a royal house of which four generations were to sit upon the throne (Ibid P 87). The splendour of the third Dynasty of Ur went out in shame and disaster." The last king was carried away a captive by the Elamities (ibid p 114).

Taking the First king and the last king as 1, we have 4 kings for 119 years. A generation29. 75 year A generation of the First Dynasty...40 years. Combining the two sets we get 33 years for a generation.

For the commonality, the peasants and cultivators who led a hard life, it may not be as high as that of the kings, We take it to be 30 years.

APPENDIX—C

Density of population in Palestine in 10th Century B. C.

The area of Palestine i. e. of Israel and Judah is some 180 miles by 85 miles or 15,300 sq. miles. The Cambridge Companion to the Bible says :—"Palestine or the Holy Land measures nearly 180 miles from north to south, and about 85 miles in average breadth.

In the time of David (1018 B. C. to 978 B. C.) the men able to bear arms were censused.

According to II Sammel ch. 24, Verse 9

"There was in Israel 8,00,000 valiant men that draw the sword ; and the man of Judah were 5,00,000."

In I. Chronicles chapter 21, v 5.

"All they of Israel were a thousand and one hundred thousand men that draw sword ; Judah was four hundred and three score and ten thousand men that draw sword."

The total in one case is 13,00,000 and in the othercase 15,70,000. We prefer to accept the larger figure as more correct.

15,70,000 males above 20 in a population

of progressive type means a total male population of 30,19,000. Or a total population of 60,38,000.

The density per sq. mile is 395, or 0.61 per acre.

The comparatively low density in Palestine fifteen hundred years later than that in Central Mesopotamia can be explained.

Lagash is in the alluvial plain between the two perennial rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. Physically Palestine is a country of many contrasts, of gardens, orchards and orange groves, vine yards, and of salt deserts and stone wilderness, of dreary fastnesses where the smaller carnivora, wolves and hyenas still have their dens, although lions have become extinct.

Further the city states of Mesopotamia were at comparative peace with each other during the most of the third millenium B. C. while Palestine being a bridge between continents, there have always been invasions, wars, march of imperial armies through it and consequent destruction of life and property ; and taking away of prisoners of war.



THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY— A Probe into the Intentions of the Makers of the Constitution

BRUNDABAN PATEL

I

To many people India is, and also will remain, the veritable home of religions. And to Crumb India was nothing less than the central shrine of religion on earth or religion itself.¹ It was religion again which at least for half a century bedevilled India's national struggle for independence and undermined her political and social solidarity. In the circumstances, it was but natural to expect the Constituent Assembly of India to have to grapple with the issue of freedom of religion while enacting a democratic constitution. In fact it had been quite evident by the time the Assembly met that some kind of constitutional guarantees would have to be written into the constitution to protect freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion as, in the metaphysical order, it was the primary sphere of individual liberty. Without such guarantees it also seemed impossible to stem the tide of communal and religionistic politics or to underwrite the efficacy and stability of the political system.

The 'Objectives Resolution' that was adopted on January 22, 1947 by the Constituent Assembly embodied the pledge of the Assembly to guarantee, among other rights, the rights of freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, subject to law and public morality. And only two days after, the Assembly elected an Advisory Committee for reporting on minorities and fundamental rights.² The Advisory Committee in its turn constituted on February 27, 1947, five sub-committee two of which were to deal with

fundamental rights and minority rights. The members of the Sub-committees were appointed by the leadership of the Congress Party in consultation with the leaders of the minority groups so as to give representation to all interests and segments of the population.³

The Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights met on February 27, 1947. The draft proposals on Fundamental Rights before the Sub-Committee were those prepared by the Constitutional Adviser, Sir B. N. Rau,⁴ Professor K. T. Shah, Shri K. M. Munshi, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sardar Harnam Singh, and the Congress Experts' Committee.⁵ Besides, there were other miscellaneous notes and memoranda on various aspects of rights. Most of these lists of draft proposals were lengthy and detailed and were either sometimes annotated or accompanied by explanatory memoranda. At this first meeting, the Sub-Committee elected Acharya J. B. Kripalani as its Chairman and after some preliminary discussions settled the general procedure and order of business. The next meeting of the Sub-Committee was fixed for March 24 mainly with a view to allowing time and opportunity to the members to formulate their proposal and study those proposals already submitted by others. When the Sub-Committee met on March 24, 1947 it decided to take up Shri K. M. Munshi's draft proposals and examine them in conjunction with other drafts.⁶

The guarantees of the right to freedom of religion were contained in the notes and

proposals of Professor K. T. Shah,⁷ and the draft proposals and articles of Shri K. M. Munshi,⁸ Sardar Harnam Singh⁹ and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.¹⁰ Professor Shah's draft sought to provide, to every person living in the Union of India, the right to freedom of conscience, which included freedom of belief, worship, or profession of any religion, faith or doctrine, as well as the negation of any such belief, subject, of course, to public order, morality and laws ensuring the maintenance of public peace, tranquillity, and good relations amongst the various sects and communities in the country. It further sought to secularise the State completely by prohibiting the State from having a State religion, thus ensuring the State's absolute neutrality in matters of religious belief, worship, or observance. Shri K. M. Munshi's and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's drafts, on the other hand, limited the guarantees of the right of freedom of religion to citizens only and sought to restrict the rights to make them compatible with public order, morality and health. Sardar Harnam Singh's draft was vague in this regard and only toed the lines of Sapru Conciliation Committee Report prepared on behalf of the 'All-Parties' Conference' (1944-45).

The Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee took up the discussion of the rights relating to freedom of religion on March 26, 1947, and adopted the draft article VI (1) prepared by Shri Munshi with the significant modifications that instead of being confined to citizens, the right was extended to all persons as had been envisaged in Professor Shah's draft. However, the right to freedom of religion was not to include economic, financial or political activities associated with religious worship. Therefore, Shri Munshi's draft article as modified and adopted, read as follows:

'All persons are equally entitled to freedom

of conscience and the right freely to practise religion in a manner compatible with public order, morality or health. The right to profess and practise religion shall not include economic, financial or political activities associated with religious worship.'

This formulation of the right to freedom of religion did not find favour with all. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was of the view that the phraseology of the article was so broad in its connotation that it would invalidate legislation against anti-social customs having the sanction of religion she wanted her view to be recorded on the defective drafting of the article.¹¹ The sub-committee also, at the instance of Sardar Harnam Singh, agreed to recognize 'the right to wear and carry Kirpans, as a part of the practice of Sikh religion.'¹² It was therefore decided to provide in the Sub-clause of Article VI, an explanation to this effect. It was further decided that it would be provided in the clause dealing with the right to assemble peaceably and without arms so that this does not prohibit the Sikhs from wearing and carrying Kirpans.

The Sub-Committee also adopted a clause from Shri Munshi's draft¹³ that no one would be compelled to pay taxes the proceeds of which were to be appropriated for religious purposes. The clause, therefore, after adoption read as follows :

'No person may be compelled to pay taxes the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of religious requirements.'

The freedom to manage religious affairs, including property, and the concomitant right to construct places of worship also engaged the attention of the Sub-committee which considered the drafts submitted by Sir B. N. Rau and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. The draft clauses accepted were analogous to drafts submitted by Sir B. N. Rau.¹⁴ The Sub-Committee also dealt with the question of

freedom of attendance at instruction in schools and agreed to accept the draft of Sir B. N. Rau.¹⁶ The Sub-committee had also to grapple with the issue of secularising the state and it agreed to incorporate a clause prohibiting the state from recognizing any religion as the State religion.¹⁸ Professor Shah recorded his opinion for further expanding the clause so as to make the state a solely secular organisation.¹⁷ The Sub-committee did not include a clause, however, providing the right to preach and propagate religion though Sardar Harnam Singh's and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's drafts contained such rights. On the other hand, the Sub-Committee further sought to qualify 'the right to profess and practise religion' by laying down that it should be compatible 'with the other rights guaranteed by the Constitution'¹⁸ besides public order, morality or health. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee were incorporated in clauses 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and of its draft report of April 3, 1947:

16. All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise religion subject to public order, morality or health and to the other provisions of this chapter.

Explanation I. The wearing and carrying of Kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the practice of the Sikh religion.

Explanation II.—The right to profess and practise religion shall not include any economic, financial, political or other secular activities that may be associated with religious worship.

Explanation III.—No person shall refuse the performance of civil obligation or duties on the ground that his religion so requires.

17. Every religious denomination shall have the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and to own, acquire and administer property, movable and

immovable and to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes consistently with the provisions of this chapter,

The right to build places of worship in any place shall not be denied except for reasonable cause.

18. No person may be compelled to pay taxes the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated for religious purposes.

19. The State shall not recognize any religion as the State religion.

20. No person attending any school maintained or receiving aid out of public funds shall be compelled to take part in the religious instruction that may be given in the school.

21. The property of any religious body shall not be diverted, save for necessary works of public utility and on payment of compensation.

22. No person under the age of 18 shall be converted to any religion other than the one in which he was born or be initiated into any religious order involving a loss of civil status.

23. Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law and the exercise of such coercion or undue influence shall be an offence.²⁰

II

Some of the members of the Fundamental Rights Sub-committee expressed in their notes and comments misgivings about the implications of several clauses, particularly clause 16. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, in his letter to Sir B. N. Rau of April 4 1947,²¹ said that in view of the wide import that might be given to word 'religion' and 'practice of religion', clause 16 might result in invalidating all existing social reform legislation and the legislation relating to rights of property as

apprehended by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Mrs. Hansa Mehta. Besides, the clause might prohibit any social reform legislation for the future. Such an apprehension did not seem ill-founded as it was evidenced from the judgement of Chief Justice Latham in *Adelaide Company of Jehovah's Witnesses V. Commonwealth* wherein, after a full discussion of section 116 of the Australian Constitution relating to freedom in matters of religious belief and exercise of religion, it was opined that the section 116 'protects also acts done in pursuance of religious belief as part of religion'. As this judgement went far beyond protecting liberty of opinion, the exercise or practice of religion might result in the disappearance of organized civil society. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar therefore urged for providing a suitable rider or explanation in the clause explicitly protecting measures of social reform.

Such apprehensions were expressed in a letter which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur sent to Sir B. N. Rau on March 31, 1947, on behalf of Mrs. Hansa Mehta and herself. According to them, the net effect of clause 16 would be not only to render impossible the enactment of future reform legislation for eradicating several customs practised under the cover of religion, e.g., child-marriage, polygamy and unequal laws of inheritance, but it might also conflict with the provision relating to the abolition of untouchability. They therefore suggested that the freedom envisaged in the clause should be restricted to "religious worship" only in place of much wider concept of "practice of religion".²² Sir B. N. Rau in his notes, dated April 8, 1947 endorsed Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar's comments on clause 16.²³ Sir Alladi also in his comments on the draft report, dated April 14, 1947 reiterated his views on clause 16 agreeing with the lady members of the Sub-Committee and

suggested that, to meet the point, an explanation or proviso to the following effect might be added: "The right to profess and practise religion shall not preclude the legislature from enacting laws for the social betterment of the people."²⁴ He further suggested the clause 21 to be redrafted to include the words "or taken by the States" after the word "diverted" so as not to rule out the *cy pres* application of the funds of religious bodies or institutions.²⁵

In their minutes of dissent to the draft report, dated April 14, 1947, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Shri M. R. Masani and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur expressed their opinion "against the inclusion amongst fundamental rights of those embodied in clause 17 and 21."²⁶ According to them, there was no "necessity to sanctify the property rights of religious denominations any further" as they were amply safeguarded under clause 16 and clauses 11 and 27 guaranteeing rights of property as such. In a separate note of dissent²⁷ they also pleaded for according constitutional recognition to inter-religious marriage and suggested incorporation of a clause based on Article 54 of the Swiss Constitution on the following lines:

'No impediments to marriage between citizens shall be based merely upon difference of religion.'

When the Sub-Committee met on April 14, 1947, it accepted the clauses 17 and 18. It also agreed not to change Explanation 3 to clause 16 and redrafted the rest of the clause as follows:

All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience, to freedom of religious worship and freedom to profess religion subject to public order, morality or health and to the other provisions of this chapter.

Explanation 1. The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation 2. The above rights shall not

include any economic, financial, political or other secular activities associated with religious worship.

Shri K. M. Munshi and Sardar K. M. Pannikar promised to submit a redraft for clause 19 so as to provide for those cases where religion had already been accepted as a State religion.²⁸ In its meeting on April 15, 1947, the Sub-Committee reached decisions to add the words "or to attend religious worship" to clause 20 and to substitute the words "made to join or profess" in place of the words "converted to" in clause 22.²⁹ However, the clause 21 was redrafted as follows :

Any property used for or in connection with religious worship shall not be taken or acquired by the State save for necessary works of public utility and on payment of just compensation.³⁰

The Sub-Committee also decided to omit the words 'or undue influence' in the third line of clause 23 and turned down the proposal by Dr. Ambedkar that the clause should end with the words "recognised by law".³¹ The Sub-Committee also turned down the proposal of Mrs. Hansa Mehta to insert a clause protecting inter-religious marriage and on reconsideration decided to omit clause 19.³² With these changes, the clauses relating to freedom of religion in the draft report were reproduced as clauses 16 to 22 in the final report of the Sub-Committee which was submitted to the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on April 16, 1947.³³

In their minutes of dissent to the final report, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, and Shri M. R. Masani regretted that the Sub-Committee did not include a clause guaranteeing inter-religious marriage as suggested by them.³⁴ Shri K. M. Pannikar also in his minutes of dissent disfavoured the method of using religious property being put down as a fundamental right³⁵ and felt that it

only amounted to straining the meaning of the words 'fundamental rights' by providing in Article 16, Explanation III that "No person shall refuse the performance of civil obligations or duties on the ground that his religion so requires".³⁶ Professor K. T. Shah also in his minutes of dissent to the final draft report recorded his differences of opinion with his colleagues so far as the right to freedom of religion was concerned, in two respects : (1) right of conscientious objection to retain civil obligation as set out in Explanation III of Article 16, and (2) the property of religious bodies as set out in Article 17 and 21.³⁷

III

Minorities Sub-Committee

The Minorities Sub-Committee which met from April 17 to 19 examined the draft clauses recommended by the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee in its final report of April 16 in order to see whether any of the clauses needed further amplification or amendment for the specific purpose of guaranteeing minority rights.³⁸ While examining the clauses relating to the freedom of religion on April 17, Shri M. Ruthnaswamy pointed out that the clause 16 was unsatisfactory inasmuch as it did not provide for the right to propagate religions in accordance with their tenets even though certain religions, such as Christianity and Islam, were essentially proselytizing religions.³⁹ Shri P. R. Thakur also opined that religions should have freedom to observe their practices in places and non-muslims should be allowed to play music before the mosques.⁴⁰ Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee, however, analysing the clause 17, pointed out the necessity of regulating the right of building places of worship in public places only on condition that the public rights of members of other communities were not infringed, such as the use of a public highway for processions after a new place of

worship had been built on it. He further pointed out that the right to repair places of worship should also be guaranteed.⁴¹ Shri K. M. Munshi also desired, in a letter that he circulated, that the rights of minorities to form and manage charitable, religious and social institutions at their own expense should be equally guaranteed.⁴² After examining clause 18 Sardar Ujjal Singh expressed the view that the right of every religious community to tax itself by legislation, if necessary, for religious and other purposes should be guaranteed.⁴³ The clause 20 was examined on April 17 and also April 18. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant opined that the clause should make it clear that it excluded all property except that which was actually used for purposes of worship. However, Sardar Ujjal Singh opposed the inclusion of the clause and suggested that it should be omitted, as it would only provide a loophole to the State to acquire places of worship, making a complete departure from the past practice. But, Sardar Ujjal Singh himself proposed the clause to be redrafted to read, "The State shall not acquire any place of public worship. It may, however, acquire properties endowed or attached to a place of worship if the same is needed for essential public utility works on payment of just compensation."⁴⁴ Shri M. Rutnaswamy opined in connection with clause 21 that a minor should be allowed to follow his parents in any change of religion or nationality which they may adopt as without this it will lead to break up of family life.⁴⁵ Shri C. Rajagopalchari questioned the necessity of providing the clause 22 about non-recognition of conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence as it was already covered by the Indian Penal Code.⁴⁶

The Sub-Committee decided on April 18 to recommend the redraft of the clause 16 by a majority decision of 10 to 5 ; the dissentients

being Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Jagajivan Ram, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Shri P. K. Salve and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. The redrafted clause read as follows :

All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess practise and propagate religion subject to public order, morality or health and to the other provisions of this chapter.

And that in Explanation 2, for the words "religious worship" "religious practice" should be substituted.⁴⁷

The Sub-Committee also decided to recommend the redraft of the second para of the clause 17 and accepted in principle that the location of places of worship should not interfere with the freedom of any person to use a public road without let or hindrance. The redraft of the second para of clause 17 read as follows :

The right to build and maintain places of worship shall not be denied except for reasonable cause.⁴⁸

The Sub-Committee in its meeting on April 19, 1947 decided to recommend the redrafts of the clauses 20 and 21 as follows :⁴⁹
Clause 20 :

Any property continuously used for public religious worship shall not be taken or acquired by the State, save for necessary works of public utility on payment of just compensation and with the consent of the parties concerned which shall not be unreasonably withheld.

Clause 21 .

(a) No person under the age of 18 shall be made to join or profess any religion other than the one in which he was born, except when his parents themselves have been converted and the child does not choose to adhere to his original faith ;

Nor shall such person be initiated into any religious order involving a loss of civil status.

(b) No conversion shall be recognized unless the change of faith is attested by a Magistrate after due inquiry.

The Minorities Sub-Committee thus suggested changes in the clauses relating to the right to freedom of religion and incorporating its recommendations in an annexure⁵⁰ submitted its Interim Report⁵⁰ on April 19, 1947 to the Chairman of the Advisory Committee.

IV

Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities, etc. met for two days, i. e., on April 21 and 22. Before the Committee met, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar submitted a note to the Chairman dated April 20, 1947 on the 'freedom of religion' clause and expressed his views on the clause as it had been passed in a modified form by the Minorities Sub-Committee.⁵¹ Sir Alladi opined that the clause in its modified form 'may stand in the way of social legislation and strike at legislation already passed especially having regard to the wide language as to the effect of any deviation from the fundamental rights guaranteed'. Besides, according to him, the word 'practice' would be wide enough to cover 'religious processions, cow-killing, music before mosques, etc.' He therefore felt that 'instead of leaving it to the good sense of the future legislatures and courts a constitutional guarantee may have the effect of stereotyping and giving rigidity to existing practices'. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur also in a similar note dated April 20, 1947⁵² on the clauses relating to the freedom of religion conveyed her 'emphatic opposition' to the revision by the Minorities Sub-Committee of clause 16 of the final report of the Fundamental Rights

Sub-Committee. According to her submission, to make the 'free practice of religion' a justiciable right was an error and this right would defeat not only social progress but would keep alive communal strife. She also contended that there was no justification for providing the right to propagate religion in clause 16 as the right to propagate was amply assured in clause 10 dealing with freedom of speech and expression.

Thus, when the Advisory Committee met on April 22, 1947 to formulate its recommendations on the right to freedom of religion, it had to consider the relative merits of the alternative drafts of clause 16 proposed by the two Sub-Committees in conjunction with the notes of Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. According to Shri C. Rajagopalachari the difference between the two draft clauses was that the Minorities Sub-Committee's suggestion included the right to propagate religion besides protecting freedom of conscience and worship which were well covered by the clause 16 formulated by the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee.⁵³ Shri K. M. Munshi, however, contended that the difference also lay in including 'religious practice' with its wider connotation in place of 'religious worship' as a fundamental right.⁵⁴ The first question for consideration, therefore, was whether the scope of the clause should be confined to guaranteeing freedom of worship or widened to the free practice of religion. Shri Jagajivan Ram, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar favoured the retention of the clause as formulated by the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee. Shri K. M. Pannikar even doubted the merit of covering all religious practices under fundamental rights. But Shri K. M. Munshi, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Shri J. L. P. Roche-Victoria pleaded for broadening the scope of 'religious worship'

to 'religious practice' as suggested by the Minorities Sub-Committee. Shri Syama Prasad Mookherjee and Shri C. Rajagopalachari suggested the insertion of a proviso to enable the State to undertake social reforms as, otherwise the sweeping phrase 'religious practice' might make all social reform impossible.⁵⁵ On a vote, however, the opinion was in favour of inserting the words 'religious practice' in Explanation II of clause 16 and consequently accepting the clause as formulated by the Minorities Sub-Committee. Thus, having agreed to provide the free practice of religion as a constitutional guarantee, the need for introducing a suitable proviso permitting the State to carry out social reforms was no longer in question. The Chairman, Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, therefore, entrusted the task of drafting such a provision to Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Shri Syama Prasad Mookherjee. On the basis of their recommendation, the Committee decided to add to the clause a new explanation providing that the freedom of religious practice would not "debar the State from enacting laws for the purpose of social welfare and reform."⁵⁶

The second question was whether or not the right to propagate religion should also be included in the clause. Shri K. M. Munshi and Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar did not favour the inclusion of the right of propagation of religion as this right was already covered by the clause guaranteeing the right to freedom of speech and expression. Shri M. Ruthnaswamy, however, contended for its inclusion and was supported by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant who by now conformed to the wishes of many members who favoured its inclusion.⁵⁷ When a vote was taken, the Committee decided to retain the right to propagate religion and this was incorporated in clause 16 as adopted by the Advisory Committee. After a brief discussion Explana-

tion 1 of clause 16 was retained as it was. However, Explanation 3 was omitted with the concurrence of the House.⁵⁸

In regard to clause 17 relating to freedom to manage religious affairs, including religious property, there was a brief discussion in the Committee. Shri K. M. Pannikar and others, doubting the need for authorising religious denominations to hold property as a fundamental right, suggested the deletion of the clause. But Shri K. M. Munshi maintained that this was a concomitant right of freedom of religion and religious freedom would be meaningless if this clause were deleted. Mr. Frank Anthony also urged that the clause was vital so far as the Christians were concerned. The Committee, however, adopted a compromise by accepting a suggestion, made by Shri C. Rajagopalachari, that the clause might be retained but with the qualification that the right of religious denominations to own, acquire and administer property would be 'subject to the general law'. On Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar's suggestion the Committee also decided to drop the paragraph 2 of the clause as it was considered unnecessary.⁵⁹

There was little discussion on clause 18. On a suggestion made by Shri C. Rajagopalachari, the Committee decided to replace the words 'religious purposes' in this clause by the words 'to further or maintain a particular religion or denomination', and thus modified, the clause 18 was accepted.⁶⁰ The Committee also adopted clause 19 without any change.⁶¹ After a brief discussion, the Committee agreed to omit clause 20 and clause 21.⁶² There was, however, some discussion on clause 22 dealing with religious conversion. Some members were of the view that the clause should be deleted. But some other members, especially members of the minority communities, wanted the clause to remain. The Chairman, however,

suggested that forcible conversion should not be recognised and favoured dropping of the last line of the clause. The clause, thus modified read :

Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law.⁶³

With these changes, the clauses relating to freedom of religion recommended by the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee were reproduced by the Advisory Committee as clauses 13 to 17 as follows in its Interim Report on Fundamental Rights :⁶⁴

13. All persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience, and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion subject to public order, morality or health, and to the other provisions of this chapter.

Explanation.—The wearing and carrying of Kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation 2.—The above rights shall not include any economic, financial, political or other secular activities that may be associated with religious practice.

Explanation 3.—The freedom of religious practice guaranteed in the clause shall not debar the state from enacting laws for the purpose of welfare and reform.

14. Every religious denomination shall have the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and subject to general law, to own, acquire and administer property, movable or immovable, and to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes.

15. No person may be compelled to pay taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated to further or maintain any particular religion or denomination.

16. No person attending any school maintained or receiving aid out of public funds shall be compelled to take part in the

religious instruction that may be given in the school or to attend religious worship held in the school or in premises attached thereto.

17. Conversion from one religion to another brought about by coercion or undue influence shall not be recognised by law.

References.

1. Vide 'The Cultural Heritage of India,' (Volum IV), p. 3.
(Published by the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1956). 'India is not only the Italy of Asia ; it is not only the land of romance; of art and beauty. It is in religion earth's central shrine. India is religion.'—Cramb.
2. C. A. Deb., Vol. II, pp. 325-7.
3. The members of the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee were ; (1) Acharya J. B. Kripalani, (2) Mr. M. R. Masani, (3) Professor K. T. Shah, (4) Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, (5) Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, (6) Mr. K. M. Munshi, (7) Sardar Harnam Singh, (8) The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (9) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, (10) Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram. The Sub-Committee elected Kripalani as its chairman.
Mrs Hansa Mehta who was nominated to the Sub-Committee by the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, joined its meeting on March 24, 1947 and Sardar R. M. Pannikar, who was nominated in March to the Sub-Committee to represent Princely States, joined its meeting only from 14 April onward.
The members of the Minorities Sub-Committee were : (1) The Hon'ble Sri Jagjivan Ram, (2) The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (3) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, (4) Sardar

Jogendra Singh, (5) Dr. S. P. Mookherjee, (6) Sardar Ujjal Singh, (7) Sardar Harnam Singh, (8) Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, (9) Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, (10) Shri H. J. Khandekar, (11) Mr. P. K. Thakur, (12) Sir Homi Mody, (13) Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, (14) Shri P. K. Salve, (15) Mr S. H. Prater, (16) Mr. F. R. Anthony, (17) The Hon'ble Shri C. Rajagopalachari, (18) Rajkumari Amit Kaur, (19) Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, (20) Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, (21) Shri Rup Nath Brahma, (22) Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, (23) Mr M. V. H. Collins, (24) Dr. Alban D'Souza, (25) Shri K. M. Munshi. (26) The Hon'ble Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.

The Sub-Committee elected Dr. H. C. Mookherjee as its Chairman and authorised the President of the Constituent Assembly to nominate additional members.

4. Sir B. N. Rau submitted his draft rights in addition to the extensive passages on rights contained in his 'Constitutional Precedents'.
5. 'The Congress Experts' Committee consisted of Asaf Ali, N. Gopalswamy Aiyangar, K. T. Shah, K. M. Munshi, K. Santhanam, Humayun Kabir, D. R. Gadgil and Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman. The Committee was constituted in early July, 1949.

Shri K. M. Munshi writes in his book 'Pilgrimage to Freedom' Vol. 1), pp. 104-105 :

"After I was asked to join the Experts' Committee of the Congress, I began preliminary exercise of preparing a draft Constitution myself. In the middle of August, V. K. Krishna

Menon spent a few days with me in Bombay, helping to go over a part of the ground. He was extremely helpful, but he suddenly left for England, and I was left alone to complete my labours which took me about two months." This draft Constitution also contained a list of Fundamental Rights and Duties along with the Right to Religious and Cultural freedom.

6. B. Shiva Rao's Select Documents Vol. II, 4, P. 116.
7. Ibid., Vol. II, 2 p. 41 and pp. 50-51 (Articles 15-18).
8. Ibid., Vol. II, 4, p. 76 (Article VI).
9. Ibid., Vol. II, 4, p. 81 (Articles 3-8).
10. Ibid., Vol. II, 4, PP. 37-8 (Articles 14-20).
11. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iii), p. 122.
12. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iii), 123.
13. Ibid., Vol. II 4 (iii), p.123.
14. Ibid., Vol. II. 4 (iii), pp. 122-3.
15. Ibid, Vol. II, 4 (iii), p. 123.
16. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iii), p. 123.
17. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iii), p. 123.
18. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iii), p.131.
19. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (iv), p. 140.
20. From Sir B. N. Rau's notes on the Draft Report dated April 8, 1947 (as given in B. Shiva Rao's Select Documents Vol. II, (v) (c), p. 149) we learn that clause 16 was from the Irish Constitution, section 44 (2) 1°, while Explanation I was based on the recommendations of the All Parties Conference, 1928. Explanation III was adapted from the Yugoslavian Constitution, Article 12, Paragraph 2, but omitting reference to military obligations. The clause 17 was adapted from the Irish Constitution, section 44 (2) 5° whereas the second paragraph of the clause was new. But the clause 18 was adapted from the Swiss Constitution, Article 49, paragraph 6. However, the clause 19 was

analogous to Amendment I of the Constitution of the U. S. A., and Weimar Constitution Article 137, paragraph 1. Whereas the clause 21 was adapted from the Irish Constitution, section 44 (2) 6°, clause 20 was based on the recommendations of the All Parties Conference, 1928 and also the Irish Constitution, section 44 (2) 4°. Clauses 22 and 23 were meant, however, to stop certain practices which it was feared were becoming increasingly common.

21. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (v) (a), pp. 143-6,
22. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (v) (b), pp 146-7.
23. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (v) (c), p. 153,
24. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (v) (g), p. 160.
25. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (v) (g), p. 160.
26. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vi) II, pp. 161-2.
27. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vi) iv, pp. 162-3.
28. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vii), p. 165,
29. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vii), p. 166.
30. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vii), p. 166.
31. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vii), p. 166.
32. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (vii), pp. 168-9.
33. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (viii), pp. 169-76.
34. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (ix) iii, pp. 177-8.
35. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (ix) ix, p. 185.
36. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (ix) ix, p. 187.

37. Ibid., Vol. II, 4 (ix) x, p. 194.
38. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (i), p. 200.
39. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (i), pp. 201-2.
40. Do.
41. Do.
42. Do.
43. Do.
44. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (i), p. 203.
45. Do.
46. Do.
47. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (i), p. 205.
48. Do.
49. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (i), p. 206.
50. Ibid., Vol. II, 5 (ii), pp. 208-9.
51. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (ii), p. 211.
52. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iii), pp. 212-3.
53. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), p. 265.
54. Do.
55. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), pp. 264-7.
56. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (v), p. 290 and 7 (i), p. 298.
57. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), pp. 267-8.
58. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), pp. 268-9.
59. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), pp. 269-270.
60. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), p. 270.
61. Do.
62. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), p. 271.
63. Ibid., Vol. II, 6 (iv), pp. 271-2.
64. Ibid., Vol. II, 7 (i), p. 298.



RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

RAJANI MUKHERJEE

Since Sardar Swaran Singh has spoken in the general assembly of the United Nations it is necessary to recapitulate the various issues pertaining to Bangladesh. Mrs. Indira Gandhi has journeyed to Moscow on the mission. So that it can be said that India has made known to the world her stand on Bangladesh. Three specific points were made very clear to the world. First, the refugees have been driven to seek shelter in India in a destitute and helpless condition. Second, they shall go back when a suitable climate is created in which they will have confidence to enable them to return home. Third, at a suitable time India shall recognise the Government of Bangladesh.

General Yahya Khan has made his intentions clear from the very beginning-by action rather than by words-a total annihilation of the opposition. In his statement of June 28th, 1971 he has dashed all hopes of any political settlement. Immediately after the said statement of the General in a meeting of the Bangladesh legislators, 135 MLA's and 239 MPA's held on July 5th and 6th, 1971 re-affirmed their confidence in the Government of Bangladesh and gave them a mandate to secure recognition and bring the war to a victorious end.

In consequence of the said decision the voluntary army of Bangladesh known as the Mukti Bahini has undergone a change, taken a shape and consolidation, in order to achieve the objective of the provisional government.

The growth of this militia is a matter of recent history and it is common knowledge that its strength is considerable today. This development is of great importance to India and the international community. A trained army, fired with imagination, idealism and urge for freedom cannot be kept in leash for long. The birth of this army has taken place in fire and blood. They are the legacy of a storm which has left an unquenchable thirst for freedom. As a matter of fact the drums are already sounding and our country has given life to the movement by giving the people of Bangladesh shelter from the terror that Yahya Khan let loose. As a result of the flight of 9 million or so people from East Bengal, now known as Bangladesh, large areas round the country to some depth has partly become a barren, depopulated land, the vacuum has not been filled up. There is no one to cultivate their land or carry on any vocation on their behalf.

In that vast country there was organisation and administration. It has been destroyed as a result of the military action by the West Pakistan army. Now it is a desolate country, with an army of occupation holding the people to ransom so that they could barter away their freedom for their life and a morsel of bread. That is the reality of the situation, which our country must understand. The paucity of foodgrains will create a worse problem. They cannot buy food as they lack the medium to buy it with. Yahya will say,

accept my terms and here is the food packet'. It is for this reason Yahya has denied entry to all foreigners who want to carry on relief work. That day is not far distant when ten million more will trek towards India. But still there will remain 50 million even if some millions are accounted for as dead or missing. This is neither a fantasy or a figment of imagination. It is all in the realm of facts.

Is the reason which is delaying India to recognise the Government of Bangladesh the same as those of the big powers? India's misgivings may arise from many factors. She may think recognition will bring West Pakistan into direct confrontation with her. That confrontation has been in existence since the Indian sub-continent was partitioned in 1947. There was a minor war over Kashmir. There was subsequently a major war. There is no normal connection between India and Pakistan, either by road, rail or air. There is no trade relation. Therefore hesitancy on the part of India to recognise Bangladesh is a political mistake, and it should be discussed and faced frankly.

Let us carry our mind back to the second decade of this century. The First World War had ended. The Middle East was being born. In that obscure hour of their birth England created an Ulster in their midst viz, the state of Israel. Jews wanted a homeland and Balfour gave them one. Little did they or the Arabs imagine that in the subsequent period of middle eastern history they will be interlocked in a prolonged war, resurrecting the animosities of ancient history.

The partition of the Indian sub-continent was planned the same way. For the last 24 years India has known no peace. Irish history tell the same story. But the shopkeeper of the world carries on the political trade, talking of liberty, inviolability of state, democracy and freedom.

The Soviet Union has developed the theory of limited sovereignty known in British parlance as dominion status. All states can not be sovereign, some have to be captive ones. Bangladesh is relegated to the category of a 'captive' nation.

The United States or the Dollar have only spheres of influence. This aspect concerned more a matter of military strategy than trade or commerce. It has been the old British policy, trade Following the Flag. This military strategy was laid down during the Eisenhower administration. President Nixon continues the same. There was a time in American history when Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt meant something in world politics. Today the Voice of America is the Voice of Wall Street. No wonder the wail of the tortured souls of Bangladesh did not reach them.

The Prime Minister of India has undertaken a journey to Moscow. She will do it again and journey to America. But every one of these powers are conditioned by their own complex of politics and do not view it with India's out look. Therefore the Prime Minister will get no help or guidance from either of these places. This reminds one of the Mayor of Calcutta (Name does not matter) who used to rant at his officers in the worst language in the presence of the rate payers. The latter were pleased at the way the officers were treated and the officers only laughed in their sleeves at the way their master played his game. So Yahya knows how to play a part with complete unconcern about what others say. That should be enough for the Prime Minister of India to determine her own course without reference to Nixon, Kosygin or Yahya.

Then there is the commitment of India, expressed through Parliament and voiced by the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi. The

World community has no commitment but only vague sympathy.

What are we going to do about it? Are we going to wait for some more millions to come to us as refugees? Are we to wait for Richard Nixon to make another statement to fall on the deaf ears of Yahya Khan? Are we unanimous? Do we agree among ourselves about Bangladesh? Yes. The people of India are unanimous but their governments at Bombay, Chandigarh, Madras etc. don't think alike. Is it a political accident that the

Maharashtrian Assembly did not pass any resolution on Bangladesh? It is a strange coincidence that all the political parties except Marxists and Jana Sangha are silent on the question of the recognition of Bangladesh.

The Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi is aware of the fact that all the words are matters of history and every day at a certain hour the ears of the knowledgeable people in Bangladesh are tuned to the All India Radio to hear that India has recognised the Bangladesh Government. And everyday a sigh of disappointment escapes.

CABINET SYSTEM IN INDIA

NIRMALENDU BIKASH RAKSHIT

It is popularly believed that our Governmental pattern, both at Centre and States, rests upon the British system. Some of the members of the Constituent Assembly and Drafting Committee pointed out that we accepted it as we have been familiar with the British pattern for about two centuries and hence we could work with the system without any major difficulty. Our Supreme Court also held, in the case of *Ram Jawaya Kapoor V. State of Punjab*, that our system has been modelled upon the British Cabinet Government, despite the latter's unitary character.

Feature of cabinet system :

The Cabinet system in England is, as Marriott points out, based upon five outstanding features :

1. King's absence in the Cabinet—The sovereign is excluded from the Cabinet, leadership has been passed to the Prime Minister. Since the Hanoverian reign, the British have accepted these arrangements as binding conventions. Thus, the system differentiates between two functionaries—the King remains at the Head of the State while the P.M. is to be dubbed as the Head of the Cabinet.

2. Correspondence between the executive and legislature—The legislative and executive branches of government have a close tie. Though, initially, the idea of such correspondence crept in by mere accident rather than design, now the principle is maintained, as Marriott observes, in two ways: the Cabinet reflects the political colour of the majority in Parliament and, secondly, all members of the

Cabinet are members of either House of the legislature.

3. **Homogeneity**—In order that the ministers may reflect the political colour of the majority in Parliament, they are obviously drawn from the same political party.

4. **Collective responsibility**—The fourth principle, as Marriott holds, remains embryonic—that of collective responsibility. This means that the Cabinet as a whole stands or falls. Ministers are collectively responsible to the Parliament and as Morley put it, The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be driven from office for a bad despatch from the foreign office and an excellent Home Secretary may suffer for the blunder of a stupid Minister of War.

5. **P.M.'s supremacy** : Though the P.M., by a long-standing convention, a *primus inter pares*, in actual practice, he is the head of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister is, as Morley put it, the keystone of the Cabinet arch. He chooses his colleagues, distributes portfolios among them and may even demand the resignation from his dissentient assistants.

Indian Constitution and Cabinet Features :

Indian constitution enumerates a number of express provisions which suggest its leaning to the Cabinet system. Thus, almost all the characteristic features of the Cabinet Government have been incorporated in the written provisions :

1. Though the President is, under Art. 52, the executive head of the State, Cabinet headship is deliberately accorded to the P.M. in terms of Art. 74 (1). Thus, the President is excluded from the Cabinet meetings which is presided over by the P.M.. The proposals of executive decisions and legislative enactments are communicated to him [Art 78 (a)]. Under Art. 78 (b), however; he may himself enquire into such affairs.

2. The executive and legislature form a close

contact under the constitution. Thus, the ministers are members of either House of Parliament. If, at the time of appointment a minister is not a member of a House of Parliament, he must acquire such membership within the following six months. [Art. 75 (5)].

Secondly, Ministers shall, under Art 75 (3), be collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha. This means that the ministers must have the confidence of the majority of members and they vacate office as and when they forfeit such support.

Thirdly, ministers, even after entering into Cabinet offices, retain their parliamentary membership and are entitled to the privileges and facilities of the legislative branch of the Government.

3. The constitution, however, does not expressly enjoin that the Cabinet must represent the political homogeneity of its incumbents. But the constitution, nevertheless, tacitly suggests its inevitability. The President can choose the P. M. according to his inclination, but once the P.M. is chosen, the formation, of the Cabinet is, in practice, goes beyond the Presidential discretion. Under Art. 75 (1), all appointments of ministers are to be made in consultation with the P.M. and hence it is obvious that only the political followers of the P.M. will have such coveted opportunity.

4. The tenet of collective responsibility has obviously been accepted in our constitution. Thus, Art. 75 (3), reads : The Council of Ministers will be collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha.

5. Indian constitution expressly provides for the P.M.'s ascendancy. Art. 74 (1) describes him as the 'head' of the Council of Ministers. Secondly, under Art 75(5), the P.M. is to be consulted before any cabinet appointment is made. Of course; the dismissal of ministers is a Presidential

discretion and the P.M., has been legally denied such stupendous authority. But this is virtually a Premier's own authority, for, as Dr. Ambedkar observed in the Constituent Assembly, no minister can be recruited without the consent of the P.M. and none can be retained against his will.

A departure :

But the Indian constitution contains, on the other hand, certain features which are uncommon to a cabinet system of government. A careful study induces one to conclude, however, that the incorporation of such provisions make room, at least in abnormal circumstances, for a presidential lead. Whether such a situation will actually occur is too early a conjecture. But the constitution offers, at least legally, certain limitations to the cabinet pattern of government.

Aid and Advise :

In a Cabinet system, the nominal head is advised by his ministers in all affairs of the State and the acceptance of such advice is a binding practice. In India, under Art 74(1) a Council of Ministers is to be appointed to 'aid and advise' the President. But neither this Article nor any other provision expressly enjoin that the President is bound to act upon such advice. On the contrary, Art. 74(2) stipulates that no court of law can ascertain the nature of ministerial advice and the extent of Presidential acceptance. Thus, Dr. B. M. Sharma correctly observes that the President can legally defy ministerial advice and that no court can invalidate his action even if he does not consult with the ministers.

Doctrine of Seal has not gained recognition in our system and the President himself can decide as to how his orders may be authenticated. So, he may pass executive orders duly countersigned by any chosen person of the civil service.

Vital difference :

It has been argued that the President is intended to act as a nominal head like the British king. At the outset it might be pointed out that George III, George V or Victoria did not rule the nation in a way chosen by George I, or George VI or Anne. Even, taking for a while that monarchical behaviour has been uniform all along, it goes without saying that President's position in India is not analogous to that of the British king.

First, in England, a sustained struggle for centuries has circumscribed monarchical power and an over-ambitious king may now at best precipitate a political crisis by his clash with the Cabinet. In such a case, as Dr. S. C. Dash brightly observes, he will lose his throne for himself as well as for his dynasty. But the stake is not so serious in India and in such case a president will only hazard his own position. The only counter-action is impeachment which is, according to Dr. R. V. Rao, practically an impossible devise. Even if the President is removed by impeachment, he will go with impunity and even with the future possibility of being re-elected.

Secondly, in England the monarch normally acts upon the ministerial advice due to long-standing conventions. But the British conventions cannot have any binding influence in India as our constitution does not refer to such conventions.

Of course, our conventions may grow up to bind the presidential authority. But they require a prolific soil and gestation period for proper nourishment. Meanwhile, as Patanjali Sastri once observed, no English convention can bind an Indian President.

Thirdly, the British monarch can only pass executive orders if a minister agrees to put his counter-signature. But our president can act without such ministerial approval.

Fourthly, the hereditary king of England is

regarded as the impartial guardian of the nation, He is above politics and he accepts the ministerial advice in order to maintain royal neutrality. But presidency in India is an elective post and hence it cannot preclude the political inclination of its incumbents.

President's Oath :

The President takes an oath to 'preserve, protect and defend' the constitution and the law of the land. He is not only the Head of the State, but also a protector of the constitution and law. The ministers, on the other hand, promises to discharge their duties faithfully. Thus, the ministers have no duty to preserve the constitution and they may even advise to deliberately trample it. But the President, in such cases, has to protect the constitution from ministerial onslaught by his refusal to accept such advice.

Certain significant provisions :

The constitution of India incorporates certain provisions which offer to the Head of the State an amount of legal power inconsistent with the Cabinet system :

1. Thus, the constitution provides for the appointment of Cabinet members from outside the legislature who may be included in the Rajya Sabha by nomination.
2. Under art. 75 (2), the ministers hold office during the pleasure of the President. the term 'pleasure' is a deliberate choice of Makers and it implies that the President may withdraw it whenever he so wishes. It is in this way that the term has been explained by Mitra, J. of the Calcutta High Court in Lakhnapal's case and we think that it is the only valid interpretation.
3. Under Art. 85 (1) the President summons the legislature. Of course, in England, the King summons it as and when requested by the P. M.. But here in India, the relevant provision does not mention the P.M. and hence

the President can legally exercise his power according to his own will.

4. Art. 85 (2) enjoins that the President can dissolve the Lok Sabha. In exercising this power, again, he is expected to be guided by his P.M.. But even in England, Laski, Keath, Dicey, Wade, Phillips and Jennings have differed among themselves regarding the nature of this convention. So, Dr Mahajan thinks that our President can exercise this authority until a binding convention grows up to the contrary-

5. The President can, under Art. 86 (2) send message to parliament. This power may be exercised to influence the legislature against the cabinet because, as Gledhill points out, such message does not require ministerial endorsement.

6. The President may seek advice, under Art. 143, from the Supreme Court. If the advice differs from that tendered by the Cabinet, the President may even accept his jurist's view.

7. Under Art. III, he may veto a Bill which would only indicate his difference with the Cabinet. Of course, in England no king has exercised it since the reign of Anne. But, as Gledhill observes, it cannot be argued that the President is incapable of exercising it as because the power has fallen to disuse in England.

Emergency situation :

In an emergency the President may exercise tremendous authority and he may as Gledhill observes, play Hitler at least for sometime. He may suppress provincial autonomy, suspend Fundamental Rights, dissolve the legislature and dismiss the Cabinet. Of course, all these seem to be a nightmare But, Gledhill reminds us, sometimes a nightmare comes true. The constitution has failed to make room for sufficient safeguards against an ambitious President. Regarding this point, Dr. Ambedkar could only depend, in the Constituent Assembly

on the optimistic consolation that our President would be a reasonable man.

Conclusion :

Dr. H. M. Jain thinks that there might be abnormal situations when the government is weak, unstable and insecure, the president may be an active and effective executive. Dr. K. V. Rao opines that the private papers of Dr. Munshi indicates that the Makers intended to leave the the whole matter to future political potentialities. It means that if a biparty system with a congenial atmosphere prevails in the land, Cabinet system would be firmly established. Otherwise, the presidential lead will be an inevitability. So, Dr. Pylee cogently concludes that the whole affair depends upon two factors : personality of the President and the political condition of the State. The position of the President in our constitution, then, as Munshi puts it, is *sui generis*.

Cabinet system has been adopted in the states with significant modifications. The Governor is almost a replica of the President

and hence has been intended to play a vital role in the state administration. Above all, he has been invested with discretionary power under Art. 163 (1). Though, this may be argued as a drafting anomaly, Dr. Pylee observes that the Makers vested in him such power for proper exercise in grave circumstances.

This means that Indian system, in spite of its cabinet features, can hardly be placed in a particular category. It is, as Sirdar D. K. Sen observes, a hybrid product, a curious mixture of the essential elements of the system of responsible government and of the presidential regime. Dr. Mahajan also describes it as a Parliamentary-cum-Presidential system. Of course, Dr. Dash thinks that the Indian constitution offers a blending of the features of British, American and Weimar constitutions.

The brief experience of two decades has unmistakably indicates that the government of the State have meanwhile rested upon the Cabinet pattern. But whether there will be a departure as permissible by the constitution itself futurity alone can say.



THE SECOND TRIENNALE—INDIA

USAB

The huge art fair under the nomenclature, Triennale India, has now been held twice under the patronage of the Lalit Kala Akademi at New Delhi. The first was held in 1968 by this Akademi which with certain minor blemishes proved successful. Hence the Second Triennale was rightly staged in New Delhi this year. Well, they arrange Biennale in Venice or in Paris or in Sao Paulo and Tokyo. The organisers must, therefore, be thanked for arranging this massive art fair where forty six foreign nations contributed their art wares. The host country i.e. India is, of course, there.

The vastness of the exhibition can be imagined by seeing over 680 exhibits done by 300 artists of foreign countries. To this collection are added the art works of the host country. The Indian collection numbers 105 items executed by 54 artists. And these numerous exhibits could not be put up under one roof. So the collection was exhibited in three centres viz. at Rabindra Bhavan, National Museum of Modern Art and Tribeni Kala Sangam, all located within a distance of about two miles. Naturally, there was cramming of space to do justice to many exhibits. The exhibition remained open for more than two months, closing on the 31st March, 1971. Rumania and Finland sent their works in the last week of March. Hence the organisers displayed the exhibits of these

two countries for a week after the closure of the Triennale.

On the closing day gold medals were awarded by the Vice-President (Shri G. S. Pathak) to six participating artists, five of whom were from foreign countries and on their behalf diplomats of their respective countries took the awards. Ishwar Sagara accepted the award personally.

Jean Pierre Yvral of France (37), by creating *Plan Escape* (60×60×27cm), a conical figure where black strings are fitted from the round base to the projected point of the cone, with white lines radiating from the centre to the circumference at the base on black ground, wins one of the awards. This contrivance creates ocular puzzle through the process of systematisation of optocinetic art. This elegant and simple work can be classified as an example of sculpture. It gives more intense sense of movement than what we feel from the futuristic paintings of the past.

Self-Portrait with a White Hat is a large woodcut (65×50cm) with distinctly cut squares and rectangles all over in black to bring out the face of a man with a hat by Jerry Panek (53) of Poland. This mosaic type of graphic art wins a gold medal.

Jiro Yoshihara (b.1905 in Osaka) is a pioneer in abstract art in Japan and has been developing infinite variations of circles in black or white. His theme is "No matter how

spacious the canvas is, a circle can fill it" He has created in *Black Circle on White* (acrylic), a huge black circle in slightly wavy manner on a white canvas measuring about two yards by three yards. The other canvas of equal size, entitled *White Circle on Black* has a white circle, slightly tapering at the bottom left on a blackish background. Here, it seems, the black background is on a different plane. He wins a gold medal for his work.

The Cuban artist Mario Callardo (34) in delicate black lines draws a semi-representational *Play in the Tower* (74 x 42cm) which shows excellent spatial treatment and gives the impression of the movement of machine. He does not believe that he is an abstract painter. All he does is the simplification of details in terms of spatial treatment.

Mira Schendal shows superb sense of spacing in a few dispersed small black circles, a broad line or a cross mark in two panels in ink on rice paper. In the other two panels are deep arrows ascending and few descending. Spacing and contrasting colour of the rocket and lunar module are all sympathetic and mystic in delineation. Mira Schendal was born in Italy in 1919. She migrated to Brazil in 1949 and has settled in Sao Paulo. The title of the work is *Graphic Study* (47 x 23cm.) --Sequence 1 to 10. She wins a gold medal.

The youngest award winner, Ishwar Sagara, was born at Ahmedabad in 1942. He has no formal art education, but learnt to paint under the guidance of his brother Piraji Sagara, an artist who uses coloured board, tin plates, brass plates nails and the like as media for expressing semi-realistic compositions. Ishwar's award winning painting *Hungry Souls* (about 6 x 4 ft.) is a large oil painting having black background with a series of buildings in toned down scratched yellow, red, brown, decorated with a clump of green branch up

on one side. On the right is a big owl with piercing look and on the left is a woman after Pahars art style standing in profile beside a door in an expectant mood. Up above in the inky sky are deer inside the moon, flashy crimson to brown wavy parallel beams and fairies. It is remembered that this painting won award in the National Exhibition of Art, 1970 held by the Lalit Kala Akademi at New Delhi. So it wins a laurel the second time by winning one of the six awards in the Second Triennale now. No doubt this painting represents Indian feeling and style in every aspect, except that it is in oils which is not a traditional media.

Peter Nagel (b. 1941 in Kiel) a successful art teacher in Federal Republic of Germany and Miroslav Sutej (b. 1936) of Yugoslavia were awarded "Honours of Mention". Their works have been discussed under their countries.

America

Countrywise the most baffling and disturbing exhibits came from America. Here we see a 40 ft. long and 12 ft. broad scaffolding made of Sal (*Shorea robusta*) props fitted with bamboo matting made of thin bamboo staffs which has a gradient of 4 ft. from the lawn to the other end. Then another *Untitled*—a 36 ft. long 1 foot broad and 1 foot thick cement pillar with broken edge is also kept in the lawn as an art work. Many visitors unaware of their great artistic significance used them as platforms much to the chagrin of the connoisseurs of art. Two loud speakers jutting out from the wall of the Akademi building proved to be a nuisance for their monotonous screaming noise. This was another *Untitled* by Keith Sonnier. Then inside the hall are wire net strips kept in disarray or brown Manila rope net as

specimens of art works. More than a dozen barrel-shaped slightly green fibre glass objects spread on the floor is *Repetition* by Eva Hesse. These fibreglass objects are from the collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Sam Gilliam has more fun in that a huge canvas is hung by five strings from the ceiling of the hall and the dangling portion has been sprinkled here and there with aluminium, red, green, yellow and other pigments by the artist. In short, these and others of this corner are endeavours to innovate items in the art world only to reveal bankruptcy of imagination of the artists. But America did send excellent paintings in previous exhibitions. This time there is no seriousness as it were. The onlookers felt flabbergasted and wanted to know the category under which such art attempts could come. But here Homer nods.

Australia

Robert Hunter (24), the Australian artist, who is an industrial designer, in representing that country, has drawn half a dozen regular criss-cross geometrical designs directly on the walls of the Lalit Kala Akademi in dull monotonous broad lines of acrylic and christened them as *Environmental Paintings*. Only a few years back we saw a fine collection of Australian paintings, but now Robert Hunter creates wonder!

Britain

Britain has sent twenty paintings rather in a perfunctory manner, for all the twenty works have been done by a single artist. Alan Davie (b. 1920 in Scotland). Even though the contribution of that country has not made mark in paintings for more than half a century, it is discouraging to note that a country with a very large number of art institutions could be represented by a single

artist. In the First Triennale—India in 1968 eleven British artists represented their country with twenty works of which Ceri Richards was awarded a gold medal.

The use of pigments, lines and rhythmic flow of objects convinces us that Alan Davie is an accomplished artist. He is modern in his approach but representative in dialect. An overall view is that his canvases resemble somewhat child art-cum-folk-art, but very colourful, strange creatures pop out here and there in finely spaced arrangement. His *Animated Landscape* has dull green and blue background and in the body of the canvas images of strange creature like forms in pinkish brown and white with a moon on the top left in sectors of yellow, red, blue and blackish white, have their surrealist expressions. In water colour treatment he is charming. So we see *Crazy Horse*, a folk art type work in deeper red, browns, figure of a dreamland horse in yellow serpentine patches, a symbolic man—all as if done by an untaught artist in a hilarious mood. His works have a very wide approach, for he takes symbols from the pre-historic times to the modern era.

Austria

Austria is represented by 14 graphics and paintings done by two artists. Even so the collection has a good variety. Fine Serigraphs titled A, E, I, O and U are letters in large red to maroon colour, different portions of which are held by a number of men who feel helpless when the letters break up. The background is either in silver or gold colour. These have been done by Hubert Arathym (b. 1926) to express a sense of sarcasm. His water colour painting *Constellation* shows several human figures in light violet or brown moving blindfold amidst cubes of similar hues and the background is in low grey. Ernst Fuchs (b. 1930) uses

highly colourful tones in mosaic weaving serigraphs and wood cuts showing after folk art the conical or domed roofs, patterned walls of townscapes. In his painting *Sphinx* we see medieval ornamental style by the display of fine blue, pink, grey and browns, figures of a nude woman, a bearded man sphinx, all as if reappear.

Belgium

Four artists of Belgium have contributed eight graphic pieces. Schemetz Betty's (b. 1915) *The Lord of the Space* is in yellow and black spray fashion, as if the yellow globular object is bursting to diffuse patches and smaller objects to trace out a luminous path around. Landuyt Octave's (b. 1922) *The Big Boss* shows in deep etching a fearsome and commanding personality through a wide slit within a maroon circle of about 18 inch diameter. The staring eyes, nose and ears of the Big Boss are seen in black and white. Marchoul Gustave (b. 1924) by means of delicate engraving creates surrealistic patterns of men and animals in black, white and dusk colour to bring out a sense of caricature of human behaviour.

Brazil

Brazil is represented by 16 works done by 4 artists. Mira Schendel's graphic study on rice paper which wins one of the six awards, has already been discussed. Roberto Leal Scorzeli (b. 1938) in his *Composicao Diagonal* and *Superposicao* (Collage) has brought out designs in cubes in criss-cross red, yellow, black and brown and their combinations through arrangement of collage work. Dirce Cavalcanti (Daja) (b. 1932) has utilised plaster, cloth and acrylic to give much sculpturesque accent to his works. In *Adrift* he has struck folded cloth pieces stiffened by plaster treatment on white background in a bit tangent form to create a sense of floating

shape. In *Torn Sunday* he has used wrinkled cloth of slate colour on white background in parallel patterns. In *Dance* he has adopted similar media in white, but in perpendicular patterns. These look like bas-reliefs. Rossini Perez (1932) resides in Paris. He has executed high class dry point and etching patterns where incisions and colour combinations are superb. In *Noeud* we see loops of a black rope and a white rope tied in the reef-knot fashion, where the plies, cavities and all are perfectly etched. His other 4 works are equally good.

Bulgaria

There are six oil paintings and four graphic pieces done by three Bulgarian artists. Kiril Petrov in his *Village Scenes* has used thin layer of oil to show gaudily dressed villagers in terms of impressionistic cubes. He belongs to the progressive painters of the third decade of this century. Georgi Bojilov has painted a townscape in compact layout showing wide arches, massive columns, flight of stairs in thin oils with decorations of a green cactus or pink flower pots and such like. He is powerful and unassuming in his description of the semi-realistic school. The four graphics done by Todor Panajotov (b. 1927) have deep incisions and have wide patches in brown in chocolate. In *Historical Scene* we see knights and attendants with shields, lances, swords in chocolate with touches of pink and blue in the medieval setting.

Soon after the Second Triennale, we saw a collection of more than 60 graphics done by 6 Bulgarian artists. This contained several better works of Todor Panajotov.

Canada

All the 8 canvases in the Canadian corner are in oils done by Hara Papatheodoru. She has described Indians as she saw them in India, Calcutta (oil) has dark background against which is seated a feeble bearded old

man and touching him is a standing young boy with a white turban and a vest. *Dance* shows several Indian women with covered heads, decorated with trinkets and other ornaments swaying their luminous brown hands. All about it is patchy crimson to show the mood. A fantasy *Devil* (oil) is seen in a liquid black skeleton standing upright with luminous violet colour and dazzling eyes. The background is in mixed black and violet. Her drawings are affected, any way.

Cuba

Twenty works presented in graphics and drawings by six artists have come from Cuba. Of these the award winning work of Mario Gallardo (b. 1937) has already been discussed. Raul Santos Sepra's ink drawings are in soft white, brownish pink to describe on black ground strange floating forms, may be a crustaceous specie, and by their side is the shadow of the moon. There is movement in these simple objects. In *Escape* by Salvador Corratg Ferrera we see an abstract pattern where on white background yellow, magenta, blue and crimson lines go up to intersect and also form a criss-cross shape. The treatment of this acrylic is luminous.

Ceylon

Five artists have contributed one painting each in the Ceylonese corner. Sumana Dissanayake's oil work *Harvesting* shows several women, some with sheafs of corn in cubist and divisionist style. Big patches of yellow, red, blue and black are on the figures. The *Cart* by G. S. Fernando (b. 1905) is a water colour painting showing a loaded bullock cart in yellows and browns in spacious airy setting. Others are more or less academic. Scenes of an eating shop with blues in grades or a park having grades of green reveal the sense of distance.

Cyprus

15 paintings done by three artists, all of whom are above thirty, have come from Cyprus. Within the few years of achieving independence this small State is advancing in art culture on modern trends. Costas Joachim's (b. 1936) canvases have variations of wide lines and patches in black, violet, sienna and blue floral or linear patterns, something like tracery. Angelas Makaridis (b. 1942) draws the diagram of a box in lines and dots showing all section in luminous to dark green over black background over which is a *Hamburger* and below a bucket in bluish white is shown in sections. Here and there are red, blue and black dabbings. He has also painted *Saint* in blue and green dress over brick red and black. Below are splashes in blue and brown with objects like a tube, a tumbler to fill the space as though. His *Woman Taking a Shower* which has been done in indifferent drawing. George Splikas (b. 1943) shows us architectural shapes rounded or squared at corners in red, green, orange with a few zig-zag black lines or with a few semicircular greyish patches in Acrylic on canvas or plywood.

Czechoslovakia

The 20 graphic pieces from Czechoslovakia are the products of three artists. Graphic art has a high place in many parts of Europe for the quality depends much on the exactitude of biting and cutting. John Jiri (b. 1923) creates in black and white dry point the shape of a large black seed *Germinating* in the Sun's heat. Anderle Jiri (b. 1936) by the use of dry point reveals fine soft looking sepia tone effect in folk art dialect several works entitled *Comedy*. His works naturally have an indigenous flavour. In *Hloziuk* Vincent's dry point lithograph and linocuts we see bold and detailed incisions in black and white. He describes a few medieval scenes.

Denmark

Aggar Paul (b. 1936) has presented four serigraphs in the Danish corner. These works have deep and bright contrasting tones depicting fantasies or even surrealistic notions. *Gandalf* has chequered black and red, sprawling projections from a mass with two red eyes over lemon yellow background. Perpendicular red lines are there as contrast. We see a red-horned shape with large indigo eyes encircled by green lines over deep indigo marked with black and green perpendicular lines.

Federal Republic of Germany

West Germany's twenty works done by seven artist of different schools, form a fine

selection and demonstrate as they do the cross-section of the modern German art within a small limit.

Kaitum-Kalixalv XIV has a very low-keyed background over which light cream coloured plastic film cut in angular fashion has been set to describe the path of a meandering river and open space. In this and in two other works Bernd Koberling (b. 1938) has used plastic sheets to create an impression of a landscape. Whether pleasant or not, it is an experiment. Rupprecht Geiger (b. 1908) has created something fundamental in leaving a third of a canvas in white and the rest lower part in bright pale green or again in another the bottom has dull white with luminous light green upper part, between



THE SPOTTED DOG

Artist : Peter Nagel

which is a white semi-circle. These yield a soft view of the result of combination of two pigments by even distribution of paints by means of paint gun. We get a feeling of infinity as though. Simple yet powerful and effective to impress our feelings, these give the notion of a grammar of art. Peter Nagel (b. 1938) gives a graceful treatment in *Playground Slide* (tempera) in white and grey bringing out the texture of the canvas to show a small baby sliding down a slip holding inflated toys in red, green, violet and yellow. The slip too has round structure in conformity with the round masses seen in the toys and the plumpy baby. His other painting *The spotted Dog* (tempera) has regular black lines in squares on the brown background in front of which is a large dog chasing a rubber ball which has green, red, violet and white panels. It is photographic and the artist succeeds to give it the dramatic touch. Peter Nagel gets Certificate of Merit (Honours of Mention) for his canvases. *Interior—70* is surrealist oil painting. On low indigo background a torso of a woman in pale blue and whitish green amidst black circle has been described. Below it, on buff coloured background, is a head like object with violet horns and black and white stripes. This has been done by Paul Wunderlich (b. 1927) with meticulous and precise drawing enriched by judicious colouring.

Fiji

There are about 3 or 4 Fijian Tapa cloth printed by hand. These have rich to mellowed colour combination. The designs are generally linear or triangular. The arts and crafts of the island such as carved coconut shell, bowl and drums are there to show the elegance of simple craftsmanship.

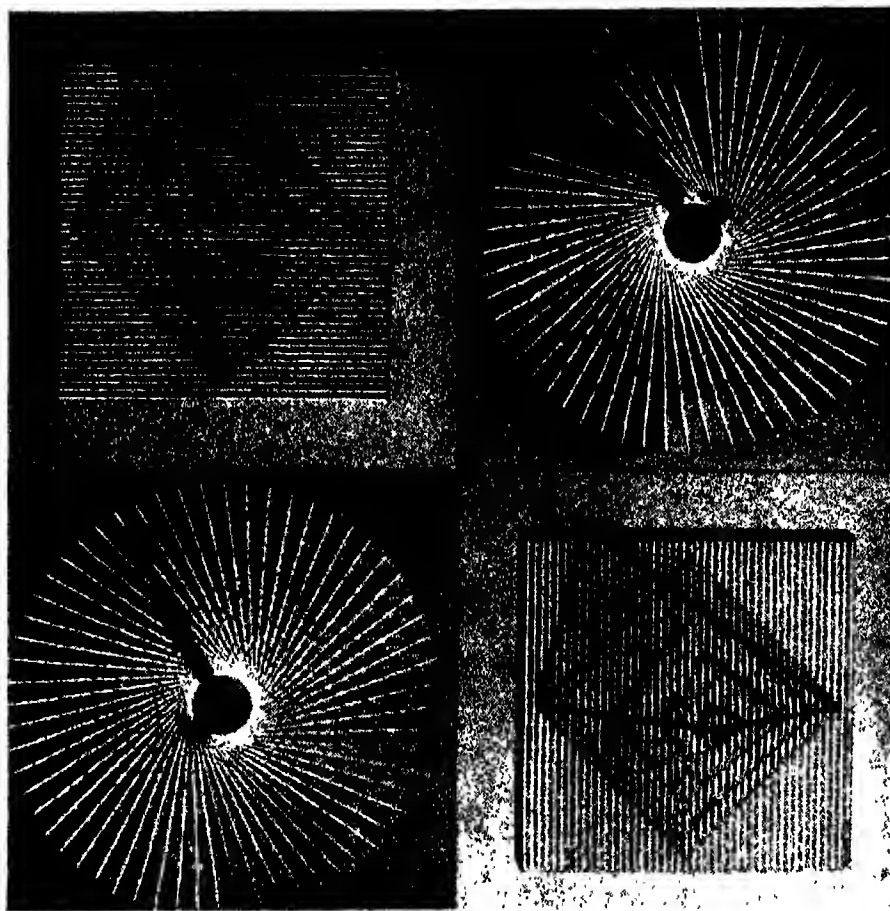
Finland

The twenty items of work executed by four Finnish artists arrived almost near the closing

days of the Second Triennale. These were, therefore, displayed with other late arrivals for a week after the art fair concluded. The works are colourful and the graphic pieces show high attainments. Jorma Hautala's (b. 1941) *Contact* (Serigraph) has a circle around which are dull white lines of various thickness, a few of which are like arrows radiating over black background to reveal spacing and balance. Reijo Koskela (b. 1929) has given evidence of realistic handling in right perspective in delicate etching and aquatint—*Blue Window*. It shows the image of a tree, its trunk, foliage in darker shades through the blue glass and bright through transparent white glass panes. *Sitting Women* (ink) is an attempt by Kauko Lehtinen (b. 1925) on thick wrinkled paper to show the figure of a witch-like woman having a fierce look. In the forefront are red and blue stippings to add fantasy. *Metamorphoses II* is a wood and metal relief made of a square double-faced board having nine smaller divisions on both sides. Each division has a cup-shaped bright steel in the middle beside which are fitted a blue and indigo partitioning bakelite semicircular disks. The effect is reflection of light in these tones. It is more a cheap commercial pattern than sculpturesque.

France

This corner is, by far, the most elegant and tasteful. There are 19 works in oil, graphics, sculptures and collage which is a modified form of Dada art. Some of the works have their bases on the impress machines create on our mind; but these have been done with utmost simplicity, remarkable colouration, fine spacing and make us conscious of the mood. About Yvaral Jean Pierre's award winning work in wood, plastic and wire which create optico-cinetic feeling, a few words have already been said in the beginning.



PLAN ESCAPE AND INTERFERENCE B

Artist : Yvaral Jean Pierre

Nantouiller (oil) shows both brush marks and zig zig lines and coils in indigo and emerald formed directly from the nozzles of tubes. Mauve against black background lightens the spiralling decorating lumps from the nozzles. The spatial quality and the fine linear detail in the minimum present the view of a machine in vastness. Montabes (oil) shows spacing on a white canvas over which are a broad greenish band, a bright blue patch and the like. There are a few red and few black broken horizontal lines over which are several perpendicular poles and coils in red, yellow and black, all to show in suggestions, the distant beauty of a ship. These two have been done by Mathieu Georges (b. 1921). Miss Classe Genevieve (b. 1935) has drawn several circles in violet

and black of different sizes on green background leaving a bit of white to give the rough shape of a man. Her other oil work has red circle on the left and on the other side are circles in blue, white, yellow and violet—all arranged in juxtaposition. She seem to have tried to bring balance in *Cercles* masses by poising stronger and lighter pigments in varying sizes. On all counts these are not so successful. V. Vasarely (b. 1908) has put up a bright coloured collage by applying circles and cubes. Environment is a jungle of symmetrically dangling rubber sheets, thin flexible metal sheet, silver cloth, grey cloth—all barring a few shorter ones, are 15 feet in length and 2 feet in width and are hung on a heavy frame fixed on the ceiling. In it there are

about two dozens of such swinging pieces arranged at different angles. The artist, Ostoya Thomas (b. 1932) has shown at the most a rough and tumble sense of decoration, somewhat after the show case of a draper shop. So some artists have become "engineers of emotion."

German Democratic Republic

The 6 artists of East Germany have put up 20 works consisting of graphic pieces, bronze sculptures and oil paintings. The works are realistic and so offer no scope for the artists to be visionary and imaginative. Wieland Foerster (b. 1930) in an academic head study Walter Felsenstein (bronze) has brought out the personality of an elderly wit. Miss Jenny Mucchi Wiegmann (1895-1969) in the bronze bust Arnold Zweig has done a massive head which is dull without the effect of chiselling and high lights. Gerhard Lichtenfeld (b. 1921) in a full size bronze *Combing* has created a stout elderly nude woman preparing her hair bun by upraising both hands. The right leg being slightly at the rear, the statue has movement and vitality. Helmut Symmangk's *Dresden* (lithograph) due to neat biting, shows a blue sheet of water and on the shore are houses in red, black and yellow patches and lines.

Greece

Four top artists of Greece have sent fourteen paintings graphics and sculptures. Spyros Vassiliou (b. 1902) in *City Moments* has drawn the figure of a conspicuous and large mahogany coloured table on indigo base. Away are a burnt sienna vista of mountain and clusters of houses of a city. The rest is greenish with a yellow moon having its pale halo. On the dark table is a real jade bead set on a locket fixed somewhat after the Dada art. But in layout and idea it is powerful yet pleasant. His another work *Country Walks*

registers a calm sea shore on the right of which are indigo to blue pigments and few tables with remnants of edibles, empty chairs or a few tables and chairs in orange, blue and other colours stacked one over the other, bits of papers strewn to show that lunch time is over. On the left is indigo space with fine irregular patches as waves over which four boats in balancing red, yellow and white move on. All are on the same plane yet the composition is lovely. Constantine P. Grammatopoulos (b. 1916) has shown grains of wood in fine shades of low brown and grade of indigo, superscribed with zig zag triangular shapes here and there of different colours in wood-engraving *Attica-II*. *Agean-III* by him is another large wood-engraving showing foamy divisionistic sea, sections of houses in blue, brown, burnt sienna and white and sections of boats in triangular forms. Of the statues carved out of wood, most are academic and stiff. However, *Dilemma* which shows a wide eyed Grecian thoughtful face supported on the palm of one hand, is a good one.

Hong Kong

4 artists contribute four works in this corner. Cheung Yee (b. 1936) in *Moon* has fixed a round shape divided into four parts. The right side has a few pebbly squares, circles and the left two sectors have brass plates shaped in various shapes and coloured in black. The whole shape is fixed on a bright square steel sheet. *Landscape* (oil) by Kwong Yeu Ting (b. 1922) shows a large boulder with irregular browns, grey, blue, patchy moss with spots of yellow and blue as contrasting tints and bit of transparent water. Lui Shou Kwan (b. 1919) in his *Landscape* adopts traditional Chinese media i. e. Chinese ink on rice paper to show grey to white touches revealing the sky and dull white with a bit of spilling grey for land

and water. It being after Chinese traditional school and uncommon these days, creates interest.

Hungary

There are 20 works done by three Hungarian artists. Istavan Csik (b. 1930) in *Two Figures and Landscape at Balaton* (both in oil) uses cubes and circles after constructivism in black, maroon, blue and violet pigments. Miss Viola Berki (b. 1932) in *Summer* (oil) has depicted a real folk art pattern in that it has green field, light red to vermilion grazing cows, flowering groves tapering upward with coloured birds and white water gliding down a violet mound. Wood-cuts and etchings by Ferenc Czinke (b. 1926) are large and spacious in a variety of hues. The etchings are mostly in black and white giving hints of decorative folk art motifs of the country.

Indonesia

Indonesia is represented by 20 art pieces of the last decade executed by 16 artists who draw their inspiration not only from their traditional art forms but also from the African and modern international art trends. Affendi's (b. 1940) charcoal black thick oil describes a grim mourning scene in *Funeral of a King*. The atmosphere is black, men in the cortege are black and there is a flash of yellow on the coffin. In the background the green palace with yellow to green stipplings stands like a ghost. His *White Horse* too reveals the power of proper handling of the right pigments for delineating the charms of expressionism with sure sweeping strokes. *Life Tree* (oil) by Arif Soedarsono (b. 1935) is a traditional depiction of a massive tree in shades of crimson with several birds perching to match. Kusnadi (b. 1921) has adopted a leafy type of pointillism in black, grey, brown and indigo in the decorative *Portrait of L*. He has maintained weight and the sense of distance. Other

artists have retained the nuances of local art in loudly pigmented *Mask and Two Dancers*.

Ireland

Michael Farrell (b. 1940) is the lone artist who represents Ireland with five canvases. His works are simple though powerful in architectonic designs. In *Press Series No. 1* we see a neat symmetrical work in flat pigments. The background is whitish grey and black and in the centre two wide black axe-head like shapes meet to diffuse three lateral yellows, red and white projections. *Black and Blue Study* (Acrylic on board) has its opposite corners decorated with regular symmetric overlapping triangles on black space and in the middle is a shield like black space with supple white and black outlines. These may be images of Celtic designs, cast in modern symmetrical idioms.

Italy

Twenty Italian artists have contributed twenty works. They, at least some of them, believe that the aim of art, or the fine arts, is to achieve standardisation for all, irrespective of the social or environmental attainments. Thus, objet d'art is not for those alone who are intellectually or culturally superior to the general run of the people. They console us by claiming that the works are didactic contraptions to obtain visual perception and aesthetic experience which have no moorings with the traditional work of art. Such seems the apologia for unconventional artistic creations. Bruno Demattio (b. 1838) creates a twenty inch square air-tight transparent plexiglass case—*Dynamic Liquid Geometry* in which is kept soap water. A slight shake creates innumerable minute soap bubbles to give prismatic designs and froth. *Multidimensional Square* by Bruno Munari (b. 1927) resembles a piece of craft in that an entire indigo coloured plastic sheet is cut and folded

in the form of an arc with a rectangle shooting up with holes here and there to balance. In Series of Discs According to a Cartesian Scheme Lauro Crisman arranges 18 large brass discs (each 70 cm. dia) in a regular pattern which collectively presents different shapes from distance, something like the side view of an airplane fan or even a radar. Corrado Novello (b. 1947) in Red and Orange Transparent Perspex shapes a common pattern by

placing a deep blue transparent sheet inside an amber coloured plastic cuboid. We also see different designs by tying several rectangular plexiglass pieces with strings, all dangling in the air to give the total effect of receding and advancing planes. So we are here not to see examples of fine arts but feel enriched with the experience of toyland designs and that way the collection has a say.

(To be Continued)

ZAMINDARY ABOLITION IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

BALBIR KUMAR JAIN

The land revenue system of Jammu and Kashmir underwent a historical change in 1950. The Constituent Assembly of the State passed the Big Landed Estates Act. This meant the end of the system which had created feudal holdings. This agricultural community, which forms an overwhelming proportion of the entire population of this State and contributed so large a quota to the State revenues had been heavily exploited and lived at the verge of starvation, enmeshed in debt, illiterate and demoralised.

Under Big Landed Estates Abolition Act, every proprietor was allowed to retain 22½ acres of land. The right of ownership in land in excess of this was abolished and transferred to the extent of their actual cultivating possession during Kharif of Sambat 2007 (Sept-Oct, 1950). The Act provided that no

tiller should, with the land so transferred and that which he already owns, possess more than 20 acres by the end of July, 1952. Due to implementation of the Act, an area of 1,32,469 acres was transferred to 1,28,781 tillers and an area of 47,804 acres was vested in the State. As far as the question of the compensation is concerned, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir decided on 26th March, 1952 that no compensation be paid in respect of the land from which expropriation had taken place under the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act. The Abolition of the big landed estates without any compensation was made possible as the State of Jammu and Kashmir was not governed by the Constitution of India in all matters.

The abolition of the Zamindari system leads to a serious question posed by

Prof. R. N. Bhargava² that if property rights had to be abolished, the burden should have fallen equitably on all private owners. It is unfair and unjust to select one class of property owners for imposing such a heavy burden. It is true that "From a revenue collecting organisation the Zaminders had become proprietors. But was it fair that the present owners should suffer for the sins of their forefathers or of previous owners or for the past mistakes of the Government."³ Further, abolition of Zamindari system has increased fragmentation of holdings which is unfavourable for modernization of agriculture and leads to uneconomic holdings.

Although these criticisms are correct to an extent but one cannot agree with the contention of Prof. Bhargava that "The scheme of Zamindari abolition cannot be justified by the theory of public finance".

The big landed estates cannot be treated at par with urban property or other forms of property. Most of the landlords had become proprietors from a revenue collecting organisation. The Land Compensation Committee in their report dated the 22nd March, 1952, submitted to the president of the Constituent Assembly of the State was of the view, "there are cases of Proprietors who have purchased lands in recent years but most of them have made large profits and in any case all these are mere speculators in land in the ultimate

analysis"⁴ The report further stated, equally in dealing with the acquisition of property, we must necessarily have regard to the nature of the property, the history and course of enjoyment, the large class of people effected by it and so on. The abolition law affects a small percentage of landed interests. While it expropriates about 10,000 big landowners, it benefits about 7 lakhs tillers and simultaneously helps 96% of our population which depends directly or indirectly on agriculture"⁵ The Committee held that "The payment of compensation would perpetuate the present inequitable distribution of wealth"⁶.

With the abolition of Zamindari, land revenues also registered an increase in the transference of land to the tillers was due to land, that had hitherto remained un-assessed, being assessed to land revenue and also to the change in the classification from the inferior to the superior.

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1. Source of these figures: **Land Reforms**, published by Land Reforms Officer, Jammu and Kashmir. P. 11
 2. R. N. Bhargava, **Theory and working of Union Finance in India** (Allahabad, 1967) p. 3000
 3. *Ibid*, pp. 305-306
 4. Quoted from **Land Reforms**, p. 19
 5. *Ibid*, 20
 6. *Ibid*, 21



C. Y. CHINTAMANI

L. DEWANI

The struggle for freedom threw up many a patriot whose one consuming passion was the achievement of independence for India. In that band of patriots there were some very outstanding journalists too who used their pen with such sincere conviction and genuineness of interest that hundreds upon thousands of their readers became ardent nationalists.

C. Y. Chintamani belonged to this genre of patriots. His facile pen had contributed in no small measure in stirring the stagnant waters in U. P. and Central India. Starting as early as 1903, he held forth on his own for more than three decades despite growing unfavourable conditions. His activities though mainly confined to the field of journalism also left a mark of his personality in other fields like education, legislature and the government.

Born in April 1880 in the Vizagapatam district of Andhra Pradesh in a family of average means, Yajneswara Chintamani rose to great heights by dint of hard and sustained efforts. He came to U. P. in 1903 to take up the assistant editorship of the English journal *The Indian People*. In 1909, the journal due to financial difficulties was merged in the *Leader* when it appeared as the first English daily newspaper in the then Agra and Oudh Province under Chintamani's editorship. It was, however, his work for *The Indian People* which paved the way for his subsequent rise to fame as a journalist.



C. Y. Chintamani

His work was only the reflex of his unique character. Bred in the old liberal tradition of early Indian social reformers and leaders, there kindled in him constantly the desire to lay such foundations for the society and the people that however adverse the times and coaditions may become, they would always uphold the cherished values.

Like all great editors and public men, his object was not so much to please the public as to serve them to the best of his lights. That his methods did not stand in the way of achieving notable success, is a conclusive proof of the soundness of the judgment and journalistic acumen of Chintamani. He performed his journalistic duties with the devotion and enthusiasm of a deeply religious man. Once he wrote about his profession: "Journalism is not a commercial undertaking in the sense in which other businesses are. It is primarily an undertaking of patriotism, and there is an element of business in it only for the sake, and to the extent, of enabling that patriotic business being carried on, and to no more extent." His paper truly bore the marks of his patriotic ideas for the *Leader* and Chintamani were indistinguishable from each other for nearly thirty years. He gave to his readers neither the syrupy and juicy tales nor the pot stuff to titillate their palate but gave them what he wanted them to know and what was important for them to know. He was therefore rightly called the 'Pope of Indian Journalism.'

In the words of India's silver-tongued orator Shri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Chintamani was an exemplar of independence of judgment and like Macaulay if he failed to convince he would dominate his opponent by his encyclopaedic knowledge, remarkable memory sparkling wit and sarcastic humour.

Although journalism was his main vocation and love, still, he utilised to the fullest extent the opportunities he got to serve the Indian people as a legislator, minister, educationist or as a liberal leader with his characteristic industry, honesty and single-mindedness of purpose.

An extremist among moderates, Chintamani was an unsparing critic of government. Gifted with a clear and logical mind

and with ability to turn a phrase with great effect, though he was not even a graduate, yet he was a force to be reckoned with. For these qualities of his, he came to be regarded as perhaps the ablest debater and parliamentarian in U. P. and in his day was certainly one of the ablest in the entire country. Once when he was absent from the U. P. Legislature, of which he was then a member, Sir Edward Blunt, member of the U. P. Executive Council, remarked that to go on with a debate in Chintamani's absence was like playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

Under the Montagu-Chemsford Reforms Scheme, Chintamani became one of the two Indian ministers in U. P. in early twenties. During the twenty eight months of his tenure as a minister for education, he introduced many healthy changes in the departments under his charge. Two of the most significant changes made by him were making Allahabad University a residential-cum-teaching university and the other was creation of a separate Intermediate Board of Education in the province thereby relieving the universities of the burden of holding intermediate examinations. He resigned from the minister-ship when he found that the bureaucracy with whom he had serious differences was being supported by the Governor against him.

Chintamani was a deeply religious man and believed too greatly in the observance of rituals etc. Thus on certain supposedly inauspicious days he would not undertake rail journey or start any new work. He was also a staunch believer in spiritualism and in re-birth and put great faith in what the spirits of the departed great souls whom he invoked with utmost reverence communicated to him through trusted mediums.

He often used his own nephew as a medium and at times he even published in his paper *Leader* what was believed to have been revealed to him through the medium.

Among the spirits of the departed great souls, he often invoked the spirit of late Gopal Krishna Gokhale whom he had always worshipped and adored as his political guru and mentor. Chintamani died on 1st July 1941 and a few months before his death, he had published in the columns of *Leader* that Gokhale's spirit through the medium of his nephew had written in Gokhale's own handwriting that India would attain independence in 1947 after much tribulations and suffering.

Once in a letter to a friend, Chintamani wrote that he might be interested in knowing as per invoked spirits revelation, King Asoka was in Satyaloka as Mallikharjuna Swami, Confucius was in Tapoloka as Ramakoti

Sastri, St. Paul was in Plymouth. That Akbar was in an obscure Muslim family in Delhi, Julius Caesar was Mussolini, Croesus became Rockefeller, Plato became Lord Morley and Solomon, Lord Haldane and Queen Victoria will be the future king of England and that Lala Lajpat Rai will be born again in 2008 A. D. in Punjab after spending the stipulated period in Tapoloka and Chandraloka and Rabindranath Tagore will have no more births.

One may dismiss the nursing of such beliefs as sheer obscurantism or self-delusion; yet, one cannot but appreciate the resilience of the mind of the pursuer of these beliefs who used these exercises also with the purpose of adding to one's knowledge of the unknown and the beyond however, uncritical or credulous that approach may appear to the so-called 'modern' man.



CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

* * *

Just a matter of a single night. Many dangers can materialise in one night. For Gour Bhattacharji it was an amazing night of intensive self analysis. Fatik was lying on his bed in the adjoining room. And sitting beside him was Shibani attending to his needs. May be she was shedding tears while doing her sick nursing. Gour Bhattacharjee sat on his bed and mentally traversed his life from its beginning, through all its ups and downs till he reached the immediate and nearest present. He thought -how far has he come. Where has he arrived? He remembered the wording of that saying in the Bhagabatgita. Yadi daswasi meWere there then some selfish thoughts hidden within his efforts to achieve human good?

Once he quietly went outside his room. The door of the adjoining room was wide open. He directed his eyes through the open door towards the bed inside. The "Hurricane" lantern was on in a dimly flickering manner. Fatik was lying flat on his back and sleeping deeply like one unconscious. May be high fever had rendered him semi-conscious and dazed. And sitting next to his bed Shibani too had lapsed into sleep sometime without knowing when she had.

Gour Bhattacharjee watched for a while. Then he went back to his own room. It was dark all over the place. One could see through the window the top of the tamarind tree that grew on the border of the pond. Looking in that direction he felt as if everything had somehow gone topsy turvy. All accounts had gone awry.

He did not quite know when he had fallen asleep. Suddenly he heard Shibani cry and woke up. He shot up in bed. He could hear some voices outside.

He quickly went out. He saw a number of people had assembled in the courtyard. He could recognise Naren. Seeing him Naren came up to him.

Naren told him the news first. He asked - Fatik isn't there? Well, I never heard anything? Where has he gone?

He went to the next room and peeped in. The bed was empty. His wife was weeping in gasps with her face covered by her sari. Basanti, Rani and some other ladies of the locality were there too.

—But when did he go? I got up in the middle of the night and found him fast asleep. Where could he go since then? He was lying half unconscious, dazed by high fever. How could he get up? Who took him away? Have you looked in the pond? I hope he has not fallen into the pond and got drowned?

Then the whole day, the next day and some days subsequently were spent in searching. The Balarampur Police Station was alerted. Adjoining villages were informed. People from nearly places came in numbers to make enquiries. Fatik was nowhere, he had vanished at a moment's notice into the unknown, no one could locate him. The sun rose in the sky after that and the sun set too. The earth went round the sun more than once, but Fatik never came back. The memory of their daughter had pervaded things of daily occurrence in a manner of speaking; now even

that memory slowly began to get dim and waited perhaps to be extinguished for ever.

But Fatik never came back.

* * *

The boys of the school never thought that the person who was in such trouble at home would attend school the next day. At least they would be spared the close scrutiny of his angry eyes even for a day. But no. As was his daily practice he stood near the door of his room the next day with his cotton shawl thrown over his shoulders. He consulted his pocket watch and said—Janardan, close the gates—

Even Janardan was astonished at first.

He had heard the news early in the morning. He also ran over the Pandit Mashai's house. There were many people then. The Secretary Babu too was there. They were all rather still and motionless in stoney silence. Who would console whom? Who had the ability to rectify matters?

No one could think that the Pandit Mashai would attend school punctually the very next day.

—Janardan, shut the gate!

Sasadhar Babu had got the information when he was at home. He was coming a bit late. He asked Janardan—Please open the gate, my dear fellow, your Pandit Mashai has come to school even to-day! All glory to your Pandit Mashai, I say, he is indeed wonderful!

But it would not do to absent himself from school. His grandson might not be there but all those other boys were there. They were his grand children. Like his grandson each one of them. He must look after their well being. Who would do so, if he did not? Who would watch and act for their good?

Question papers have been arranged for anew this time. These have not been printed at Nimai Shaw's printing press on this occasion. No one has now come to know

about the questions in advance. The coaching school authorities have found things very difficult and disconcerting. But who would challenge the decision of the Pandit Mashai?

Naren Chakravarty came to the Head Master's room that day.

He said—How are the teachers reacting?

Bhabaranjan said—The reactions are none too good—

—How, how none too good?

Bhabaranjan answered—I heard they held a meeting, to boycott the examinations—They are very angry, they say if the committee have no trust in us, we shall not do any invigilation either—

When Nimai Shaw came to know about this he said—Very good, if that happens, it would be good. I want that this matter is finally settled. Really speaking, who is the Pandit Mashai, as far as this school is concerned? His demands have to be met, the Committee is of no importance. Of no importance?

The matter was becoming more and more complicated. From all sources, information began to trickle in that there would be concerted boycott of the examination by all.

Naren Chakravarty was considerably frightened. The school was of long standing and the future of many boys depended on it. The previous day he had called Sasadhar Babu in, as soon as he arrived at the school. He asked him—I hear you are determined to boycott the examinations. Is that so?

Sasadhar Babu replied—Yes.

Naren Chakravarty said—But are you going to play with the future of the innocent boys? Do you think that your own selfish interests should assume the maximum importance?

Sasadhar said—Well if the Committee ignores what we say; why should we obey the dictates of the Committee?

—How do you say that the Committee took

no notice of what you said? Have'nt they raised your pay scale? Don't you know that the school is now spending Rupees Twelve Thousand and five hundred every month for that?

Sasadhar Babu laughed. In fact Sasadhar Babu did not serve the school for his salary. Nobody is satisfied with a mere salary in these days of inflated prices. Even a salary of a thousand rupees a month does not help to meet one's expenses. Extra income is required. The income from the coaching school has a different taste and flavour. A hundred or a hundred and fifty a month, that one gets from it is a windfall as it were. Sasadhar Babu and others were greatly attracted by the idea of picking up such money. The school salary was like a wedding ring which gave one the freedom to accept invitations and to move about unchaperoned.

—The Committee has no faith in us and that is why we were not allowed to set the questions.

Naren Chakravarty said—Well, the trust and faith had been there all along. How come, that things changed this year? The Pandit Mashai, complains that you tell your pupil what questions would be set.

Sasadhar Babu said—Then you should dismiss us. How can we work if you lack confidence in us? And how would the students have any respect for us?

Naren Chakravarty took a placating line of talk. He said—You see, he is an old man. It was he who founded the school, he should therefore be shown respect. Haven't his words any value to all of you?

That did not sound so unreasonable to Sasadhar Babu.

He said—All right, let us see how far he will go—

But the terrible events of the first day of the examinations drove all thoughts of boycott

out of everyone's mind, and no one had any wish to act in a contrary manner at that moment. And when they all heard about the disappearance of Fatik the next day, Sasadhar Babu said—We did not have to do anything; God Himself punished the old man—

Rani began to go over frequently after that day.

Basanti used to tell her—Go to your grandmother, go and talk to her—

Rani always visited their house. But her visits began to be more than once or twice a day, at all hours in the morning, evening or afternoon.

Rani would arrive with her box of combs, hair pins, ribbons and other requisites of hair dressing; and say—Come on Grand Ma, do my hair—

Shibani too felt a great relief to have her there to converse with.

She would say—It's a good thing that you come; I feel more alive if I have some one to talk to.

Rani used to enquire—No news yet of Fatik, Grand Ma?

Shibani would say—He would not come back, my little mother. We have enquired here, there and everywhere. Even Binod has written to so many places without any success—Has your father tried to get information?

Enquiries have been extensive. But no one has given any information. What has happened to the boy? How is he finding any means to eat and to meet his living expenses? Shibani shed tears as she discussed the run away boy.

Suddenly someone called out from outside—Grand Ma—Unknown voice. Shibani could not recognise whose voice it was. She said—You stay here; I shall go and see—

So saying she went upto the door and asked—Who is it?

—I am Binod. Grand Ma—

And when she opened the door, Binod walked in. He was dressed in European clothes. He came in and touched Grand Mother's feet and carried his hand to his forehead in respectful salutation.

Rani looked up. She had seen this Binod a long time ago. But this was a different man, so it appeared. His appearance had completely changed. Rani adjusted her sari carefully about her person.

There was an orderly behind Binod who was carrying a cloth bag. Binod asked him to put it on the raised floor of the verandah and to go outside. The man did so, saluted his master and left.

Binod came up and sat down. He said—These fruits are for Grand Pa ; please keep them for him Grand Ma.

—Why did you bring all this, my dear boy ? You know your grand father ?

Binod laughed. He said—Don't I know Grand Papa ? I know him fully and well. When I passed my examination my mother came to thank Grand Papa with some articles of little value. What a row grand father made ! Is he still like that ; for goodness' sake !

Grand Mother also began to laugh. She said while carrying the bag in—His madness has increased in a manifold manner—

Binod said—You tell him that if he makes any noise about these I shall stop coming to your house, he must be made to understand—I got down at Balarampur on my way to Bajitpur where I have been transferred; I thought I must go and touch the feet of Grand Ma-Grand Pa with a view to call heaven's blessings upon me—But where is Grand Pa ? Is he still at his school work ?

Shibani said—What else can be his work ?

Binod said—I heard there had been a lot of trouble in the school, the teachers have threatened strike or some such upheaval ?

Shibani said—I do not know, my boy, I do not know when things were quiet and peaceful.

Binod said—Why ? Things were not like this at our time.

Shibani said—I don't know, my boy. I have seen that he always faced trouble at the school—

Then she looked at Rani and said—Come along, let me finish doing your hair.

So saying grand mother got busy with Rani's hair. She had almost finished the plaiting before this. She only had to put her hair up. But Rani was a bit shy about sitting there in front of Binod with her head held at that angle.

She said—Let me go now Grand Ma—

Shibani said—Oh you need not feel shy before Binod. You know him. He is Binu—

Rani felt more shy than before. Her face reddened.

Shibani looked at Binod and said—You know her, don't you ? She is Rani, daughter of our Naren—

—Oh, is that so ?

Binod was amazed. He said—I could hardly recognise her she was so small when I saw her—

—Oh, but she must grow ! Time does not stand still for anybody ? Look, how very old I have become ? And you are quite grown up now, aren't you ? Had your mother been alive she would have got you married and had the pleasure of seeing a few grand children !

—Our work is so arduous Grand Ma, I have to work from morning till night and yet cannot finish my work.

Shibani said—But will you spend your life like this—Being transferred from one place to another ? They will not allow you to stay in one place at any time in a quiet and settled fashion !

Binod laughed and answered—No, this job is like that grandma. We spend our lives in jungles and extremely primitive villages—

—But our Balarampur? Wouldn't you have to come to Balarampur?

Binod answered—Yes, but not at Balarampur. May have to come to Birgunge. But I cannot fix that, the authorities determine such things—We have only to carry out orders—

Suddenly Basanti came in. She said—My goodness, how long does your hair.....

She stopped and left it unsaid. She pulled her veil considerably down when she saw the figure of a man in European clothes in front of her. She stood stiffly in a motionless stance.

Shibani said—Oh, Bouma you do not have to be shy in front of him. He is our Binu—Binod. He has been a pupil of the Pandit Mashai. He is now a Magistrate. He has been transferred to Bajitpur and he came to see the grand mother while on his way there—

Basanti relaxed a bit. But she did not speak.

Shibani looked at Binod and said—You would not recognise her, she is Rani's mother. She is Naren's our Naren Chakravarty's wife—

When he heard all that Binod got off the Verandah came down and touched Basanti's feet in salutation.

—Don't, don't my dear boy, may you live long—

Rani's hair was done by then. She was immobile and was standing at one corner.

Basanti said—Let us depart then Aunty, came along Rani—

It is after a very long time that Binod had come. He was a particularly favourite pupil of Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai. The realisation of many a dream. Shibani knew that the Master of the house would have been overjoyed had he been at home.

Binod said—Do you know Grand Ma, I speak of the Pandit Mashai wherever I go. I

tell everybody that had I not been nourished by the affection of the Pandit Mashai I would not have got anywhere in life. Whatever I have achieved I have done because of the kindness of the Pandit Mashai. I tell everybody the tales of—

Then Binod began to recount the incidents of those by gone days. The tales of his boyhood, what the Pandit Mashai said to him, when he scolded him or gave physical punishment, he remembered everything,

Shibani said—Yes, but what did he do for himself by all that? He is not wanted by the school committee now. No one even cares to listen to what he says—

Binod said—But not even the Government are doing anything in appreciation of his services to society!

Shibani said—I donot know, my boy, I hardly understand all that. And I donot even talk about such matters.

Binod said—This time I shall certainly raise this matter to those in authority higher up—

Then he suddenly remembered. He asked—You have not got any news of your Fatik grand Ma, have you?

Shibani said—No, my boy, he has been searched for every where, I donot think he is alive any longer—

Binod said—I too had enquiries made everywhere. Telegrams were sent to all districts of Bengal. Then to Bihar, Orissa, Asam, and everywhere they said they could not find him—

Shibani said—You have done your duty, my boy, what more can you do?

Binod got up after a while. He carried his hands to his own forehead after touching Shibani's feet. He said—Let me see, Pandit Mashai may be at the school still, I may be able to see his sacred person.

—Come again, my little father!

—Certainly Grand Ma, I shall certainly

come. I shall never be able to repay Pandit Mashai what I owe to him.

Binod left after these words

When Gour Bhattacharjee came home that night he said—You know, our Binod came, he said he had also been to see you. But do you know what I am thinking, how would it be if our Rani could be married to our Binod ?

Shibani had not thought of this before. She said—Have you made such a suggestion ?

I mentioned it. Well, Binod kept silent, he didn't say anything. We must realise that if such a marriage takes place, we shall have to arrange it. He has nobody to call his own. He is getting nine hundred repees pay now. Not at all bad. A well educated youngman. Wouldn't he be a fit match for my Rani ?

Shibani said—Why shouldn't they be well matched ? But she has parents. First find out whether they agree—

—Why shouldn't they agree ? Where would they find such a gem of a son-in-law ?

—Still, the daughter is theirs.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Let her be their daughter. But he is a thousand times better than that son of Ratan Chowdhury of Hanskhali. And just as she is their daughter, she is also my grand daughter. I shall go now and give them the news—So saying he again put on the shirt that he had taken off.

He said—I shall be coming back promptly—

Shibani said—What need for going right now, can't it be done tomorrow—

Gour Bhattacharjee always did, whatever he thought of doing, immediately. He said—No, no, how can that be ; good news should not be withheld but passed on without delay. Shubhashya Shighram, Ashubhashya Kalaharanam.....I shall just tell the Bauma about it and get back. There shall be no delay—

* * * *

Trouble started about school affairs from that very day. The day when question papers

were printed at a Calcutta Printing Press. Gour Bhattacharjee knew no fatigue nor rest when such matters had to be handled. There were times when he did everything single handed. In those days students were fewer in numbers and the school was smaller too. But there was no stinting of enthusiasm where the school was concerned.

But nobody liked it. All the teachers were arranging to set in motion a wave of disturbance, from within. The student's too did not like it. For they had no previous knowledge of any of the questions that were set on that occasion.

The students would come quietly to the teachers and ask, sir what numbers have I got ?

The teacher would rub the students up the wrong way. They would answer—What do we know ? Ask the Pandit Mashai.

The difficulty developed with Sanskrit. So long the coaching school told the boys the questions and it was unnecessary for them to read the whole of the text books. The questions came from the limited portions which the teachers taught the students.

But this was a different set up. The questions that were set were stiff. Nobody knew or could find out what questions would be required to be answered.

Sasadhar Babu was doing a bit of propaganda work in the common room. Balai Babu said—It is all our fault, the Bengalis are in this miserable condition to-day due entirely to their lack of unity—

Kalidhan Babu exclaimed—Don't talk of unity Balai, we have come here to serve, we have therefore to carry out orders with our mouths shut—If we lose our jobs would you undertake to feed us ?

Sasadhar Babu said—What ; loss of service cannot just happen ? Who can remove anyone from his job now a days ?

Kalidhan Babu asked—How, pray, would you stop dismissals, let us hear ?

Sasadhar Babu said—Sir, you are a coward that is why you speak like that. Do you know I have atleast 300 boys on my side, if I egg them on, where would be the Pandit ? Would the Pandit be able to live in Balarampur with his family ? I would stop only after I make bonfire of the chairs and tables of this school ! Yes, the Pandit has yet to know what I am—

Balai Babu said—Kindly donot talk big Sasadhar Babu, we know how capable you are. Or, why did you agree when they appointed a committee for setting questions ? Now, if all the boys fail in their examination, where would our coaching school be ?

When suddenly the school bell rings in the midst of all these discussions, the arguments are suspended. The exchange of words stops, but the spirit of dissatisfaction persists. That unrest and ill will remains there like an underground fire with its swirling fumes seeking an exit. The atmosphere of the teachers world becomes poisonous with frustration.

All this reached the ears of Nimai Shaw too. He came to see Naren Chakravarty very frequently.

He said—Naren, you are not looking at things, the teachers are exciting the boys—

Naren failed to understand clearly. He said—Exciting the boys, what does that mean ?

—Means, the boys of the coaching school are combining, see that they don't set fire to the school one of these days—

—Set fire to the school ? Then, should I inform the police ? Or make a diary at the police station ? They can't just get away with making meaningless statements.

Nimai Shaw said—Everything depends on the Pandit Mashai. He must be removed, my dear brother.

Naren is dumbfounded—Remove the

Pandit Mashai ! What does that mean ? He has still five years to reach the age of retirement. And, what will he do if he is removed from his school service ? Surely he would die !

Nimai Shaw said—If you think of all that you cannot run any business. Is the well being of one man more important than the future of thousands of boys ? Which do you wish to assure ?

The association of the Pandit Mashai with the school was of long years. Naren Chakravarty did not like to listen to what Nimai Shaw said. That Pandit Mashai, whom the people of Balarampur had feared and respected for such a long time. He enquired after everybody's well being as he moved about. He sacrificed all that he required for his own comfort in order to do good to others. All the bricks of the school building were like the bones of his own body. If an Ashwathha tree sprouted from the walls of the school building, he would himself take a ladder, climb it and remove the destructive shoot. He had watered the plants of the garden with his own hands. Planted so many trees personally too. To remove him from the school was something which Naren Chakravarty could not even dream of, the thought of this turned in and troubled his head throughout the day.

Naren arrived at the school in the afternoon in the course of his various visits to places of the locality.

Bhabaranjan was sitting in his room. Naren asked—What do I hear about developments, Bhaba ?

Bhabaranjan was worried. He said—The position is not at all good. Sasadhar Babu and his gang are inciting the boys—They are only waiting for the results—

—What sort of results are you expecting ?

—Animesh Babu was saying, would be very bad. The answer books will be returned in a day or two.

—And Sanskrit ?

Bhabaranjan said—The answer books of the upper classes are being examined by the Pandit Mashai himself—

—Yes, but would he be able to examine so many books by himself ?

Bhabaranjan said—I also said the same thing ; but he would not listen to anything. Said—No, I shall do the examining myself this time. He is rather obstinate.

Naren asked—Why ? Has he come to know of all that is happening.

Bhabaranjan replied—No, perhaps he has not heard. The reason is that he is engrossed in examining answer books. He has come early in the morning, according to Janardan, and is even now examining those books. He has instructed Janardan to see that no one went up to his room—

Naren Chakravarty asked—When will the results be out ?

Bhabaranjan answered—If all the answer books are returned by Wednesday I should like to publish the results by Monday—

Naren Chakravarty said nothing more and went back home. The matter was one that concerned the future of thousands of boys. This school has grown out of a petty Pathshala. That school had created bonds with him day by day.....Sushil was coming out on his bicycle.

Naren called out—Where are you off to ?

Sushil answered—To play—

Naren said—How did you fare at the examinations ?

Sushil said—Quite well—

Naren said—You will come first again this time, will you ?

Sushil said—Yes—

Sushil has always been confident of his results in examinations. He always came first in his class. Naren had appointed three tutors for his son. For, the grand son of the District

Board Chairman Gobinda Chakravarty had to top the list in the fitness of things.

In the evening a carriage came and stopped in front of the house.

Naren looked out of the window and saw Nimai Shaw descending from the carriage. Nimai Shaw, President of the school. Next to him was another gentleman. Rather advanced in years but a good looking and manly figure. His fine linen Punjabi shirt had its sleeves crimped elegantly according to fashion. The dhoti was stylishly pleated. He had deer skin slippers on.

Naren came out to welcome them.

—Oh, here you are Naren ; I brought him along to meet you.

Naren stood politely with folded hands in front of the gentleman.

Nimai said—Come along inside, let me do the introductions sitting indoors—

As soon as everyone was seated Nimai Shaw said—He is the son of our old time chairman of the District Board Gobinda Chakravarty. His name is Narendra Nath Chakravarty. He too is the Chairman of the District Board that is now functioning, and he is the Secretary of our "Balarampur Boys High School".

Then he introduced the other gentleman by saying—This is the far famed Zamindar of Hanskhali, Sri Ratan Narayan Choudhury—

Naren looked at Ratan Babu with eyes expressing humility and said --It is indeed my lucky day.

* * * *

Gour Bhattacharjee had chosen a holiday to go to Bajitpur.

This Bajitpur was not that Bajitpur. This Bajitpur was in the district of Nadia. Having heard that Binod had been transferred to that place an old friend went to see him, taking a days leave. In fact men cannot live without companions. Many of his friends had made good in service. Even if direct contact was

wanting, letters were exchanged with many. Among them one was Biswanath. Biswanath Sarkar. He also was employed by government in a good position.

Biswanath was about to go back.

Binod said—You will remember about my Master Mashai won't you ?

Biswanath said—Of course—

Binod said—I have met many teachers in my life but never one like him. He would not write any notes, nor take up tuition work ; yet he was not at all well off. If asked he would say—Knowledge should not be sold. That such a man could be born in this age is unbelievable unless one actually saw such a person with one's own eyes—

Then he stopped a bit and continued—You see, I feel that I should do something for my Master Mashai. He will not accept anything knowingly from me. And I donot know in what manner one could arrange to help him—The India Government have now arranged to reward teachers. It is also the age in which influence alone can get things done. Many relatively unqualified persons are getting such awards through influence and proper approach. But who would organise such things for a man like Master Mashai. Can't we do something for him ?

Biswanath said—I shall try and see—if I can do anything—

—Not merely trying, you shall have to do something—

Biswana'h asked—Why do they not recomennd his case from the school committee ?

Binod replied—Why should they ? What is their interest ? Does anyone do anything for anyone now a days unless urged on by self-interest ?

Biswanath noted down the name, address and other details relating to Gour Bhattacharjee and left. He had to catch a train on time.

Binod was the sole member of his family. Who else could be there ? His mother had the ambition and desire to see her son grow up, hold an important post and enable his inother to shine in the rays of his success. But nothing like that happened. So Binod felt all his success was quite useless when his mother was not there to share it.

Suddenly some one called from outside—Binod, I say Binod !

Binod ran up to open the door. This was a known voice, the voice of Pandit Mashai.

—Pandit Mashai, you !

So saying, bent down to touch Pandit Mashai's feet and carried his hands to his forehead.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have come to you Binod. Well well, what a nice house you have, very nice indeed ! So saying he began to look round. What a nice room Binod had. He had expected that Binod's rooms would be nice ; but had not anticipated anything quite so good.

He said—As soon as I took your name they pointed out your house. Your orderly would not permit me to enter the house. I introduced myself at last. Told him about my relationship with you. Well, you are very well known here. You know Binod, very well known indeed—

Binod said—You sit down Pandit Mashai, sit down and talk—

Gour Bhattacharjee sat down. He said—I have not come to sit down Binod ; not to sit down. I shall just tell you something of importance and go back. I still have a lot of work to do for the school. The boys have sat for their examination and the results are to be published to-morrow—all that means a lot of work—

Binod said—Well there are so many people to do the work Pandit Mashai ; the Head Master is there, then the Secretary and the President too is there.....

—Oh, you do have ideas ! There is no one when it comes to looking after the school. No one looks after it either. They have all relaxed now. If I donot look after things they go upside down. When you were studying there I alone looked after things, now with so many there, only I alone do things. None else. I am alone there to do everything ; from the topmost to the meanest jobs—

Binod said—You are advanced in years, you should take rest now—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Oh, I should like to take rest ; but who will do the work ? Tell me that ? They are all busy about Money—Money ! No one has any time to worry about the good of the institution.

Binod said—I was speaking about you a little while ago to a friend of mine who is an officer of the government of India—

—Let all that alone now Binod, I have no time to listen to all that. I have come to tell you about an important matter.

Binod said—Let me arrange about your food first, you must stay on to-day—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No, no, didn't I tell you I had a lot of work lying unfinished. If I stayed on here to eat would that help my work ? I have already eaten, and I have come away leaving the work in hand to tell you about...let me tell you about that. I have fixed up your marriage—

—Marriage ? Binod looked as if he had fallen with a thud from a great height.

—Yes, marriage. You should get married, shouldn't you ?

—But.

—Oh, but nothing. I had not arranged for my own daughter's marriage properly. I am sorry about that. Your mother is no longer here, I cannot arrange for your marriage in a careless manner. You have seen my grand daughter ; Naren's daughter...

Binod said nothing. He was listening silently to what the Pandit Mashai said.

Gour Bhattacharjee got up. He said—Then, that is the arrangement—I am off. I shall fix the day and let you know—

Binod said—You sit down Master Mashai, you have your meal here and stay on at least for half a day—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—My school will not run if I stay on here for half a day. If I stay away for an hour, they turn everything topsy turvey—Do you know ?

He came out of the front door, turned round and said—Well, you have given your word then, haven't you Binod ?

Binod answered—What should I have to say when you are deciding things Master Mashai, whatever you say will be done—

Gour Bhattacharjee did not stop after that. He went straight out on the main road. Whatever happened he felt sure and certain about one thing. No mistakes this time. Once he had blundered. And they were still suffering from the results of that mistake.

He bought a ticket at Bajitpur station and got into the train. What more does a man want. The pupil that one trained and helped to achieve success in life has fulfilled one's expectations. That leads to joy and happiness. What more did he desire from life ? He left his village home one day and came to Balarampur, no doubt for this. And he sacrificed everything to build a school also to achieve the same objective.

—Pranam to you, Pandit Mashai.

Some one had recognised him even here in the train

—Where have you been ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Here in Bajitpur. My pupil Binod has become Magistrate here, don't you know ? He studied in my school. I have brought him up since his childhood. He was a talented student. I said even in those days that Binod will be a great man.

Then he suddenly woke up to realise facts.

He asked—Who are you, my dear boy? I cannot exactly recognise you—

The man said—Sir, I went to get a text book included in your school list; Easy First Book of Grammar; you put it in your list of selected texts. I shall come again this year. There is a new edition of that book, this time it has been printed on very good paper—

A publisher's agent. Gour Bhattacharjee looked at the man carefully and well and said—You people should reduce the price of books a little, can't you do so you good men, our village boys are very poor, they find it difficult to buy books.

Then he said—My pupil Binod for example do you know how poor his widowed mother was? Never had any money to buy books, he borrowed books to read and then pass his examination, he came first—

There was not much time to converse at length. Then he continued—I had come to fix his marriage, he will be married to my grand daughter—

Gour Bhattacharjee's chest expanded by yards, so to say, as he dilated on this subject. He could not forget the matter even after he got off the train.

Oh here you are Pandit Mashai, where had you been?

The Station Master of Balarampur station came up and saluted him with folded hands.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—Ah, how are you? I had been to Bajitpur. You know my pupil Binod, he has become Magistrate at Bajitpur—I went and fixed his marriage—

—Marriage? With whom?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—With my grand daughter—

—Your grand daughter? Who is your grand daughter? You had a grand son, that Fatik.....

—Oh no, no, Fatik has disappeared a long time ago. This is my grand daughter, Naren's

daughter. Naren Chakravarty, Secretary of our school—

There was no counting the people he met on the way and to whom he confided about this. He liked to tell people about this. This was a matter of great joy. Good to hear about or to tell people the happy news. The late afternoon moved towards evening. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai stepped forward quickly.

Crossing Naren's house a left turn took him to his residence. Naren's house comes first. Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai directed his steps towards Naren's house first.

But when he came in front of that house a great doubt assailed him. Whose carriage stood there? Had anyone come? Nimai Shaw's carriage also was there at one side. Gour Bhattacharjee was distinctly surprised. There was more illumination too inside the house. All the lights were lit. The entrance road was flooded with light. Servants were rushing about busily. It was a different atmosphere altogether.

—Master Mashai, you have come? Come right in, everybody is in there—

Naren's servant Brindaban, hailing from the days of Naren's father, came forward. Brindaban was a bit dressed up to-day. Gour Bhattacharjee could not understand. What was all this arrangement for?

He asked—Why is there all this show here Brindaban?

Brindaban said—Sir, it is my Didimoni's official settlement of marriage—

—Settlement of marriage? marriage?

—Yes sir, the Masters of Hanskhali Zamindar house have come to finalise Didimoni's marriage, Thursday is the marriage.

Gour Bhattacharjee was stunned. He was thunder struck. How did this come to pass, he had not even heard of it in the morning.

Brindaban said—You see sir, everything

was suddenly settled to-day. To-morrow it will be a similar function at their house—

Basanti's voice called out from the other side—Brindaban—

Brindaban made a move to go and answered—Yes, Ma, coming—

Gour Bhattacharjee was retracing his foot steps to go back. But by then Basanti had come up. Seeing Uncle she said—Why are you going away Uncle, come inside—

Gour Bhattacharjee had by then gone totally dumb.

Basanti said—Suddenly everything was settled, Shaw Mashai fixed it up. The arrangements had to be made in a hurry. You were not at home, I went and told Auntie about it.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I had gone to Bajitpur for a while—

He was hesitating after saying that. But Naren had come out when he heard the voice of Pandit Mashai.

—Master Mashai !

Gour Bhattacharjee recovered his consciousness when he saw Naren. He said—I did not know exactly Naren, I surely..... Bajitpur.....

Naren said—Come Master Mashai, you come and give your blessings to Rani—

Gour Bhattacharjee felt as if he was being whipped. And hardly realised when he went inside the room. A room full of people. He saw Nimai Shaw sitting right in front. Looked as if he was guffawing. How do you like this ?

Could you stop this marriage Pandit ? That negotiator of marriage was sitting there too. And there was Ratannarayan Chowdhury, Zemindar of Hanskhali. He was sitting quietly with his showy pair of moustaches. There were some other important persons with him.

—Come on Pandit Mashai, you bless Rani first—

Rani was sitting in the middle of the room, totally encased in Benares silk and brocade, with her head down. She now lowered her head a little more and fixed her eyes on the floor.

Gour Bhattacharjee touched her head with the sacred Durba and Paddy. He blessed her by saying inaudibly, be happy my little mother, I want you to be happy. Whoever you may marry, may you be his faithful wife, may you also illuminate his house. I am blessing you to be a queen—I have lost my Abanti, I hope to find fulfilment in your happiness. Suddenly a drop of warm water fell on Gour Bhattacharjee's foot. He was startled. He found Rani was saluting him by placing her head on his foot.

Shubhashya Shighram :—No delay in matters auspicious.

Didimoni :— Literally means elder sister. Servants refer to the daughters of the family as Didimoni.

Durba :— Kind of grass used in religious ceremonies.

(To be continued)

Current Affairs

Emperor of Japan in U. K.

The British public, at least some important sections of it, behaved quite boorishly when Emperor Hirohito visited the United Kingdom recently. Some Britishers gave expression to feelings which can be referred to as sanctimoniously self-righteous. The Japanese were, in the opinion of their British critics, guilty of a great war crime. But what was that crime? Was it the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour or was it because they chased the British armies out of South-East Asia, destroyed the British naval ships wherever stationed in that area and made the British P. O. W.s suffer ignominy and insult? The British found in the Emperor of Japan "a despicable man who used to preside over a despicable regime."

We in India have found so many despicable characters in British imperial history that we find it difficult to discover any similarity between those inhuman criminal types and the Emperor of Japan. The British say "all's fair in love and war" and the Japanese fought their war in a manner which was well within the accepted rules of warfare. We think the greatest crimes of the second World War were the destruction of the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by atomic bombs, dropped by Britain's much admired American friends. The killing of three hundred thousand persons in a few seconds and subjecting many more to a slow but sure death through fatal injuries caused by radiation was something unparalleled in the history of human vice and criminality. As to what

treatment the Anglo-Americans subjected their P. O. W.s to is not clearly known to us; but history says that the British have been known to behave atrociously and inhumanly to prisoners. When the British loaded the Mopla prisoners in closed railway wagons and caused the death of numerous persons through heat and suffocation; they did not condemn nor punish the officers responsible for that barbarous treatment of prisoners. About the same time Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer were shooting down hundreds of unarmed and innocent men, women and children in cold blood in the Punjab. They were also issuing crawling orders on the Punjab public and making them go on all fours along certain roads as a punitive measure. The actions of these high placed British criminals are condoned by their compatriots even to-day by presentation of facts mixed with falsehood by British writers. These are all matters of recent history.

If the British take the trouble to study the history of their own misdeeds in Asia, Africa and Australasia, they will realise that they, as a race, have been dwellers of glass houses for long centuries and they cannot afford to throw stones at other peoples houses. In recent times they have condoned the Americans in their atomic attack on Japan, their ridiculous trials of "war criminals" and their customary ill treatment of black Americans. The British had not said a word against China when the Chinese overran Tibet and forced the Dalai Lama to flee his country. They hoped to

gain commercially by keeping up with the Chinese and that was an argument which the British understand very well. The Japanese perhaps are not providing any great commercial opportunities to the British ; rather, they are slowly ousting the British from their world position of industrial and commercial superiority. The Japanese have now become the greatest ship builders and ship owners. The British are withdrawing and trying to build a place for themselves in the European Common Market. Britain will always sing the praise of trading friends. With annual exports of more than £1000 million pounds worth of British goods to America ; that country will be above all criticism as far as the British are concerned. South Africa comes in for more than £250 million pounds of annual purchases from Britain. They are therefore surely adored by the British.

The visit of the Japanese head of state to Europe and America has been viewed by the British as a probable source of more intensive commercial competition and they are, therefore, taking time by the forelock and letting loose their fireworks of anti-Japanese propaganda in anticipation of coming developments in the field of international commerce. The Dutch, who have been fair emulators of the British in the field of exploitative imperialism are picking up the refrain from the British yodellers of anti-Hirohito chants. We do know that the Dutch had lost their empire due to the Japanese conquests during the S. W. W. The Dutch are also important participants in all European Common Market affairs. It would appear that the common market countries have some plans of growing rich in certain spheres of international commerce and industry in which the Japanese would be likely to be competitors.



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

After May day celebrations started preparations for shifting the University to a village named Malakopka about 100 miles from Moscow. It belonged to a landlord, but was confiscated and handed over to the University. It was about 300 acres in area, with a two storied building for living, fruit gardens and about 550 acres of agricultural land. The land used to be cultivated by tractors etc. There were horses, cows, pigs, chicken. The landlord fled away, with his whole family and the estate was being managed by the Village Soviet along with representatives of the Eastern University. It was earning some profit.

We went there by the end of May. A skeleton staff and students doing some special work; all the rest went to the village.

For me to go to the village was a great attraction. About 1500 of us went there and instead of tea we were served fresh milk from the cows of the Dairy. It was such a pleasure I thought I was back in my native village. The food was definitely better, as we got more vegetables and meat from the estate itself. There [was a water mill where wheat was ground. There were apple garden, and we helped ourselves with those which fell on the ground being defective or so. Even the green ones from the trees were not spared. Along with studies of Marxism and World Revolution we were given agricultural work,

where the students were taught use of tractors and other improved agricultural implements. As most of the students were from the villages, and at any rate most of them will go to the countryside to organise the peasants, a little practical experience of agriculture was thought to be very useful. I started the work with a will. The fresh country air, the better and fresh food and four hours work, improved the health of every body and specially mine. The village itself came to life with so many students with some foreign students coming to the village. For the villagers it was quite an innovation and they were invited to join us in our sports, dramas, songs, dancing etc. People were sent in batches of 10/12 to the surrounding villages where the peasants would be organised, meetings held and class struggle etc would be explained. It was generally 2/3 days evening programme for each village. These villages were even at a distances of 5/6 miles. For such distant villages the students would take their lunch with them and spend the whole day there and come back late in the evening. These were practical lessons of how to tackle the peasants. The daughter of the village priest, a pretty Teenager joined the Comsomol. I asked her, what was the reaction of her parents. She said, 'not bad. They had opposed mildly, but she had her own way.' One day I went to her parents and

had a talk. They seemed to be resigned to their lot.

A widowed daughter of the landlord had returned to the estate and wanted to work and stay there. She was middleaged and had no children; her sentimental attachment to the property which once belonged to her family, proved too much for her to resist. Struggle in foreign land was also hard. She reconciled herself to her altered lot and came. She was treated with some suspicion at first but her devotion to work and her knowledge about how to do things more economically endeared her to the authorities as well as the common students.

I had three experiences worth mentioning. One day I had gone alone to the fields in the after-noon and strolled out a long distance in the hope of reaching the next village but I failed and what was worse I forgot the way back also. The grazing cows with bells on their necks went on ringing and going in different directions. I could have followed one group and reach some village or some home. But I was keen to go back to the University Campus. So I got on a tree and after I had climbed about 20/25 feet I could see the two storied building and came back in time for supper.

The second incident was also about losing my way. It was a serious affair and at night, we were three, myself and 2 Russians. The estate or University campus was about three miles from the Railway station and we went in a sledge along with others. After about a month in Malakopka, I wished to meet the Maulana who was in Moscow. Our Russian teacher and also another Russian helping in the work of agriculture, also wanted to go to Moscow and we started on foot in the evening, as the sledge was somehow not available. We followed the village road and it was all right. But the youngest Russian, suggested, we take

a short cut through the Pine forest. We three agreed and started following the track of a cart. But soon the cart mark could not be traced as we came on a marshy land. It was about ankle deep water and in the shade of the pine forest nothing could be seen. The Professor of Russian, was the first to be upset and started shouting 'Devil take it' chort hosmith'. After wading through the water and mud for another hour and not being able to get out of the forest and the dried pine twigs hurting my legs, I got also upset and suggested that we go up a tree and wait till morning. Night was hot in June. There was fear of bears in the forest and also snakes in the muddy watery marsh. By following the ordinary road, we would have taken one hour to reach the station, by making a short cut, we had walked at least three hours and in mud, water and thorny twigs. As none of the other two would listen to my advice of spending the short night high up on the trees, I was about to take unilateral action, when the sound of train passing by came to our ears. The Greeks had cried Thallata, Thallata, the sea, the sea, on getting sight of a sea. Similarly, we cried 'The train the train'. From the sound we guessed the train passed within only a furlong or two. We followed the direction of the sound and soon we were on the Railway line. Next problem was to know on which side the Railway station was nearer. We guessed all right and found we were about 3/4 furlongs from Malakopka. We got another train soon after and reached Moscow late at night, about 3 hours later, when it was almost dawn.

The third was the most pleasant but was a little embarrassing. One day a College girl came to me, walking 5/6 miles only to hear the language of her beloved poet Tagore. Some students of the university, who went to her village for propaganda, had casually mentioned there was one in the Eastern

University from India, who spoke the same language as Tagore. She had read the Russian translation which was a translation from German, which was itself a translation from the English translation of Geetanjali. Even after the three translation in succession, she was captivated. And she came to hear the original in Bengali. I had certainly read the Geetanjali; after the poet had got the Nobel prize but I could not quote any of the poems from memory-except a line here and there. But the persevering girl went on giving me the Russian verses and their English translations. I tried to escape by giving any Bengali verse that I remembered, but she knew better. My trick did not work and she was disappointed. I could not help it. It was an agonising two hours we spent together. She had some little satisfaction that she heard the language of Tagore, if not the verses. We took each other's address and she promised to meet me in Moscow. Fortunately for me she did not do so, to spare me the embarrassment. I had tried to bluff her by saying something in Bengali, as Tagore's writings, but she knew better and proved it by calling

my bluff. She was a real scholar on Rabindranath's verses. Having found out my depth (or want of it) she started asking about the personal life of Bengalis. Here I was more at ease and could satisfy her curiosity more properly and honestly.

The talks continued through lunch which she took with us. Late in the afternoon she reluctantly left as she had to go a few kilometres to reach her village before evening. Her desire to know more and more details about the poet was insatiable. I felt myself quite unequal to her desire. Ultimately, she said good bye with the request to communicate her greetings personally to the poet.

This request I had duly communicated to the poet who was much moved by it. He was more moved that she was an active and ardent communist too. I had tried to explain that his (poet's) internationalism appealed to the communists also. May be this communication with the poet helped to induce him to go to Soviet Russia, which he did ultimately. Roots of big things often lie in insignificant small things.



NOTES

(Continued from page 328)

| Year | For | Against | Abstained | Absent | Total |
|------|----------|------------|-----------|--------|-------|
| 1951 | 37 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 60 |
| 1952 | 42 | 7 | 11 | — | 60 |
| 1953 | 44 | 10 | 2 | 4 | 60 |
| 1954 | 43 | 11 | 6 | — | 60 |
| 1955 | 42 | 12 | 6 | — | 60 |
| 1956 | 47 | 24 | 8 | — | 79 |
| 1957 | 48 | 27 | 6 | 1 | 82 |
| 1958 | 44 | 28 | 9 | — | 81 |
| 1959 | 44 | 29 | 9 | — | 82 |
| 1960 | 42 | 34 | 22 | 1 | 99 |
| 1961 | 37 | 48 | 19 | — | 104 |
| 1962 | 42 | 56 | 12 | — | 110 |
| 1963 | 41 | 57 | 12 | 1 | 111 |
| 1964 | Question | Unexamined | | | |
| 1965 | 47 | 47 | 20 | 3 | 117 |
| 1966 | 46 | 57 | 17 | 2 | 122 |
| 1967 | 45 | 58 | 17 | 3 | 123 |
| 1968 | 44 | 58 | 23 | 1 | 126 |
| 1969 | 48 | 56 | 21 | 1 | 126 |
| 1970 | 51 | 49 | 25 | 1 | 126 |
| 1971 | 76 | 35 | 17 | 2 | 131 |

China is the most populous country in the world. The people of China are great in civilisation, craftsmanship and in the ability to produce results. The US policy to keep the Chinese out of the U. N. had made the Chinese unfriendly towards many countries, without rhyme or reason. Not that the Chinese were averse to forming friendships. Normal relations will now naturally develop and the artificially created state of tension will be dissipated. That is as it should be too.

Indira Gandhi's Visits Abroad

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, will be visiting several countries very shortly with the idea of removing many wrong ideas of Indo-Pakistan relations and the Bangladesh question that are now being spread in foreign countries by the minions of Yahya

Khan. Mrs. Gandhi is a capable and convincing advocate as far as the removal of political misconceptions is concerned. Her presentation of facts is always comprehensive without being inordinately lengthy and her arguments for driving home the points she wants her listeners to understand clearly are precise and logical. In her work of constructive propaganda for the establishment of truth Mrs. Gandhi can be relied upon to do the job perfectly; no matter if all the friends of Pakistan are lined up against her to uphold the lies that the martial law administrators of Islamabad have been spreading abroad since March 1971. The thousand camps that now exist on Indian soil for the accommodation of refugees from Bangladesh can not be a make believe organised by India, nor a figment of

Indian imagination. These camps are open to inspection and hundreds of responsible persons have come to visit them from foreign lands. They have written at length about the 9500000 refugees who are being supplied with 2000 tons of food grains every day. Then they require clothes, housing, medicine and various other essential consumer goods, and all that cost money which India can ill afford to spend. Mrs. Gandhi will establish before the world at large that the responsibility for giving food, shelter and other aid belongs to the nations of the world and that India should receive financial assistance from other nations in much larger amounts than she is getting now.

The other thing that she has to establish is that the nations of the world, particularly the USA, the USSR, Gt. Britain, France and West Germany in the West and Japan in the East ;

must stop supplying arms to Pakistan either as a gift or by sale. If she can stop the arms supply, Yahya Khan will find it impossible to persecute the people of East Bengal and to indulge in sabre rattling in the manner that he has been getting used to. Mrs. Gandhi can and will we are confident, prove that helping Pakistan with weapons is tantamount to killing defenceless men women and children and these supplies must therefore stop. The western nations perhaps feel that they have a moral responsibility for maintaining the conditions which help Pakistan to continue to exist as a state ; but Pakistan can hardly exist if its military rulers try to kill or chase out millions of Pakistan subjects with a view to stop all agitation against military despotism and for the establishment of a democratic form of Government in that Islamic Republic,



IN SACRED MEMORY

SITA DEVI

Noticing our strange behaviour Rabindranath smiled and asked, "What is the matter? Something wrong?" Getting no reasonable answer from us he turned around to enter his dining room and Pratima Devi followed him. From the next room we could hear him ask his daughter-in-law about our mysterious conduct. Not waiting to hear her reply we disappeared from the scene. Andrews Sahib came in right then and looked quite bewildered.

We returned home after a long walk. We had to walk past Dehali to reach our cottage and soon we saw Kamala Devi and Pratima Devi sitting together in the lower porch. We sat down with them and started giggling over the afternoon's incident. Rabindranath came down from the terrace. Seeing us he said, "Well, why did you run away so coyly—just because you were eating some guavas? It is quite acceptable, you know, in genteel society. I thought you were concocting some weird feminine brew made out of tamarind, green chillies and salt and I was planning to complain about you to Ramanandababu." He kept on teasing us about the affair. Noticing dark clouds gathering around the sky he said, "I shall soon be driven out of my terrace—do you mind if I sit with your sorority club?" An easy-chair was brought out for him and we spread a mat over a low bench and sat down together. Our discussions skimmed over many subjects. We asked him about his first short-story and he said, "It was the one about Nirupama, who was married off in to a rich family. Her father could not give a proper dowry and had to sell all his property

to get them the money. The girl refused to let him pay it, however". His "Boshikoron" was staged about this time, but Rabindranath had not seen it. Kamala Devi described the performance in detail.

The singing lessons were now announced with a ringing bell and the poet walked over to Dinubabu's place. We also followed him, but found only a group, discussing his plays. We sat down in the darkened verandah and started to chat. We heard some hitherto unknown facts about Raja Rammohan, from Hemlata Devi. When Rammohan visited the inner apartments of his house, the servants would arrange three chairs, side by side, in a room before his arrival. Entering the room he would first help his two wives to their chairs and then sit down. He had stopped his immediate family from taking any initiation vows from their gurus. He himself taught his wives some specific mantras. Some other ladies learnt these mantras from his wives. His first wife died much earlier than him but the second lady lived on for many more years. Before leaving for England, Rammohan had said to his eldest son Radhaprasad, "I must see your mother once, before I go". His son had answered, "Then you won't be able to leave, at all". So he sailed away without a farewell visit and never saw her again. His wife never forgave her eldest son.

After the gossiping we eventually heard some songs. But it was getting late and so the music lessons ended abruptly.

We had been hearing about the poet's foreign tour off and on. He came to see us on the 9th of September carrying with him a

poem written in English. Handing it over to father he informed us that the Government had cancelled his passport and the one of Andrews Sahib. He remarked, "It is good for me. I had almost decided not to go and this gives me an excuse to feel relaxed."

Prabhatbabu was soon to get married and was commuting from Calcutta to Santiniketan almost daily. Mother would often send us things through him. Once she sent us a box of soap and wrote to us about it. One morning, coming out into the verandah, we saw Rabindranath walking towards us with the box of soap in his hands. Trailing behind him, rather sheepishly, was Prabhatbabu. Looking at me the poet said, "I have come to your father for consultations, but as he is out I better let you know about it. This was sent for you from Calcutta, but the bearer of the parcel says, 'my need is greater than thine.' He feels shy to say it himself—so I have to speak out for him. Women are generous—you may agree to give it to him. You had better decide." A terribly embarrassed Prabhatbabu said, "I don't need the soap, really". Rabindranath exclaimed, "What vanity! you were not like this before—I suppose you have been hearing this kind of talk more often these days." This teasing banter went on for quite some time and then the poet asked me to write about it to Sudhamoyee and left our porch soon after.

A few days later Prasanta Chandra and Kalidasbabu came to Santiniketan from Calcutta. They demanded a reading session from the poet, of all his new writings, but soon slipped somewhere. During our usual evening-walk we saw Rabindranath strolling about manuscript in hand. He informed us that he was trying to search out his two missing guests. "You had better stay near me, if you wish to hear me read these out," he said. We strolled along with him for a while

but as the reading session still remained uncertain, we returned home. Prasanta Chandra came in soon after to inform us that the readings had begun. As we entered the meeting-place we heard the poet telling someone to ask us in.

That evening he read out the English translations of 'Gandharir Abedan', 'Karna-Kunti Sambad', 'Narak Bash', 'Biday Abhishap' and 'Sati'. I was scolded by him for sitting on the bare floor. "Why do you have to upset all of us by sitting there, when there is plenty of room for you over here?" I had to go and sit near him as the cotton rug on which he was seated was the only one spread on the floor. The readings went on till late in the night.

Autumn had come to Santiniketan. Monsoon had been beautiful but autumn was quite extraordinary. But, of course, it was not so much the season as the wonder in our eyes then. My eyes do not look with such intensity any more. I do not think I shall see such beauty again in any earthly paradise. The Kasa flowers still blossom like the happy smile of Durga Devi, the grass beneath a Sephali tree wears a pearly covering, but my eyes do not see the same way. I remember how we went out at dawn to pick flowers and sometimes met the poet on the way back.

The evening gatherings continued as usual. But influenza was spreading in the Ashram and causing a lot of anxiety to the poet. He would visit the afflicted boys every day and also treat them medically. He even devised a preventive antidote from a common plant and a dose of that, taken in the right time, saved many from a bout of fever. We still met him at the terrace meetings, in the evenings, hoping for some conversation. One evening, climbing up the stairs we saw him reading a book in the fading twilight. He placed the book down on his lap and said,

"Come in. The light of the day is almost gone." He did not visit the hospital that evening and chatted with us for a long time. Speaking about some over anglicised Bengali girls he said, "They seem so unnatural in their ways. There are some loud-mannered, butterfly types in England of course, but how did they manage to pick up their ways, ignoring all the others?" He even gave us an imitation of their manner of speaking. But his teasing tone suddenly turned very serious. He started to speak of the poverty and want, the misery and complaints of our country and also about the utter limitedness of his own capacities. Speaking about his personal struggles he said, "We have to participate in all types of activities in this country. I was really born to be a poet, but I have dabbled in so many things since then. I don't have that pliancy any more." A pale moon shone in the sky, but when we returned home the fields were dark again.

I have already said that he began to take their English lessons with the boys about this time. He taught three classes at a stretch and we sat through all of them. Rabindranath enjoyed the Fifth Group the most. The moment he entered their class they would start reporting all the Ashram events to him in English. They spoke pretty good English for their age. I remember a small boy named Shyamkishore who was the best reporter. Rabindranath was teaching Shelley, to the third group. 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' was taught to them in four days. Together with all this the rehearsals for 'Sharadotsav' began. We attended all of them regularly. I can not remember how we managed to run our household with so many diversions before us. Of course, no obstacle is great enough if youth and enthusiasm are fused in one.

Some of the boys were scolded in class. Other teachers are angry when students do

not study, or give wrong answers. Rabindranath scolded them when they kept silent. He ordered them to speak out, wrong or right. When a few still remained speechless, he coaxed them to speak and finally scolded them. I do not know what the boys thought of it, but we felt terrified.

Even at our terrace meetings we were sometimes taken to task for minor lapses. One of them was our sitting on the bare floor and another was our habit of sitting behind him. One evening we saw him talking with my father and another gentleman. Not wishing to disturb them we crept behind and sat down a little distance away. But his eyes had not missed our entry. Immediately he said, "Now look! If you have come in, why do you sit at the back? Sit in a place where we can see your faces." We had, therefore, to come forward and sit near him. He asked us whether we could follow his lectures on Shelley. While the conversation continued we saw Pratima Devi come upstairs and sit down in our original area. Rabindranath exclaimed. "Now, how do you explain this, psychologically? My daughter-in-law did not see you sit there. What made her do that then?"

Later a smallish conference was arranged right on the terrace—to explain to the boys the functioning of a Co-operative Society. The boys trooped in but we stayed out. Rabindranath gave them a rather lengthy explanation. The older boys listened intently but the younger ones dozed off. The meeting went on till late at night.

His lessons on Shelley continued. A small, circular pavilion was built under a giant, spreading tree and a horse-shoe shaped seat made of beaten earth, was placed in the middle. The boys sat on individual cotton rugs and used the horse-shoe seat as their common desk. A few cane stools and marble

slabs were arranged around the place, where outsiders like us could sit and listen. A flood of green swayed all around us, leaves would fall gently over our heads, the books and notepapers seemed to want to fly away with the rising breeze. I sat and thought how apt the place and time was for a reading of 'Ode to the West Wind'

Rabindranath was an extraordinarily active man and never knew the real meaning of 'taking rest'—at least in those days. Nor could he bear to see the others around him idling; he would force some useful work out of them. He wanted them to be involved in some activity, even if unsuccessfully. He started to prepare a translation-manual for the boys of matriculation class. He would mark out certain passages from various English books and journals and ordered some of us to translate them into simple Bengali. This was a job I enjoyed—mainly because I was happy to do something for him. Furthermore, he would call us over every now and then for corrections and editing—and that was additional pleasure for us.

Wednesday is a holiday in Santiniketan. After the morning service we would roam about freely, neglecting all other work. Some of our companions came down with fever and could not go for walks with us. One Wednesday we went to see Kainala Devi, as she was lying ill. We met Rabindranath as we were returning home and he said, "We have a children's literary meeting on my

terrace this evening. Please come and join us."

These meetings were always far more enjoyable than the adult literary gatherings. Their editor was master Mauli Shastri and what an expert editor he was! The poet and song-writer was master Samaresh Sinha. The astonishingly lovely singing in his child-voice still rings in my ears. That evening's songs, stories and poetry-readings were all very enjoyable, only the play 'A cat from Kabul' was not that good.

On a Thursday evening many of us were chatting together on his terrace, when Rabindranath suggested that he would teach a group of us some poems of Shelley. We were thrilled, of course, but protested politely, so that he would not tire himself out teaching us after a whole day's work. He waived our protests aside. He never thought anything was tiring in those days. It was a full-moon night, most probably, and the wide-open meadows were flooded with light. Rabindranath said, "Men tend to enlarge the petty and insignificant objects of the present and worry over them day and night. They do not even notice the unique beauty and grandeur of certain things that flow on through the ages and return to our earth again and again. This green splendour of our autumn, this deep blue sky, this flood light of the rising full-moon. From the beginning of the world these have been coming back to us, but we have no eyes for them; our minds are fixed on ephemeral trivialities."

(Translated by Sm. SHYAMASRI LAL)

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

Preparations for 1972 Olympiad

We reproduce the following informative paragraphs from *National Sports and Youth Digest* :

They come from all over the world, the men building for the Olympiad. In the last 14 months construction workers from 23 countries have been employed on the Munich Olympic site : from Austria Czechoslovakia, France and Ghana, from Greece, India, Italy and Kenya, from Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan and Persia, from Portugal, Senegal, Sweden and Switzerland, from Spain, Taiwan, Tunisia and Turkey, from the USA, Yugoslavia, and from Federal Germany.

They do the hardest of work in the depths of winter and under a blazing sun. They drive cranes and power-shovels, transport gravel and ballast, fix iron struts and erect stadium tiers. Only at night does this bustling concrete activity subside for a few hours. The men work two shifts, from 5 a. m. till 1 o'clock the next morning. Most of them hardly ever leave the building site, and many live in communal quarters next to the scene of their work. This is not expensive.

During the 1972 Olympiad in Munich there will be about 1200 judges, umpires and referees, as well as 265 members of juries, to officiate at the various events. They are to be prepared for their tasks by the competent sports organisations and are to be "tested" in international competition before the Games.

The largest number of judges will be required for the swimming events 205. 184 will be needed for the Modern Pentathlon, 141 for the equestrian contests and 199 for the canoe and canoe slalom races.

About 3,400 persons will be entrusted with the technical staging of the Games. They will be in charge of the care, erection and removal of sports equipment. and will work in the competition bureaux.

The biggest crane in Europe is at present in use on the Olympic site. 419-feet in height, it towers above the other cranes on the Oberwiesenfeld.' It is now being used to assemble the tiers of the Olympic stadium, and will later be required for the erection of the tent roof over the main stadium, the indoor stadium and the covered swimming stadium.

For motorists travelling to the Olympic Games there will be ample parking areas at the motorway exits on the outskirts of Munich. The car parks will be connected with the stadia by bus and other public transport services.

In the Munich exhibition grounds, a new hall is to be erected for the Olympic wrestling events. The planning work on this building (spectator capacity 5,000) is already under way.

The Rekortan track to be used for the 1972 running events and in four training centres promises to be the fastest ever. At the first Rekorton try-out in the Munich

Dante-Stadium two world records were toppled. Chi Cheng (Formosa) ran the 200 metres in 22.4 seconds and the 100 metres hurdles in 12.8 seconds.

2,546 workmen, 340 architects and engineers, 187 press, radio and television representatives, 172 staff members from the Olympic Construction Company and Organising Committee and 239 invited guests met in the Munich Olympic grounds on 23rd July, 1970, to witness the topping-off ceremony for the Olympic stadium, the indoor stadium, the covered swimming stadium and the university sports centre.

In the four central sport installations on the Olympic grounds there will be room for about 105000 spectators. Of the 27,211 metres of grandstand tiers in these stadia over 25km. (15miles) have already been constructed. The shell construction work on the stadium is 92 per cent complete, on the indoor stadium 85 per cent, on the covered swimming stadium 75 per cent and on the university sports centre 92 per cent. The deadlines for construction have been fixed.

Tattwabodhini Patrika in 1850 A. D.

Prof. Amiyakumar Sen has written an interesting account of the Tattwabodhini Patrika's journalistic approach to India's economic problems in *The Indian Messenger* (Organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj) of September 7, 1971. We quote his introductory remarks below.

The Tattwabodhini Patrika was very much alive to the economic situation in the country. Its articles carefully analysed the condition of the people. In 1772 Saka, it placed before its readers an accurate picture of the plight of peasants in Bengal. Agriculture, in its opinion, was the basis of the national wealth. Yet the agriculturists led a miserable life. The land-

lords oppressed them in various ways. They were not satisfied with the rents received from their ryots. They were not at all moved by the miserable life of their tenants, and imposed a large number of extra-rental taxes which impoverished the cultivators. They extracted large sums as alms or presents from their peasants. On occasions of domestic ceremonies the tenants had to pay nazars to their landlords. The Zeminders also acted as judges. Whenever anti-social acts were perpetrated, they swooped down on the evildoers. They did not perform their judicial functions properly but used such occasions for enriching themselves. The landlords compelled their tenants to work for them and paid them only a fraction of their wages.

With the establishment of the Permanent Settlement, the old aristocratic families were replaced by city capitalists who "had spare capital and readily invested in land." The old aristocrats had age-long traditional ties with the peasantry. Like lords of manors they protected and looked to the interest of their tenants. The New Zemindars however regarded land as a mere investment. They wanted to make this investment profitable. Most of them resided in the metropolis. They would not take the trouble of personally administering their estates and left their Zemindaries to be managed by their officers. There also grew up a class of middlemen Ijaradars equally eager to squeeze profit out of their poverty-stricken cultivators.

The three articles* in the Tattwabodhini Patrika (1772 Saka) give a vivid pen-picture of these officers and middlemen. The society was no longer based upon status. The old cohesion of the village community was lost. A middle class had made its appearance between the aristocrats and the cultivators. They worked as officers of the Zeminders, as Darogas or police officers, as Ijaradars, and

money-lenders. Although the articles did not give us any fundamental principle regarding social reconstruction they, by their sympathy for the weak and down-trodden were indicative of a new social outlook influenced by the humanitarianism of the modern age. In the recognition of the emergence of the middle-classes and their function in the body-politic they showed a very keen-sense of social awareness, an appreciation of the dynamic changes in society. The picture they painted of the middle classes in the rural areas clearly brought out their greed, their love of power and their heartless oppression of the tenantry.

Although they did not try to formulate any scheme for economic reform yet a criticism of the existing situation and a thorough exposure of malpractices certainly had a positive value of their own. The indifference of the government to the welfare of their subjects, their introduction of strict measures for the collection of revenue, the restlessness of the Zeminders due to such strict measures, the maladministration of justice and the prevalence of bribery—they were all placed before its readers with wonderful clarity. The oppression of indigo-planters, their employment of middle-class officers without culture and education as worthy associates in crime, their influence with government officials, were all vividly described. These articles were meant to open the eyes of the leaders of thought and make them cognisant of the miserable condition of cultivators and this they did with considerable success.

In 1778 Saka the Patrika again analysed the economic situation in an article significantly named the present situation in Bengal. It did not look to the past as the Golden age. It recognised the improvements introduced by science and technology as contributory factors in raising the standard of life. The security of life and property, facilities for communica-

tion, the import of the necessities and luxuries of life were all indicative of material progress. The introduction of railways and telegraph, the mechanisation of manufacture through the use of machinery like the Printing Press, —they all improved the community and contributed to the economic advancement of the country. The Printing Press and the manufacture of paper facilitated the spread of education through books. But the progress of the upper strata of society did not mean the progress of the entire community. People should not be blinded by the glare of urban prosperity. They must go to the countryside which presented a picture altogether different. The prosperity of the few could not be regarded as the prosperity of the entire nation. The misery of the vast populace who lived in villages gave the lie to all notions of economic progress. The Patrika was in favour of a prosperity in which the entire population, urban and rural, might participate. The national wealth, in its view, should be equitably distributed among the whole nation. The Bengalees were weak; they could not undertake any strenuous labour. The land being fertile they had not to work hard to gain their livelihood.

Times changed. They could no longer earn their livelihood without hard labour. Englishmen, were gradually buying up land and establishing industries of their own. The keen observing eye of Patrika could not miss the slow infiltration of foreigners in the national economy. Bengalees were thus ousted from trade and industry. Nor were they eligible for the higher posts in the service of the Government. Europeans were brought in on higher pay to perform the same duties as their Bengalee compeers enjoying lower pay and status. The days of Rajballav, Nabakrishna and Gangagobinda Sinha were gone. The partiality of the authorities for their relatives

could not escape the notice of the Patrika, nor could it fail to expose the inequitable methods of recruitment followed by them.

Unemployment with its consequent evil effects were vividly described. It also pointed out how imitation of European manners and customs brought in its train an unnatural rise in the standard of living which could not be satisfied; how the majority of the people had formed a salaried class which could derive no benefit from progress in industry and agriculture; how the gap between salaries and prices was widening as never before.

*Tattwabodhini Patrika Asarh, Sraban & Bhadra, 1772 Saka.

Pollution, a Threat to Human Survival

We reproduce the following from the *Coal Field Tribune*.

"According to experts, if abuse of environment continues at the present rate, man could expect to survive only two generations," said Dr. K. N. Sinha, Director, Central Mining Research Station, Dhanbad.

Dr. Sinha was addressing a gathering of intellectuals at the Rotary Club, Sindri, as Chief Guest, on the Installation Night on 5 July, 1971.

He mentioned underground nuclear tests, chemical and biological warfare, use of pesticide products, thermal pollution of water, contamination of environment by mercury, cadmium, arsenic and other heavy metals as some of the cause of pollution hazards.

"The problem of air pollution exists in Calcutta, Delhi Bombay. Kanpur and very much so in the Coalfields. Air is polluted by petrol consumption, boiler fumes, soot from coal, etc.," Dr. Sinha continued.

He said that the primary objective of environmental control was not to punish polluters and compensate victims but to

encourage constructive attempts to modify technology to higher environmental standards.

"A little over a century ahead (2090) the world population will go to over 57 thousand six hundred millions if the present trend continues. The present population is three thousand six hundred millions", added Dr. Sinha.

The problem of pollution is associated with population and modern progress. He cited several examples where application of modern science and technology has created new environmental problems. The industrialised countries are combating pollution problems in various ways.

In China, to combat air contamination in various steel centres, the industrial complexes and factories were re-located so that the factories were built "on the opposite side of the city from which the wind usually blows".

In USA, the automobiles are at present the source of half of all air pollution. Emission of lead into the air is now about two lakh tonnes per year. Over three thousand foreign chemicals have been identified in the atmosphere. About half of the oxygen consumed is produced outside its borders in the Pacific Ocean and brought in by atmospheric circulation. Modern progressive farmers expend more calories from fossil fuels for running their machinery than they remove from the land in terms of crops.

Disposing of wastes is another problem. Plastic waste is a major item in advanced countries to-day. It cannot be burnt or otherwise destroyed. Existing bacteria cannot destroy it. Scientific world is trying to develop a new bacteria that would strike at plastics. "It raises the prospect of civilisation sinking under a mass of old plastic bags", Dr. Sinha concluded.

Why is Israel's Army so Effective

General S. L. A. Marshall says in *News from Israel* :

All armies would wish to have their weapons men sure of aim, dead on target. None works as imaginatively and sedulously toward that end as the Army of Israel.

All armies would like to have their field exercises "realistic". Israel's fighting men undergo greater rigor and take greater risks to make them so.

All armies would like to have public support for a true state-of-readiness training requirement. Whereas we can no longer get it in the United States, there has never been a letdown in Israel.

To be sure, the Army of Israel profits from advantages inherent in the situation. It is a tidily-sized Army out of a closely-knit

society in a small country that is continuously threatened, when not embattled. War will always be as close as the next second. These basic conditions galvanize unity. The Army has no money to waste on marginal experiments and no time to spend on Mickey Mouse. So it is sometimes written of the Army that it is unconventional and peculiarly disciplined. That is captious ; it mistakes shadow for substance. The Army is highly conventional in its own way ; none other is so conscious of security in all of its forms. None more sternly insists that soldiers soldier. About the punctilios of discipline, such as the salute ; proper wearing of the uniform, sir-this-and-sir-that, it is indifferent. Toward the extreme objects for which all military discipline should aim, such as absolute obedience to an order and unflinching courage in the leader, it is utterly demanding of troops.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

"Development and Change in Basudha"..., A study of a West Bengal village, by Ajit K. Danda and Dipali G. Danda, Published by the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad and Printed by F. Wiesinger of Shakuntala Publishing House, Bombay, (Price...Rs.13/-).

This volume presents a study of the process of planned change in a village of West Bengal, India, which in this report is referred to as Basudha. In India, as elsewhere, major development in community studies took place after World War II. These Developments were the result of either planned Governmental projects, or natural changes. In this study, Ajit Danda and Dipali Danda, have primarily tried to focus attention upon villages and investigated changes resulting not from spontaneous causes, but from intensive and planned efforts of directed change.

History rarely records a perfectly integrated society in any part of the world, at any given period. Political and Economic changes have always brought forth stresses and strain in Society, resulting ultimately in social changes. In recent times, however, these changes have also been the result of planned directives of Governments. In Independent India also, Governmental Directives have been formulated, and with the aid of foreign scholars and organisations, various efforts have been made to promote Rural developments.

"Development and Change in Basudha", generally speaking, reports the reactions of farmers in one village towards specific Agricultural programmes. This village is one of 36 villages of West Bengal that were covered by Phase I field-work of the Diffusion of Innovations Project. It was selected because it was not near enough to a city to be a suburb, and yet it was not very far from a city. With an adequate population, it was fairly representative in its ethnic composition and caste constitution. According to the Project workers, the Study briefly covers the following objectives :—

- 1) To describe selected case studies within one village reflecting reaction to agricultural practices,
- 2) To describe the characteristics of adopters and innovations and to examine how they influence adoption of a recommended practice,
- 3) To examine the way in which a change programme is administered and executed, and to what extent it might affect its eventual success ;
- 4) To generally describe what elements of community structure, clique, membership, or factionalism facilitate or inhibit the diffusion of an improved practice ; and
- 5) To analyse the clique, structure and communication channels of the village.

All students interested in Community Development will find this study worth

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persuing as it attempts to provide an understanding of the spread of improved practices, as also of specific reasons for their success or failure.

"Parkasam : A Political Study", by G. Rudrayya Chowdary, Published by Orient Longman Ltd, 36A, Mount Road, Madras-2, and Printed in India by M. Swaminathan, Amra Press, Madras. Price-Rs,25/-.

Dr. Rudrayya Chowdary's book on T. Prakasam is a most interesting study of a man who was a leading figure in the undivided Congress for over 30 years. Commencing with a general outline of Prakasam's life and background, Dr. Chowdary thereafter proceeds to analyse his political ideals and finally concludes with an attempt to estimate Prakasam's role in the struggle for Independence as well as

his solutions of the political problems of these days.

The Author is of the opinion that Prakasam's contribution to Andhra politics was tremendous, for although he rarely agreed with his colleagues, no one dared to ignore him, because of his hold on the Andhra masses. Furthermore, he portrays Prakasam's political life through the perspective of the national movement analysing the relations between the National, the regional and linguistic forces, prevailing at that time.

Dr. Chowdary has made a thorough and detailed study of his subject and this book provides substantial material for students of that period of recent history of Andhra and Madras, as well as of India.

—L. C.





'JAI BANGLA, JAI HIND'

—Indira Gandhi

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXX-IX No 6

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER 1971

WHOLE No. 780

| | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----|-----|------------|
| Notes— | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
| Foreigners in Red China with a few Profiles—B. K. Kumar | ... | ... | ... | 409 |
| Sino-American Rapprochement : An analysis of the Motives and Implications | | | | |
| | —V. T. Patil | ... | ... | 416 |
| The Second Triennial—India—Usab | ... | ... | ... | 420 |
| Elites and Modernization in India—C. R. Prasad Rao | ... | ... | ... | 432 |
| The Right to Freedom of Religion in the Indian Constituent Assembly | | | | |
| | Brundaban Patel | ... | ... | 437 |
| Mother Tongue, Education and Linguistic Minorities—Subhash Chandra Sarker | | | | 454 |
| Smriti and Bismriti—Subnath Banerjee | ... | ... | ... | 457 |
| Change of Kings - Bimal Mitra | ... | ... | ... | 461 |
| Current Affairs— | ... | ... | ... | 471 |
| In Sacred Memory—Sita Devi | ... | ... | ... | 475 |
| Indian and Foreign Periodicals— | ... | ... | ... | 477 |

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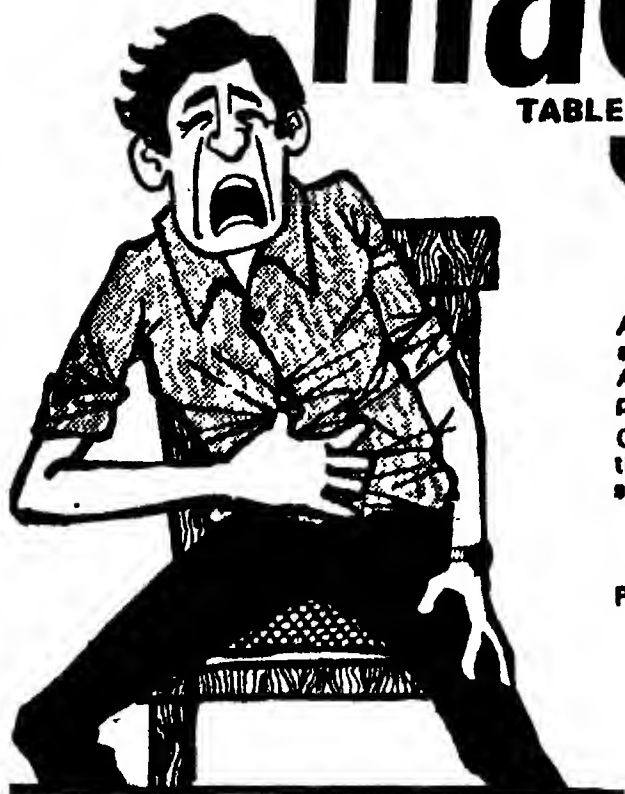
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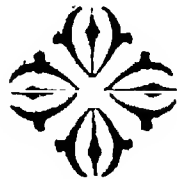
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DECEMBER



1971

Vol. CXX-IX No. 6

Whole No. 780

NOTES

Pakistan and India

The idea of Pakistan, the land of the pure, was born in the head of an Urdu knowing British newspaper man of Fleet Street and was thereafter nurtured by British officials in India who wanted to counter the nationalist movement of India by rousing Muslim separatist sentiments which they fanned up by propaganda among communally minded Muslims of North India. This idea was adopted politically by Mahammad Ali Jinnah at a much later date and did not acquire the active force of a political dogma until after the end of the second world war and during the final phase of the negotiations for independence. "Larkay Lengey Pakistan" (we shall get Pakistan by fighting) became a sort of war cry during these final year or two and the communal riots were then intensified with the assistance of the British who wanted to divide India into two states in the hope that the Muslim state will stay friendly towards Britain. The British officials who organised all this rioting had on leash certain agents provocateurs who flung meat and bones into temples

and musjids and spread rumours about desecration by beef or porc. They used other tactics too and were fairly well known in the bazars as British agents who lived by starting riots. The Direct Action by the Muslims of Calcutta in 1946 was a hideous culmination of this type of British made civil strife. Muslim hooligans were imported into Calcutta from the Punjab, the Frontier Province and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to carry out the mass killing of innocent citizens. The Bengali Muslims were not inclined to murderous rioting to any appreciable extent and usually kept out of all such fracas. Bengalis as a rule are fond of poetry, music, drama etc. and the Muslims in Bengal participated in all Hindu festivals by providing instrumental music for the Pujas. Some of them did painting of a ritualistic kind and others were practising the highly artistic crafts patronised by the upper ten among the Hindus. The Pakistan idea was very popular among the Muslims of Western U. P. and the Punjab and there was a mass exodus of Muslims from these areas to Pakistan when the partition was

effected. The two nation theory (Hindu and Muslim) was a concoction as was every other assumption on which Pakistan was created as a Muslim state. It was given out at that time that all Muslims were racially the same, they spoke the same language Urdu, ate, dressed and performed ceremonies in the same manner and so on and so forth. The languages spoken by the Muslims of Pakistan, in fact, were Punjabi, Pushtu, Baluchi, Sindhi and Bengali. Only a few who came from Western U. P. spoke Urdu. The Bengalis ate fish and rice, the Punjabis meat and wheat and the Pathans dates and unleavened bread. Clothes and ceremonies were different for different racial and linguistic communities. Thus Pakistan was built on a foundation of falsehood and this was the cause of mutual distrust, exploitation and lack of unity which soon led to the establishment of a military dictatorship; as nothing else could have upheld the lie about the existence of a Muslim nation. Pakistan had not a leg to stand on as a Muslim nation, so it tried to establish its *raison d'être* by making false claims on other people's territory. The Pakistani soldiers dressed up as tribesmen and attacked the villages of Kashmir. This led to Kashmir's accession to India as the Maharaja of Kashmir could not resist the attacking army of fake tribesmen. He called upon India to save his people from the brigands who later on proved to be Pakistani soldiers. Pakistan denied her complicity in these raids but eventually had to admit that her soldiers had actually done most of the attacking.

Kasem Razvi was another Pakistan agent who worked in Hyderabad to make that middle Indian state a part of Pakistan. He organised Razakars too but his activities created such anarchy in Hyderabad that the Indian army had to suppress the movement by an expedition which completed its work in a few hours.

In 1965 Pakistan again attacked India in order to occupy Kashmir and any other area that could be grabbed. India retaliated by striking at Lahore and Sialkot and also chased the Pakistan army out of the so-called Azad Kashmir which the Pakistanis had been occupying through negotiations initiated by the Anglo-Americans. This time too a negotiated peace was thrust upon India by the Western powers and Pakistan got back all territory captured by the Indian army through the restoration of status quo. India and Pakistan became sort of co-accused for acts of aggression by the presentation of a cooked up version of the war as publicised by the Anglo-American press. Though the Pakistanis had commenced their undeclared war to capture Kashmir early in August 1965 it was given out that the war had started on the 6th of September or some such date. This was done in order to exonerate Pakistan from all charges of being the aggressor.

Pakistan had become a military dictatorship when in 1958 Maj. Gen. Iskandar Mirza handed over power to General Ayub Khan. The latter failed to reintroduce democracy or to frame a constitution for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and things became totally authoritarian as the administration now continued under martial law. Ayub Khan tried to cook up constitutions and to falsely demonstrate by fake voting that he was the elected representative of the people of Pakistan; but all these tricks did not succeed and he had to resign and hand over power to Yahya Khan in March 1969 when Yahya Khan undertook to set up a Constitutional Government at an early date. Maj. Gen. Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan proclaimed martial law again and appointed himself as the chief martial law administrator. But Yahya Khan did not hold any elections for a long time, which caused great dissatisfaction, particularly

in East Bengal where the people were being shamelessly exploited by the West Pakistanis who had monopolised almost all good jobs in the services, grabbed much of the foreign aid money for themselves and misused even the funds and supplies that the nations of the world had sent for the relief of the cyclone affected people of the coastal regions of East Bengal. Yahya Khan made some secret arrangements based on false information given to him by his agents and held elections about a year ago. In those elections it was shown, much to Yahya Khan's consternation, that 98% of the voters of East Bengal voted for the anti-Yahya Khan Awami League. Taking all voters of Pakistan together the Awami League had scored an absolute majority in the elections. Yahya Khan calculated, planned and conspired with his generals and then called the leader of the Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, to conference at Dacca. Here during the pendency of the conference, on the 25th of March 1971 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested and whisked off to West Pakistan by plane. Yahya Khan also left Dacca after instructing his generals to teach the Bengalis of East Pakistan a lesson that they will never forget. This lesson consisted of murdering about a million persons, all Bengalis; rape, arson, destruction of factories, crops, worker's dwellings etc. Among those murdered were hand picked intellectuals, teachers, writers, technicians and so forth. University students, and school boys were lined up and machine gunned. Hundreds of girl students were abducted. Women were raped in the presence of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons. About 16 million persons fled the country and entered Indian territory in search of protection.

That is how India got involved in the East Pakistan genocide. 1000 camps were set up in various parts of India to receive these

refugees. Many were sick and bore bullet and bayonet injuries. They needed shelter, clothes, medicine and also opportunities for earning money. It was a problem of which the size could be measured by the daily expenses involved. That came to Rs. 20000000/- per day.

With the refugees also came several thousand young men who acted in concert with the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh; an organisation created out of Bengali soldiers, armed policemen and other fighting men who had secured arms in order to harass and destroy units of the Pakistan army in East Bengal. This organisation was created in answer to the genocide that the Pakistanis were carrying out. Those who had no arms, raised funds and arranged to buy weapons through their friends in Britain, Germany, France and the United States of America. There being about a hundred thousand Pakistan Bengalis in other countries, the funds raised came to a large total and the weapons reached the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh along various paths.

The Pakistan army chased the refugees everywhere to the borders and fired upon them and on the refugee camps set up by the Indian government. Being trigger happy the Pakistanis began soon to fire across the border at Indians and the Indians returned fire with a view to defend their homes. Border security measures were strengthened and the Pakistanis told the world that India was planning to invade East Pakistan. The Indians had every season to invade East Pakistan but refrained from doing so, in order to maintain peace. At one stage the Pak forces started shelling the Indian outposts as well as the residential areas of bordering towns and villages. The Indian border forces naturally returned the shelling and the Pakistanis made propaganda that th

shelling came only from the Indian side. The army of liberation, in the mean time, developed in size and equipment and began to fight the Pakistan army in many places of East Pakistan. The Pakistanis lost hold over many areas and blamed the Indians for their losses. But the Indians stayed strictly on their side of the border. Many foreigners visited the borders from time to time. Some went through to the other side until they were stopped by the Pakistan pickets. But nobody ever said that the Indians violated the rules of neutrality in any manner whatsoever. The Pakistani canards therefore were just attempts at villifying India. Pakistani lies about India have been a regular feature of a scheme of propaganda in which other nations joined hands with Pakistan on occasions. Latterly the Americans and the Chinese had been taking a leading part in this propaganda. Other nations have been waiting and watching. Britain's propaganda quite often cut both ways ; but the aggressive actions of Pakistan were generally condemned by the British press. In America, small groups told the truth about Pakistan ; but only small groups.

The present situation is quite critical as far as possibilities of open warfare are concerned. The Pakistanis are desperate. They have committed a human crime of such dimensions that their name would go down in history along side of the barbarous conquerors of the middle ages and the Nazis who tried to destroy the Jewish nation. They think they will wash out their crime if they can start a war with India. How far their expectations can be fulfilled in this manner is anybody's guess. We do not think the Pakistanis could live down their infamy, no matter what they did.

Completion of Farakka Dam and Railway Bridge

The idea of the Farakka Dam and its road-rail bridge evolved out of the water shortage

that the Hooghly suffers from and which affects the movement of ships in the Calcutta Port. A feeder canal was planned to link up the Farakka accumulation with the Hooghly at a point above the Calcutta port. But when the Railway Minister Mr. Hanumanthaiya arranged an opening ceremony for the Dam and road-rail bridge, people thought that the purpose of the project was fulfilled. But we have not heard anything from the railway builder about the progress of the feeder canal, without which Calcutta port will not regain its functional importance. At one stage Pakistan objected to the feeder canal taking the required amount of water from the Farakka dam ; but we suppose, India told Islamabad what she thought about that objection. At a meeting in which many ministers were present a question was asked some weeks ago about the progress of the feeder canal. A government spokes-man answered 60% (or was it 70%). The person who had asked the question there upon put a further question. "60% of the depth or of the length or of the width?" Nobody appeared to have any precise knowledge of all that. Mr. Hanumanthaiya should know the answer and should inform the public about the progress of the feeder cannal. Mr. Hannumanthaiya should know the correct answers to everything as he appears to be doing very well without the assistance of some of the officers who were mainly the builders of the Dam and its ancillaries. We are refering to Messrs. B. C. Ganguly, Debesh Mukherjee and R. B. Chakravarty. These very senior officers were absent from the opening ceremony and people said their absence was due to their not receiving any invitations from Mr. Hanumanthaiya's organisation. Whatever that may be, we should be glad to know, first hand, from Mr. Hanumanthaiya, when the feeder canal would be ready.

Subimal Chandra Roy

Subimal Chandra Roy who was appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court of India in July this year died unexpectedly at Delhi on the 12th of November 1971. He was only 59 years old at the time of his death. He fell ill a few days before his death and was removed to the Willingdon Hospital. But he did not respond to the treatment given to him and passed away. His wife, three daughters and one son survive him. Subimal Chandra Roy was educated at the Presidency College and the Scottish Churches College of Calcutta. He continued his studies in the London University College and Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar from there. He practised as a barrister in the Calcutta Highcourt for 34 years and was considered to be second to none in point of his knowledge of law. He was once offered a judgeship at the Calcutta High Court but he refused that in view of the fact that his uncle Dr. B. C. Roy was then the Chief Minister of West Bengal. When, recently he was offered judgeship of the Supreme Court he accepted it, but unfortunately he did not live long enough to give the benefit of his great knowledge of law to his countrymen through his work at the Supreme Court. He had secured many awards and medals from different institutions and a Certificate of Honour from the Council of Legal Education. His library of law books was very valuable and contained numerous well selected volumes. He was well known for his faultless memory and he passed both his law examinations with first class honours, which was a record that remained unbroken for fifty years. Among the intellectuals of Calcutta Subimal Chandra Roy was prominent for his learning and unchallenged integrity. He was unostentatious, fearless and meritorious in many ways.

His death has removed a man who possessed great qualities of head and heart.

Shortage of Coins

The People of India are experiencing an acute shortage of metal coins of small denominations. Some say these coins are being melted for the manufacture of cheap jewellery. Others say that the Reserve Bank of India have been negligent in striking enough quantities of these coins. It has now become quite common for buyers to be given postage stamps, tablets of medicine or other objects of small value in place of coins. "Have another onion or bean" is a commonly made offer in the vegetable markets. The Government of India should look into this matters of short supply of coins.

How Warlike is India Compared to Other Nations

India has a population of 550 million persons. She has an army of 950000 all ranks, a navy with 1 aircraft carrier, 2 cruisers, 3 destroyers, 4 submarines and other crafts in proportion with a personnel comprising about 20000 officers and ratings. Her air force has 625 first line aircraft and 60000 officers and men.

Pakistan has about 100 million inhabitants. Her army consists of 250000 officers and men. The Pakistan navy has 1 or 2 submarines 1 cruiser 5 destroyers and three more submarines under construction in France. The personnel number nearly 10000 officers and ratings. Pakistan air force consists of 250 aircraft and 15000 persons all ranks.

The Chinese army has 26,00000 men of all ranks on top, of which there is a peoples' militia of 125 million men and 75 million women. The navy has 33 submarines, 4 destroyers, 17 frigates, 160 motor gunboats, 180 motor torpedoboats etc. etc. The Chinese air force comprised 2500 first line

air craft and the personnel numbered 100000. The population of China would be 700 million.

Great Britain has a population of 51 million. The British navy consists of 5 aircraft carriers, 35 submarines, 3 cruisers, 15 destroyers and 64 frigates. The army has about 167000 officers and men and the air force has more than 100000 men. The number of aircraft is not divulged but the personnel point to the existence of round about 3000 aircraft.

The United States of America : The army would number between 2500000 to 3000000. The navy personnel numbered 770300 and 310500. There are 15 attack aircraft carriers, 12 support aircraft carriers, 7 helicopter carriers, 87 nuclear propelled submarines, 89 conventional submarines, 4 battleships, 35 cruisers, 33 frigates, 294 destroyers and numerous other ships. The United States air force has 14,600 war planes and a personnel strength of 1.2 million.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have an army of 2 million men in 140 divisions, 70 of which are combat ready. Rocket units are the main force of the army. There are 350,000 security and border troops in addition to the regular army. The navy has 65 nuclear powered submarines, 320 Conventional submarines, 9 light cruisers, 100 destroyers, 100 escorts, 275 coastal escorts, 350 mine sweepers, 130 missile patrol boats, 350 motor torpedo boats, 250 landing craft and thousands of support ships. Personnel number 50000 officers and 450000 other ranks.

The Soviet air force has 500000 officers and men with 10000 first line aircraft and a large number of second line and other aircraft. The naval wing of the air force is separately counted to have several hundred flying boats and land based patrol bombers.

Israel has an army of 60000 regulars and a reserve army of 200000. The navy

has 4 submarines and two destroyers. The air force has 350 aircraft with a personnel of 8000.

When one examines these comparative figures relating to military personnel and equipment, one comes to realise that the size of armed forces or the equipment they possess does not necessarily determine their fighting ability. The Israelis have a small army and air force but they have proved their striking power by fighting much bigger forces very successfully. The Americans have a tremendous army, the mightiest navy in the world and a larger air force than the combined air forces of Russia and China. But in actual fight the Americans failed to win a decisive victory in Vietnam. The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong guerrillas fought back all the way to the discomfiture of the vastly better equipped American force. The Indian army is quite large in point of numbers. It has good equipment and a long tradition of unflinching courage in battle. It has an air force which can fight superiorly armed and speedier formations. Its navy has proved its mettle in battle. In the circumstances India can stand up to any forces that the world's great powers can deploy to this subcontinent. China, for instance can send half-a million soldiers and a thousand planes to India. But the distance they will have to travel and the difficulty of the terrain will compel them to move with lighter armour than they would require to overthrow Indian forces in the field and in the sky. We do not think China will succeed in conquering India if she tried to do so. The Americans will find it more difficult as they can never land a large enough army in India to fight the million soldiers that India can put in the field. In aggressive air action the Americans may lose aircraft in a 4 to 1 ratio as they will have to come through ground fire and missile attack. They

may lose a thousand planes before they can destroy even 5% of their objectives in India. We do not think the Americans will try to launch any attacks on India at any time. But India should be well advised to double her air force and to perfect her radar system, long and short range missile arm and her submarine fleet.

Mrs. Gandhi on World Tour

While Pakistan was getting prepared to fight India; the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi set out on a tour of a number of countries with a view to state India's case before the outside world. This was a very useful move as her appearance in person in different important places and what she said personally to her audience, proved to be far more convincing than a hundred press reports or radio broadcasts. No doubt the various governments followed their policies which were already established; but the people listened to her with close attention and, in many cases, rose to criticise the policy of their own governments. Newspapers which had been publishing anti-Indian opinions and comments began to modify their attitude and some began to see reason in what Mrs. Gandhi said. On the whole this lightening tour of Mrs. Gandhi did a lot of good to India's position in the world. People understood that Pakistan was committing a very serious crime against humanity in East Bengal and that the ten million refugees who had entered India constituted an international problem created by Pakistan to the disadvantage of another nation—India. It was therefore not an internal affair of Pakistan. It was an offence for which Pakistan would have to answer and to make amends to the injured parties. The reasons why these millions ran away from East Bengal were the hideous accounts of the genocide, the pitiable story of 50000 dishonoured women, the blood curdling tales of machine gunning school children, the cold

blooded murder of intellectuals and all the rest of what happened in East Bengal when Yahya Khan began his sadistic purge of the Bengalis. Mrs. Gandhi went from one country to another and recounted the same horrible tale time and again. The world came to know what happened in Bangla Desh directly and first hand from the Prime Minister of India. In human society there are expert liars whose job it is to misrepresent facts and to nullify truth. They have their supporters in all who find it profitable to accept the lies as proven facts. But fortunately for humanity the vast mass of mankind have more or less open minds. If facts are presented to them in a convincing manner they accept them and discard the propaganda that they are fed on. Mrs. Indira Gandhi can convince people and that is why her tour has been of such value.

Mukti Bahini Destroys Pakistani Tanks

The Mukti Bahini has been organised by the people of Bangla Desh using several thousand Bengali soldiers and armed policemen as its nucleus. That they have made a good job of it can be seen in the manner they are fighting the Pakistan army in the Dinajpur—Rangpur and the Jessore—Kusthia areas. In and around the Balurghat region the Mukti Bahini have been attacked by Pakistani tanks; but many of these tanks have been successfully destroyed by the Mukti Bahini. According to one report published in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* which we reproduce in part below, the Mukti Bahini have destroyed many Pakistani Tanks.

New Delhi, Nov. 29. Pakistan lost yet another chaffe tank yesterday in the fighting still raging in the Balurghat-Hilli region of the Eastern border bringing its total tank casualty to 18 so far.

An official spokesman told newsmen to-day that Pakistan had brought in a squadron of tanks into the Hilli region on Saturday and

advanced menacingly towards Indian positions sparking off the present skirmish”.

The Pakistanis have been firing into Indian positions in all border areas and Indian soldiers have counter-attacked in self defence at times. But the fighting with the Mukti Bahini has been ceaseless everywhere in East Bengal. The Pakistani army has been killing villagers and setting fire to their homes in retaliation ; though the poor villagers have little to do with the Mukti Bahini. Pakistan is provoking India to declare war on Pakistan in every possible manner ; as they think war with India will clear them of their hideous crimes against the people of East Pakistan.

A report published in the Statesman dated Nov. 24 says “The Bangla Desh Mukti Bahini crossed Chowgacha to-day and at the time of going to press was engaged in a fierce struggle with the Pakistani Army three miles out side Jessore town.....

“Mean while an important naval base at Harinagar in Khulna district was occupied this afternoon by the Mukti Bahini. Reports received from across the border said the base was captured after a pitched battle and that the Bahini was able to seize a ‘large quantity

of ammunition.’ The Reports further said the Pakistani Army had been abandoning their positions”.

Air Battle near the Border

On November 22nd the Pakistan air force in East Bengal sent four Sabre jets over the West Bengal frontier near Jessore, apparently with the idea of bombing important targets of the Calcutta area. As these planes crossed into Indian air space they were intercepted by Indian air force Gnats. Three of the Sabre jets were shot down by our pilots. The fourth one was hit but it escaped. Of the three jets that were brought down two crashed in Indian territory, their pilots bailing out to be made prisoners ; and the third one fell in Pakistan territory. Our heroic airmen who brought these Sabres down were Flt. Lt. E. Massey, Flt. Lt. M. A. Ganapathy and Flg. Officer D. Lazarus. They were unscathed and their planes were untouched by Pakistani bullets. This incident was an act of war perpetrated by the Pakistanis in peace time. Pakistan has been bombarding the border out posts of India for a long time. This air attack was however an unbelievably criminal act of lawlessness.



FOREIGNERS IN RED CHINA WITH A FEW PROFILES

B. K. KUMAR

The writing has been on the wall since a long time ago. No real kudos for the foreigners-friends from afar-for the China man, no matter whether they came as benefactors, pioneers or saviours even. They all went to China to end their careers 'disheartened'. Schall and Verbiest, learned Jesuits like their predecessor Matteo Ricci, who hoped to transform the Chinese to Christians mainly through their knowledge of the sciences they disseminated; Lay and Hart who laid a good foundation for an honest administration in the inspectorate general of customs, postal services, etc.; Martin, Fryer and Hume who entered into missionary activity and branched out into academic undertakings, translation of scientific works and medical education; and finally, three commanding officers, namely, Chennault, Stilwell and Wedemeyer, who worked hard to improve the Chinese military potential. Though much good resulted out of the work done by such famous western advisers, they failed to make a niche in the minds of the Chinese. But partly they themselves were to blame. They never made an earnest effort to identify themselves with the Chinese mind, the Chinese society. Instead on many occasions they counted themselves as "superiors", and thus the Chinese resented their stay and all. That lot of the foreigners in Peking can be classed together till the early 60's of the twentieth century.

But after what occurred in the course of the last four years of the 60's, mainly in the form of the Cultural Revolution turmoil, life itself for the foreigners in Peking is no more milk and honey. At least for the select band of old China hands like Anna Louise Strong, Israel

Epstein, Michael Shapiro and others (a profile of these personalities will be given in the under-mentioned lines) life did hold out some fascination and quiet comfort (before 1966) in the way they worked for the Council of State Affairs from their snug seats closeted though 10 miles away from Peking in the seclusion of Friendship Hotel (which could otherwise be named as "Foreigners' Street") unperturbed by the grim thought and fear whether the people outside knew them as the "Maoist foreigners" or un-Maoist foreigners so long as all that was put out under their name sounded thoroughly Maoist stuff. They also enjoyed such fat privileges (in the sense that they were treated as "respected guests" and all that goes with that sort of understanding) as a much bigger accommodation than ordinarily available to other people, far more than the normal rates of salaries (According to Maurice Ciantar, French journalist and writer, Anna Louise Strong was being paid Yuan 1030 whereas normal rate of salary paid to a foreigner in Peking, Canton and Shanghai ranged from yuan 200 to 800 a month), sumptuous western-style meals, service of servants and other ancillary perquisites which went with their special service to the Chinese government. In the present-day China, however, such bureaucratic foreigners are considered misfits and are detested.

One decisive call to all foreigners including the so-called left-winger 'careerists', 'opportunists' and 'sun-shiners' in China, particularly the old-timers who have had any intention of making China their second home if not first, was given by Mao himself in February 1969 after the release of that fate-sealing Ta-Tze

Pao (big-character poster) signed by four Americans. The big call ran: "If the revolutionary foreign experts wish to live exactly as the Chinese live, they may. The matter should be discussed thoroughly beforehand and the decision should be purely on an individual and voluntary basis." This call looked milder in tone and more sympathetic in its inviting pitch than the earlier calls issued. But since Mao's calls have always set a certain pace and later go into the dictionary of his invincible thoughts never to be desecrated by anyone, how could this one be treated with scant regard by any foreigner in China, even by the Old Retainers like Anna and others?

The sole choice left for foreigners in China now was to strip off their "foreignness" with its necessary concomitants and to live thoroughly the Communist Chinese way of life. In fact the foreigners never had a place in the Chinese Communist Society, only the "essentially sinomaniacs" had one for them. But now was perhaps the time to sinicize even those foreigners officially, to baptize them as foreigners-turned-Chinese. They have all been vying with one another in the past to become 'unforeigner-like' at least the way the outside world should find them, mainly from their writings and most of them have been writing any way; teachers, translators and writers all.

Jacques Marcuse, the Belgian journalist, who was in China in the period of 1962-1965 and who has written a penetrating account of the lives of some of the old-timers whom he knew intimately, had this to say about their writings, after meeting some among them, which looked most unforeigner-like to him, as they themselves did to him.

"I disagree with almost everything Eppy (Israel Epstein) writes nowadays, but, after all, the Epsteins have made their choice and

stuck to it not with forced loyalty, but with their very hearts and conscience. They have accepted a certain discipline and become converted to a certain faith. When Epstein writes about the wonderful changes that happened in Tibet; I do not for a moment think him guilty of a conscious lie. But he certainly thinks that he is, for he is unaware that he, too, in the employ of Peking, has been taken on a conducted tour, not to say for a ride with blinkers on".

After meeting Sydney Rittenberg (another old timer) a number of times, Marcuse had this to say:

"But one grows very tired of hearing the same unmistakably predictable litanies, for they add nothing to what the local press has already forcibly brought to one's notice, and the simple fact that they are being recited by foreigners, and in perfect good faith, makes their constant repetition harder to bear..... But with the Peking Janissaries, everything either comes back to Chinese infallibility or is interpreted and commented upon in the light of Mao's thinking... ..And their unquestioning belief in the local fairy tales is irksome."

So even prior to the advent of the Cultural Revolution the foreigners at least in their writings were sinicized any way, but in the period of Cultural Revolution and after, the choice has been dead hard to shred off their "foreignness" to pieces and live in Peking or just to pack up and leave, more so after the big call of Mao went out.

It is an open secret now that the *doyenne* among the foreigners in Peking, Mrs. Anna Louise Strong (who breathed her last on March 29, 1970 after long illness had contacted her lawyer in the United States late November 1969 to find out if she could be free to return to the U. S. Of course, there could be no problem to this since the American constitution guarantees full freedom of expression only

which grounds she could be debarred from re-entry. Who knows she would have preferred to go back rather than to get sinicized! Oddly enough, several other American '300 percenters' (those who are 300% pro-Peking) who had more to fear by returning to their homeland, have done so in recent years. The latest, the self-styled "Negro leader" Robert Williams has returned late November 1969 to the U. S. only to face kidnap charges.

Profiles

The Veteran among the western expatriates in China, *Mrs. Anna Louise Strong*, author, journalist and revolutionary for all intents and purposes is no more!

Mrs. Strong had complained of keeping bad health in her last but one letter from China (dated October 7, 1969—No. 67). And she had sounded a disconcerting note indeed in telling the outside world that she would probably be able to send out only one more of her offerings from Peking—the last Letter. And she did dispatch her last letter—at least that came under her name though nobody would know who actually posted it—in fact all her earlier Letters or most of them! The letter which was dated December 30, 1969 and was entitled "Twenty Years Ago" was however not the least significant. Its only refrain was top historicity, Communist-coloured, of the capture of Peking by the upsurging forces of the PLA on Christmas Day in 1948. The last letter after three months of the appearance of which the grand old lady was laid to rest was utterly disappointing also in that it failed to throw even a modicum of hint of the effects of the Cultural Revolution on the life of the foreigners ('unforeigners' all!) in China.

When Anna in the last but one of her offerings from Peking had raised the question of her health coming in the way of her continuing to write and that she was more

anxious to complete her book on China, many wondered whether she was not anxiously trying to return to the U. S. for which she was believed to have contacted her lawyer in November 1969. And what was the reason which compelled her to think of renouncing the country she had blindly fallen in love with over ten years ago when she settled down in Peking? God, however, seems to have come to her rescue in sparing her both the agonies—the agony of separation from the land where she lived so long out of her own choice as well as the agony of continuing to live like an 'unforeigner' in China.

Why and how did Anna go to China? What made her stay there? This she explained in one of her Letters from China. The first thirty years of life of this Nebraska-born daughter of a Protestant Minister had been spent in Western America where they fought for better forms of democracy, women's suffrage, labour's participation in politics, public ownership of utilities against the "Wall St. Octopus." She was a member of the Seattle School Board and later feature editor of the *Seattle Union Record* "a daily owned by the Central Labour Council." With that background of leftist politics and her own leftist journalistic leanings she went to Moscow in 1921, got married and started the English language *Moscow Daily News*. (Michael Borodin, the patron on behalf of Moscow, of the Kuomintang-Communist merger of the Twenties which ended tragically later, also joined her as a co-editor after his recall to the U. S. S. R. in 1927). During the period of nearly thirty years she spent there, she wrote "hundreds of articles and some fifteen books". Her stay there was disturbed only once when on one of her visits to Moscow in 1949 she was suddenly branded "American spy" and was forced to leave Russia. However, after that Khrushchev's speech which posthu-

mously denounced Stalin and all the deeds that were Stalin's, the way was set for Mrs. Strong's later "rehabilitation" in Russia and she stayed in Russia for another short period.

It appears that she visited Spain in 1937 and China for the first time during the 1925-27 Borodin period. It was, however, in August 1946 when (already a widow) she established a real, productive contact with the Chinese Communists when they were camping in Yen-an. At that time she was given an exclusive interview with Mao Tse-tung in which the Chinese leader revived the old Chinese metaphor of the "paper tiger"—applied then to the so called "reactionaries" and the atom bomb they had manufactured. The interview consisting of eight straight, short questions and Mao's eight elaborate replies forms a part of Volume IV of Mao Tse-tung's selected works published in English by the Foreign Language press of Peking in 1961. That was perhaps the real beginning of her infatuation with the China of the Communists.

In her Letter number ten, she reflects: "Can I explain why I wanted to stay for ever? There were no luxuries and few comforts. There were people with keen minds, deep thoughts and a world view. I felt my own mind developing. I wrote later: 'Never have I felt so close to the human power that builds the world as in that isolated, beleaguered Yen-an'." Mrs. Anna, however, seems to have settled permanently in Peking only sometime early in 1959. Her faring in China till at least the onslaught of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 seems to have been rather smooth (since nothing is on record to say that she was treated badly by the Chinese any time during this period of her stay). In 1966 she is stated to have joined the Red Guards out of some grave compulsion or not. But in 1968 there

were reports that the Red Guards took up cudgels with her too by criticising her in their wall posters. And even her whereabouts were in doubt—till she left for her heavenly abode on March 29, 1970.

Peking will cherish the memory of Mrs. Anna Louise Strong's open support, her all-out praise for the good that the Chinese Communists were doing for their people and the country—and might not regret its ultimate betrayal born out of the Cultural Revolution convulsions to cut her to the size of a perfect unforeigner (Chinese) when she was just nearly moving towards her grave.

The second among the set of prolific foreign propagators of the bright deeds of the Communist regime in Peking is Rewi Alley who was better known as "Screwy" Alley when he was in Chungking in 1940. A New Zealander, Rewi is widely known, particularly in the British world, for his pioneer work in building early cooperative industry in China. In 1940 while in Chungking he worked very actively for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives of which Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek was the nominal head. Earlier, the exploitation which prevailed in the factory work done in China at that time had repelled him and he moved to Szechuan to organize Chinese youths in Cooperatives. He travelled deep into the Chinese countryside until in 1932 he reached the western-most valleys of Kansu. Ultimately he settled down for quite some years, in a small town, Sandan, and organized a successful industrial community there during the Second War period, in some ways a prototype of the commune ideal.

Rewi Alley is also known as one of the few British subjects who spurned the offer of a Knighthood. He is also said to have adopted many famished, fatherless Chinese children and to have raised them to the level of good and respectable children of China.

Coming very close to the late Mrs. Strong, Rewi has written prolifically articles and poetry for both western and Chinese journals. He also had a major share in translating Mao's poems published in Peking a few years ago.

Probably the only lucky one among the present "unforeigners" settled in China (since there are no reports of any kind that the Cultural Revolution had had any effects upon his position in China as a teacher or a writer) is... He seems to have become the most acceptable to the Chinese mind at least from the thematic significance of his poems and other writings. In one of his eulogies to the New Chinese, entitled "Would That I Could", he wrote in 1970 :

"Would that I could
Spin words so fine,
.....so they
Would speak truth
Then the people would look
At the family of Man
With new eyes, saying
So this is how it is !
.....catch a glimpse
Of the greatness of ordinary ones."

His poetry dispatches from Peking as carried by the Ta Kung Pao (a Hong Kong weekly) look like a weekly (sometimes fortnightly) exercise in communicating changing China to the outside world. But he poetizes the world situation as well. And the consistency and constancy of his theme in all sorts of poems published is just this: China is all superb, and the rest of the world is all bad enough.

Recently he has also started dispatching his "Letter from China" prosing his experiences about the transformation in the present way of Chinese life. And with that a lot of "titbits of information" which we have missed due to the absence of Letters of

Mrs. Anna who is no more. These are now there for us in Rewi's Letter.

After the late Mrs. Strong, another prominent figure among the American migrants to China is Dr. George Hatem who adopted a Chinese name, Ma Hai Teh, and whom the famous journalist and author Edgar Snow jocularly called Doctor Horse (which is the meaning of Ma). Dr. Hatem, the son of a poor mill worker, was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1910. An exceptionally brilliant student who won one scholarship after another. He had finished his pre-medicine work in three years and won a scholarship to the American University in Beirut where he studied until he won another scholarship to the University of Beirut.

Through the financial assistance provided by a fellow doctor he sailed to Shanghai in 1953. Why did he choose China for his medical practice? Because whatever he heard about China and its people wherever he had been, held out a compelling fascination for him to go over to China and work among its people. Shortly afterwards he specialised in the treatment of Venereal Diseases which at that time raged in Shanghai. But subsequently through the late Miss Agnes Smedly (another revolutionary writer) with whom he worked on a pamphlet on health conditions in Shanghai, he established contacts with the Red undergrounds of those times. And he chose to work in the capacity of a doctor for the fugitive Liberation Army. He is reported to have told Edgar Snow at one time then :

"I don't give a damn for a doctor who lives high by pampering the neurotic rich..... The medical profession is a failure if we can't give all children of even the humblest parentage an equal start in life—the same food and proper care that only the rich can afford. If that's what these people up there are aiming at, I'm with them. Anyway I want to see for myself."

And so he chose to be of service to the Communist Chinese people. He married a charming Chinese lady, Chou Ssu-Fei, whom he first met in 1936 in Sian, the capital of Shensi province. And they have a son Yu-Ma (which means "Little Pony") and a daughter Liang P'i ("Second Horse").

Doctor Hatemi was last reported to be heading the Institute of Dermatology and Venerological Sciences at Peking's Ministry of Public Health.

There are other less prominent foreigners in China. *Israel* Epstein, a former United Press Correspondent in North China, and now a Chinese citizen, has worked on the staff of *China Reconstructs* in Peking and was last reported to be an editor of the Foreign Languages Press in Peking. He was however arrested along with his English wife, Elsie Fairfax Chohnoudely, early in 1968 on espionage charges. They may still be in lock-up.

Another American *Sydney Rittenberg*, who originally came to China in 1945 while being in Service with the American Army, later through a fortuitous opportunity granted to tour North China happened to meet General Nieh Jung-Chen (at present Vice-Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) who offered him a job as "an engineer of good relations between the Eighth Route Army and the American people." That was in 1947. And eventually he married a Chinese student, fathered three children and took up broadcasting work in Peking. He moved up the rungs of the ladder rapidly, headed Radio Peking's English programmes division and was said to be in full control of the Station in February 1967. He held the post for nine months. In November 1967 he was imprisoned for his "alleged" espionage activities. His whereabouts are unknown at the moment.

Another "transferred" figure is a Britisher, namely *Michel Shapiro* who has been in China for the last 20 years now. He was for many years Peking correspondent for London's *Daily Worker*. He has been chiefly known as an adviser to the Chinese Government on press matters. In May 1967 the New China News Agency reported Shapiro being active in the Cultural Revolution, but later he was detained for questioning. He later, however, suffered the same fate as the Epsteins.

There is a second Shapiro residing there. An American, namely, *Sydney Shapiro*, a lawyer by profession, he married a Chinese lady, Feng Tse. He has been working as a senior translator and adviser at the Foreign Language Press. But his name is hardly heard of these days.

Another less known person among the Americans there is a former Marine Captain, Gerald Tannenbaum, who has been in China for the last over 20 years now. He went there originally to work for Mine. Sun's China Welfare Institute which has been doing remarkable things in promoting modern techniques of child welfare, set up China's first children's theatre and pioneered other cultural projects. Tannenbaum has appeared in a number of Chinese films and is now a regular contributor to the *Eastern Horizon*, a Communist Chinese monthly published from Hong Kong.

Yet another American of note is *Sol Adler* who represented the U. S. Department of the Treasury in China from 1941 to 1947, returned to China in 1957 and made it his home in 1962. Married to an English woman, Patricia Davies, Adler works in the Chinese propaganda department.

Erwing Sydney Engst is a relatively unknown figure, described by Peking as "an American Farmer who has been living in China since 1946." His wife, Joan Chase Hinton, a

Chinese by birth and an American by nationality, first went back to China in 1948 and worked with Erwig on an animal breeding farm in Mongolia. She and Erwig were two of four foreigners who wrote a big-character poster in August 1966 supporting the Cultural Revolution.

A British journalist, *Rose Smith*, lived in Peking from 1962 to 1963 and has stayed there since 1965. She figured prominently in protest meetings against the treatment of Chinese journalists in Hong Kong (who were at one time arrested by the Hong Kong authorities but have since been released following the release of their British counterparts in October 1969 by the Chinese authorities) and even fired off a protest letter to the former British Premier Harold Wilson. At present, along with her other British compatriots she is reported to be in jail.

A famous British author stationed at Peking is *Gladys Yang* who is married to a Chinese author, Yang Hsien-yi. She has been writing for *China Pictorial*, *Eastern Horizon*, and *Chinese Literature*. Since May 1968 she too has been put into jail by the Chinese.

Finally in the list of western 'unforeigners' is a New Zealand journalist, *Douglas Lake* who went to China in 1963 with his wife, Ruth Lake, to teach English. He has been Peking correspondent of *People's Voice* (New Zealand) and has been writing for the *Eastern Horizon*. His wife has written for *Arts and Science in China*.

Besides the thirteen foreigners—the westerners briefly bio-sketches in the above lines, there are quite a number of others from the Asian world based in Peking who have lent a very productive hand to the Chinese govern-

ment by doing one or the other job by and for China. Here are a few such figures.

Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, a South African, is a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress, banned opposition party. He is engaged mainly in "wooing" the "black-power" movement in favour of China, working at the Secretariat of Peking's Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.

Phayom Chulanont, a Thai residing in Peking is mentioned as the over-seas representative of the Patriotic Front of Thailand's north-east province. Another Thai named *Mongkon Na Nakorn* also based in Peking, is the Thai Independence Movement Liaison Officer.

Rashid Said Jabru is the Peking representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the PLO's representative in North Korea, stationed in Peking.

Sudanese *Mohammed Ahmed Kheir* is Peking's resident "peace champion". Since his exit from the Sudanese Communist Party, he has been working as the Peking correspondent of *Revolution Africaine* (Algeria). In February 1969 he lectured at the third Afro-Asian course in journalism. The *People's Daily* of July 9, 1967 carried an article by him on the Soviet betrayal of world revolution. Kheir's wife who also lives with him in Peking was said to have been received by Mao in July 1967.

The last on the list is *Kinkazu Saionji*, a Japanese, who is also described as a peace champion and who like Kheir was expelled from the Communist Party in his country in February 1969.

SINO-AMERICAN RAPPROCHEMENT : AN ANALYSIS OF THE MOTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

V. T. PATIL

Introduction :

A country's foreign policy is not made overnight or decided upon in a huff by individual statesmen. It has a sense of continuity arising out of certain permanent and stable factors. The conditioning factors of a nation's foreign policy are many, but all of them point towards the principal objective of every country's foreign policy—the promotion of national interests.

In this light, President Nixon's decision to visit China before May, 1972 has caused a major surprise to some while to some others it has sinister implications. In 1968, Mr. Nixon wrote "Any American Policy towards Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China".¹ This accordingly may prove to be the most dramatic foreign policy development in post-war American and Communist Chinese history. It has tremendous significance for contemporary world politics, for it may herald a new pattern of relationship between the different nations of the world, albeit a new world order based on meaningful co-existence between different systems. What makes the proposed Nixon visit truly spectacular, is that the United States and Communist China do not even have diplomatic relations. It is a tribute to the flexibility of both the United States and Communist China and perhaps also a warning to those who have been depending upon the United States that it may at any time—when its national interests are involved—do the unexpected and unusual without taking into confidence friends or allies.

The Americans and Chinese have realised

that it takes two to play a game and that in this thermonuclear age taking a collusion course would be suicidal. ".....if a world war no longer offers any hope of settling international disputes, at least major ones, the only other course open to great Powers is negotiation with or without a skilful use of pressure".² They have also realised that with their hardened attitudes, mutual problems become intractable and insolvable. The present 'historic overture' is the culmination of America's China policy over the last hundred years. Over the course of this period relations with China have swung sharply between feelings of love and hate—with pathological hatred being the dominant theme since the Communists wrested control of the mainland in 1949. "We are witnessing the liquidation of two decades of a U. S. East Asian Policy dominated by the ghost of (former Secretary of States) John Foster Dulles,"³ At this particular juncture both U. S. and China are convinced that their interests will be served by a Summit meeting between their leaders. American foreign policy to-day puts emphasis on "shared goal of coexistence". It is with this background that President Nixon's decision to visit China must be viewed.

At this stage an analysis of motives and implications of such a move would be of much interest. Though it is too early to assess the consequence, yet an academic exercise may be of immense help for policy formulation.

II

Motives :

What are the possible motives of the American move? "The meeting between

the leaders of China and the United States is to seek normalization of the relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."⁴ Mr. Nixon's reference to "normalization of relations" seem to suggest that his visit to Peking would be climaxed by establishment of full diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China founded 22 years ago.

President Nixon added apparently with a view to reassuring Moscow, Nationalist China and other allies, "our action in seeking a new relationship with the People's Republic of China will not be at the expense of our old friends. It is not directed against any other nation. We seek friendly relations with all nations. Any nation can be our friend without being any other nation's enemy".⁵ Nevertheless, fears of Sino-American collusion—at the expense of Russia—appear to gain currency on the reasoning that my enemy's enemy is my friend. As far as India is concerned, the thaw with China might find America entering a period of indifferent relations with India. Yet, India welcomed Nixon's dramatic decision because it saw in it the vindication of its own China policy. India believes that there can be no stable peace in Asia without China being brought into the mainstream of civilized international politics. It is also hoped that American influence on a China armed with nuclear weapons would be all to the good. To that extent there is some relief.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the recently concluded Treaty of Friendship between the Indian and Soviet governments is the direct consequence of the American desire for closer relations with Communist China. New Delhi and Moscow have realised that it is in their mutual national interest to cooperate not only in economic and cultural fields, but also in the military sphere. It also

points to the desire of the Soviets to maintain a sphere of influence in the sub-continent as also a warning to other countries in the area that they would not be idle spectators in case if any aggression against India. To that extent there would be a sobering influence on Pakistan and sabre-rattling by the military diehards would stop.

Diplomatic observers saw the planned visit as an indication that China was now willing to use its influence to end the war in Vietnam. The search for a negotiated peace in Vietnam will be intensified. Consequently, peaceful, speedy and political settlement of the problems of Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia may be facilitated. Some kind of a deal on these trouble spots is in the offing.

Of even greater long-term significance is the impact of Sino-American relations on the Soviet Union. Both America and China have realised that their principal adversary is Soviet Union. American global interests continue to clash with Soviet Union, while large-scale deployment of troops on either side of the long sprawling borders (Sino-Soviet) in Central Asia and the unabating polemics continue to keep China's relation with the Soviet Union considerably strained.

The Soviet Union, on its part also, haunted by fear of China and even more fearful of a Sino-American alliance—the Russians might choose to react by dragging their feet on such important issues on the strategic arms limitation talks. But it seemed more likely that in their anxiety to avert a rapprochement between their two major adversaries, the Soviet would become more forthcoming in their relations with Washington".⁶

It may also mean that in U. S. is underlying the fact that (1) the U. S. has international responsibilities in which the Russians do not play a major role. (2) it also serves as a pointer to the Kremlin that henceforth its

relationship with Washington cannot be taken for granted. Even if the current American overtures do not bear immediate fruit, America will have served notice on Russia that it could use Communist China as a balancing force. The indications are that China and America are both in their own way jockeying for advantage.

As far as China's motives are concerned it believes that a Sino-American detente will enhance its prestige and influence. It will demonstrate to the world that China is an equal among the super-powers. The Chinese also realise that they are not in a position to confront the Soviets on their own and therefore the necessity of coming closer to the U. S. to put up a joint front against the Russians.⁷

There is a question of trade also. The United States feels that Japan, West Germany, Australia, Canada, Britain are reaping the benefit of trade with China. Thus "the huge cost of the war in Vietnam, along with the adverse balance of trade brought about by the expansion of trade in Germany and Japan and the erosion of the value of the dollar in the international market are important factors it would seem in America's desire for establishing new relations with China".⁸

The recognition of Communist China and the resumption of diplomatic relations would provide the Americans with a valuable listening post to monitor the trends in the Communist world movement.

Lastly, a visit to Peking in May of 1972 will greatly strengthen Mr. Nixon's prospects of re-election. It will have the "brightened aura of world statesman and peace-maker".

III

Implications .

It is said that any Sino-American rapprochement offers decisive implications for world peace and international co-operation beyond this decade.

K. M. Pannikar held that "when a new power emerges the balance of power is upset. The Soviet revolution was the biggest fact which emerged from the First World War. It might be that Mao's China is the biggest fact to emerge from the Second World War."⁹ Consequently, the emergence of a new balance of power seems probable in which the United States uses Peking in its efforts to balance off Russia, with Peking seeking assurance of its own security against Russia. This new marriage of convenience springs not from any sudden dedication to principles but out of mutual apprehension.

It is also safe to conclude that the Nixon administration will not challenge the bid this autumn for Peking's admission to the United Nations.

What about the implications for the Chinese on their new found relationship with the United States? It may imply that the moderate wing of Chinese communism led by Prime Minister Chou En Lai has begun to assert itself in the power citadels of China. The moderates seek to advance Chinese aims through peaceful means of a 'new soft approach' towards the United States and the rest of the world excluding perhaps the Soviet Union. This appears to be the main theme of 'ping-pong' diplomacy. It also signals the opening of a peace front by the moderates in China in the sphere of international relations.

What about implications for the Americans? To some it indicates failure of 'containing communism' as enunciated by the 'Truman doctrine', pursued by all American administrations from Truman to Nixon. The irresistible geopolitical realities and the compulsion of their internal and external economics help explain to a large extent the drive towards a Sino-American rapprochement.

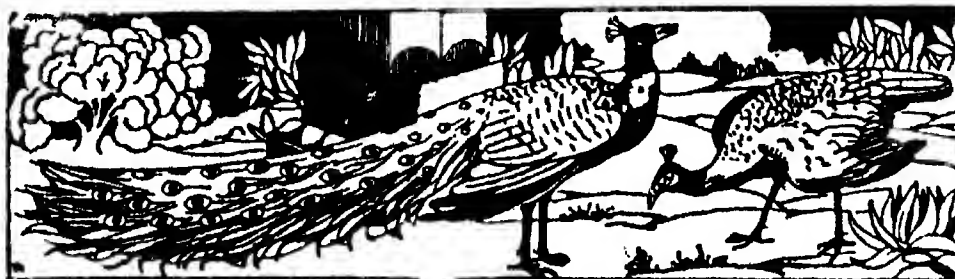
Despite Nixon's assurance that the relationship with China "will not be at the expense of our old friends, nor "will it be against any nation". The Taiwanese are naturally very upset over these developments. Peking's growing friendship with the outside world and specially with its hitherto arch-enemy, U. S., threatens the very existence of Taiwan which China has pledged to regain at any cost. The Chiang Government in the foreseeable future may die a slow death.

China, a huge totalitarian country developed pathological hatred of America and what it stands for over a period of many years. For the last two decades this policy of anti-Americanism has been carried on in the press and radio with a fanatical zeal. It would be a naive assumption to expect hardened attitudes built over many years to evaporate in thin air over-night. But for the first time the most powerful and richest nation in the world and the most populous nation in the world have decided to recognise each others existence. Not only this, but they have also come to the conclusion that in this age of thermo-nuclear warfare, nation's professing diverse ideologies need to fellow the policy of "live and let live". The choice is between two extremes--- between the "quick and the dead".

In conclusion, we could state that given political maturity and statesmanship of a high order on both sides, durable peace could be built and consolidated. Nonetheless, no

spectacular results could be expected immediately, but Mr. Nixon's mission to Peking may prove to be an occasion for hope and opportunity.

1. Taken from the article which Mr. Nixon wrote for the journal, **Foreign Affairs** just before the Presidential election in 1968.
2. B. L. Sharma : "Bolt from the Blue", **The Indian Express**. (Bombay-edition), July 27, 1971.
3. Quoted in **Newsweek**, July, 26, 1971, p. 11.
4. Taken from the text of his one and half-minute speech on television on July, 16th, 1971.
5. Ibid.
6. **Newsweek**, July, 26, 1971, p. 10.
7. Interestingly enough, the Russians also realise that they are not in a position to confront a joint front put up by America and China on their own resources and strength. Hence they found the present time propitious to sign a Treaty of Friendship with India.
8. K. C. S : "The proposed trip to China", **The Indian Express**. (Bombay edition), July, 6, 1971, p. 6.
9. Quoted in "Mao's Monkey" by Frank Moraes, **The Indian Express**, (Bombay edition), July, 19, 1971.



THE SECOND TRIENNAL—INDIA

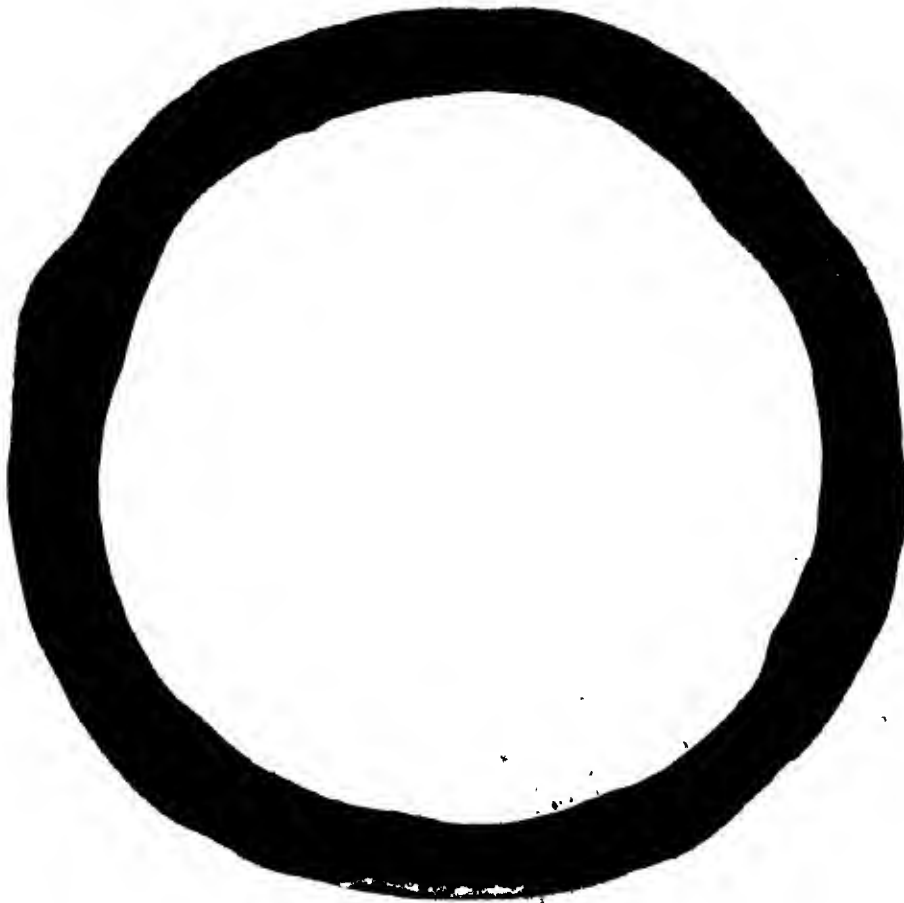
USAB

(Continued from previous issue)

Japan

Japan has sent 20 graphics, paintings and sculpture pieces done by 7 artists. Of these the mystic circles filling the space by Jiro Yoshihara speak of the oriental symbolic force. Being one of the award-winning canvases, a few words have been said earlier. Masakazu

Horiuti (b. 1911) has created a funny surrealist sculpture by shaping iron sheets, partly in the form of plates and partly as tubes and bending them in Tube Turning Inside Out A - - much after the handle of cane of umbrellas in a bunch. Wood block prints of Akira Kurozaki (b. 1937) are large and distinct to describe black and white flight of steps



"BLACK CIRCLE ON WHITE"

Artist : Jiro Yoshihara

decorated with round shapes in dark red and yellow in *Darkness in Red*. The works, two others are likewise, show intense emotion. Jasaku Maeda's (b. 1926) *Mystagogy of Space* is rich in bright red, yellow, blue and green oils to bring out esoteric Buddhist symbols. Hideo Yoshihara (b. 1931) reveals a delicate lithograph where the background is low indigo on which four women are shown seated on the ends of four planks of a Seesaw arranged at right angles. The figures are white but each has slight touch of green, black, orange and brown on one leg to differentiate and break the monotony. The etching here is soft and pleasant in composition. On the whole the works in this corner are well thought of and delightful in expression and technique.

South Korea

South Korean corner has 10 works done by 10 artists. Young Bang Song's (b. 1936) *Work Painting* is in spray method to show on a dull smoky background patches in low black as if shrubs have come out at intervals on tilled land. *Spiritual Hymn in Blue* is a large canvas painted by Ki Won Lee (b. 1927) in shaded blue, dripping or overlapping with white and to some extent cubist in oils. The total effect is that the colour arrangement takes us away from the humdrum feeling of the world. It is a successful abstract painting with a message. Shan Shik Kim (b. 1926) has created a representative sculpture *Space and Circle* which is globular, measuring about 20 inches in diameter, on the surface of which are fitted round steel cups of several dimensions. This shows as if the globe is made of atoms.

Kuwait

Kuwait is represented by 11 paintings and sculptures of 10 young artists who reveal their present-day artistic faculty. Here we see the

stamp of the trends of mannerisms of the adjoining countries of Arabia. Abdulla Salem's *Vlew* (oil) is just what we see in any village of north India. Here are a burnt sienna hut, a blue gate, a water buffalo under a shady green tree and a few women busy in their daily work. *The Wind of Spring* is a softly tainted water colour by Jawad J. Bouslahri (b. 1943) and depicts well-spaced green foliage of a tree beside a canal with flowing water. Sami Mohammed (b. 1943) has done a black stone sculpture—*The Sad Man* to show a man with woolly hair sitting with his grim face buried between his two hands. Issa Sager (b. 1940) in his plaster statuette *Captive of Love* has shown the face of a woman with a pillar like body which has openings in front and back, inside which is a small doll like figure of an Arab with upraised arms.

Malayasia

Malayasia is represented by 20 art works comprising ten paintings, five sculptures and five graphic pieces done by four top-ranking artists. Anthony Lau (b. 1933) is both imaginative and definite when he wants to express with vigour. So *The Jungle* made of several steel rods shaped in the upper part like 'U' creates the total visual impression of a jungle. His *Cockerel*, a fairly big one made of strips of iron after the fashion of wickerwork pattern, is crowing so that the body is fully stretched having spiky crest and feathery body and tail. Deep brown chocolate colour suits well on it. There is commingling of expressionism with artistic creation. A sense of graphic style is discernible in Ismail Zain's (b. 1930) *1.00 P. M.* (Acrylic canvas) for its delicate border design in dull to bright blue. His *7.00 A. M.* is identical but is in green.

Mauritius

Eight artists have sent fourteen art works from Mauritius. The works show that the

artists have taken inspiration from the West, Africa and India. Dhyanswar Dausoa in his medium-sized wooden statuette *La Porteuse D'Eau* has created a realistic chocolate colour woman who is holding a slender water jar on her shoulder. Slightly bent and head turned a bit on one side add vitality to it. *La Diva Bouteille* in egg tempera by Nagalingam Murthy reveals groups of people around a mandolin player in a few broad patches of browns, blue and black and slight crimson as relief and depicts the mood of each group in powerful colour arrangement. Pierre Argo (b. 1941) in *Maternite* (oil) has described after expressionistic technique in oils and poster colours a white torso having crimson drippings, blue, indigo, yellow and black squares and circular shapes, the idea of motherhood.

Nepal

Nepalese artists, inspite of their endeavour to create modern dynamic art forms, were not free to do so till 1950. Pre-1950 periods saw stifling of modern artistic tendency. In the present Nepalese collection of 20 paintings and sculptures done by 12 artists we see both realistic and modern art patterns. Thakur Prasad Mainali (b. 1939) in *Form* has shown a green bronze leaf in rhythmic wavy elongated shape with dimples. *Family* (oil) is Manuj Babu Mishra's (b. 1939) creation showing in blue, black and whitish grey triangles several men and women gossiping. It has the tonal quality though expresses little. *Shree Composition* by Deepak Shimkhada (b. 1945) is a very effective canvas having red oil in the centre around which is a large greenish brown circle having black rim. Devanagri 'Shree' is inscribed on the red encircled space. It is comparable with Jiro Yashihara's *Black Circle on White*. Both are symbolic enough to create a feeling of esoteric or tantric sign, though the Japanese work is a class by itself.

New Zealand

New Zealand is represented by 14 graphic art pieces done by seven artists. In that part of the world graphic art developed rather from the twenties of this century. In this exhibition human figure has been used rarely. The general theme is expressionistic, idyllic dreams in the dialect of abstracticism. Pakiri Sandhills (etching) by Miss Alison Pickmeri (b. 1910) has fine etching revealing lateral winding patches in grades of yellow, a bit of indigo weeds beside blue water and white cloud. In *Radiation* Miss Kate Coolahan (b. 1929) has etched in dull black with breaks in low tone, a space over which is a rhomboid which is irregularly coloured in sections of violet, yellow and green—all to give an imaginary effect of radiation and colour. Johan Drawbridge (b. 1930) in *Interior* (dry point and mezzotint) has given a shadowy black and white soft treatment to show a woman standing behind a glass door.

Nigeria

The Nigerian collection of 17 oils, graphics and sculptures by 12 artists is one of the most interesting corners. In spite of the Western and international artistic influences in some of the works, several artists have revealed their indigenous styles—the African art mannerisms which are quite vocal here. The sculptures are spontaneous and vigorous and are akin to Ashanti dialect. Erhabor Emokpae (b. 1934) in his ebony statue *Olokun* has described by means of a triangular ebony trunk which has brown grains along the face with sharp details of nose, lips and there are feathers as if on the head. His *Growth* (oil) is in vigorous patches and swirls of warm orange and red, a violet trunk set with a long neck and head. Around black, blue and white patches or thick non-objective patterns done with pigments direct from the nozzles of tubes. *Pregnant Woman* is another typical African

Ebony sculpture by Ben Osawe (b. 1931) showing rounded long head and the body with opening to show space. This is expressive and powerful to show the local traits. The *Dad Gorilla In London Zoo* by Twlms Seven is so realistic yet a piece of fantasy to depict through graphic art the wild face of a gorilla with glistening teeth, woolly hair with overall incisions in low crimson rectangles and blue to yellow designs.

Norway

Herman Hebler (b. 1911) represents Norway with his seven Serigraphs. Hebler has been doing the art of print making. His technique is silkscreen which he does with a high degree of mastership. All the works are sensitive in colouring—say in shining black, red, maroon and slate colour to depict broad arrow head formation or rectangular designs combined into various shapes. Only one—No. 7—has a slate colour semicircle below which in another panel is a perpendicular black line having wing like black projections. Technical excellence apart, there is the usage of toned colours on delicate prints, but Norway had, earlier, exhibited a variety of works.

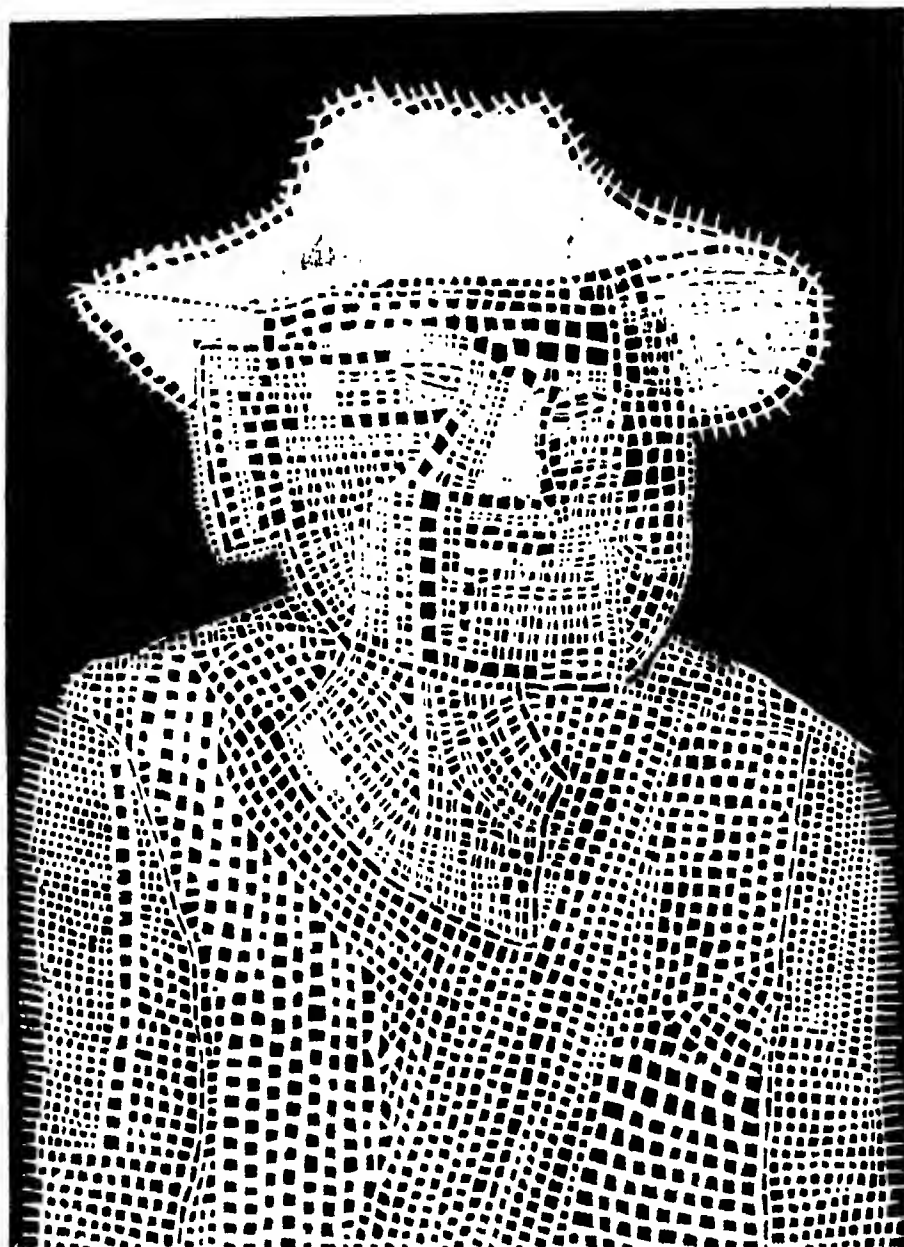
Philippines

Thirteen artists have contributed twenty paintings, graphics and sculptures. Conrado C. Mercado Jr. (b. 1945) has created three sculptures to give the total idea of men at work by making several small human figures with copper wire coils—some climbing ladders, some descending—in panels over brass sheet backgrounds. Angelito L. David (b. 1936) in two of his abstract oil works has pasted thin tissue paper on black lines and a blue moon to reveal the misty effect of inside pigments in *Trecerchi Controll Bleu* and *Senza Nome*. There are some decorations too.

Delicate and subtle etching in complicated designs brings out the relaxed and dismayed human figures in Orlando Castillo's (b. 1947) *After the Show*. Solomon A. Saprid (b. 1917) in his wood work *Beggar Boy* has brought out from one piece timber the pathetic details of an emaciated body folding the trunk of his body on the stretched legs with face downward and two arms stretched with a begging bowl. The artist is no doubt a powerful sculptor, for from an one-piece timber he has brought out the necessary anatomy of a human figure to its totality and has described the pathetic scene in a very effective manner. As a wood sculpture, it is perhaps the best of its type in the show.

Poland

Five artists have contributed twenty paintings, graphics and the so called sculpture pieces in the Polish corner. *Garden V* (Acrylic) is a composition of a flower bed in full bloom by Tadeusz Dominik (b. 1928). Here on blue ground with a bit of dripping colour are white, orange, green, maroon brisk strokes and patches. It is somewhat impressionistic. About Jerzy Panek's award-winning mosaic type wood-cut—*Portrait with a White Hat*—II—comments have been made in the beginning. Janusz Przybylsky (b. 1937) in his lithograph *Traces of Man* creates a fantasy by stretching his idea to form, by means of patchy bitings a few white spots on black ground, the figure of a sitting gorilla, as if to paint man in its bestial origin. Then we see five monotonous shelf-like objects decorated by Jerzy Rosolowicz (b. 1928) with either square glass plates, or lens in several box like compartments. Whether these are architectonic or examples of interior decoration, we do not feel aesthetically enriched. Well, modern art admits of more and more violent, oftentimes mechanical objects to create mental tension.



SELF PORTRAIT WITH A WHITE HAT

Artist : Jerzy Penek

Rumania

Three Rumanian artists have executed twenty paintings, sculpture pieces and graphics. Dimitrie Gavrilean (b. 1942) comes from a family of epic narrators and so we see in his oil painting—The Bride of Oas—adoption of almost academic style in the depiction of a highly decorated bride in gorgeous and colourful traditional dress and ornaments,

around whom are musicians and a crowd. In his New Year's Day (oil) we see a throng of gaily coloured gathering and the surrounding is studded with trees, men, cottages, church and all that after whirl spacing fashion. It portrays the local life intimately. Ovidiu Maitec (b. 1925) creates seven sculpture pieces. These are constructivist and if not abstract, are totemistic. His Chimmera II is a

brown wooden piece with space to show two legs and then two rectangular flapping wings and the top has a hole. In *Tower* he has shown a chiselled wood of irregular shape, the middle part of which has a series of holes through and the top has a bit of projection. Feszt Ladisló (b. 1930) in his several collages uses deep impressions in black and chocolate to low sienna. His works proclaim vigour and deliberate designs of olden times as also a few modern symbolic forms. In *Composition* we see all these or perhaps a triangle or a square and a bit of low crimson as relief.

Sikkim

The Sikkimese section has eight scrolls, several bronze statuettes, six masks and a few books (printed from xylograph) containing matter of religion. Therefore, in Sikkim an artist is called a religious artist.

The scrolls are made on glossy cloth or cloth dubbed in a paste made of chalk and gum and then polishing the surface with conchshell. The colours are made out of local vegetables and minerals. The delicate features drawn with meticulous precision and expressed in soothing tonal quality, some in panels, deal with Arhats. These two are paintings of Rinzin Lharipa. Vajrapani is another scroll painting by him in terms of strict religious dictates with curling and rolling clouds, blue and green around and sublime powerful figure of god. A stone slab has been chiselled to form a lotus with highly finished relief work on which are writings or tantric figures around. This has been carved by Par Brkos. This stone slab illustrates ten mystic sounds. The bronze statuettes are decorated and have pointed angular shapes, the usual style of that part of the world to depict Vajrapani who is a stout man having skulls on the head, snake around its neck and is in dancing pose, beside which is a Bhairavi, or a tantric Chandl with a garland of skulls, a

trident in hand, the head has a crown of lapis lazuli and she is drinking from a cup with upraised head. These two have been done by Sano Bhai Sakya. Of the six masks a big red one depicts the patron deity of Sikkim. Others show spirits in annoyance or again male spirits and female spirits. There is a deer mask for the deer has sanctity in Mahayan Buddhist country of Sikkim.

Spain

The Spanish corner has a rich collection demonstrating 16 works done by 5 artists, most of whom are senior. Here are abstract patterns to strike at our consciousness rudely or again sooth our vision with lay outs of different material with imaginery shapes or even in fine textural quality, may be surrealist or divisionistic in the effusion of pigments. At least we feel this corner enriches our aesthetic taste. Salvador Soria's (b. 1918) *Composition* is a weaving of junks to form over a black board a strange shape by fixing an 'n' shaped iron piece at the base, above which a piece of rusty wire-mesh with opening on a rusty iron plate has been fixed and our vision from the central opening is dispersed owing to several radiating wires. José Luiz Fajardo (b. 1941) has constructed Aluminium relief, which is a large rounding mass to touch the outer end and few smaller ones to keep balance— all giving a good abstract feeling. Julian Martín De Vidales (b. 1931) in his leather work *Curve and Circle* has used polished bright yellow to green pigments in the lower part, above which is a brown arc and around a wide belt in chocolate are geometrical and floral designs. It is a nice combination of the traditional and modern patterns in well toned oils. César Arias (b. 1923) in *Resume 60* (oil) has brought out a divisionistic abstract pattern by his superb treatment of black which is broken to liquid reflection of brown lines, with balancing white

or crimson touches. The graphic work *Still Life* by Doroteo Arnzias (b. 1936) has the sensitiveness of the biting and texture to describe a few brick red apples on a black table with supporting dull brown and touches of brick red complementary colour. It is Braqueish at any rate.

Sweden

All the 17 works hung in the Swedish corner are graphic art pieces done by five artists. Not that the art of engraving was unknown to the people, but from the forties of this century by adopting various mechanical processes, specially photo-engraving methods, the Swedish artists have developed graphic art. This branch of art became popular firstly due to the low cost of production and secondly it served well in propagating ideological messages to the masses. All the five artists are young and depict contemporary problems facing us all. Ingvar Hurting (b. 1934) in *Outlook* (serigraph) brings out chocolate perpendicular or oval shaped bars beyond which is an expanse of sky blue and a townscape in fine tones of deep red, blue and black patches. It gives an eerie feeling that we are caged and physically removed from the charms of the panorama of nature. Per Svensson (b. 1938) has brought realism in his aquatint and etching—*Battle-1*. The measured engraving brings out in due light and shade the end of several dead crickets with projected legs, wings of fallen crickets in a battle. Bengt Bockman (b. 1936) has composed in his etching in realistic style a large house and a spacious room with its architectural designs, decorations and a statuette inside the room—all in black and white in *Very Superior Old Person*. The incisions are delicate and well matched. It shows the sense of sarcasm in describing the outdated aristocrat.

Switzerland

Six graphic artists have put up 18 exhibits in the Swiss corner. These are woodcuts, aquatint-etching, lithographs and silk screens. Gall a lithograph by Jean Lecoultre (b. 1930) is extremely well finished in sepia tone to show a medical man holds a telephone receiver and thinks of administering injection to a crimson female torso. Rolf Iseli (b. 1934) describes with white etching marks, a *Worm-hole*—a green serpentine tunnel inside a bottle green plot with slight crayon chocolate touches. In technique it is successful but is not very appealing. In *Silkscreen C* Jakob Bill (b. 1942) has described in smooth green with four angles in the four corners in red, blue and orange hues. The fine specks on the texture add charm. His another *Silkscreen B* has blue ground having on it contrasting perpendicular broad maroon stripes. Jean Baier (b. 1933) in his *Silkscreen Composition-2* has shown graded stipples in red and maroon and black triangles. The work is neat and warmly coloured with mechanical effect in a way.

Syria

In the Syrian corner are eight paintings done by eight artists. The artists there appear to be either concerned with the application of toned pigments in decorative patterns or follow the art trends of the forties. Mamdool Kachlan has constructed in black, yellow, green cubes of a bent down *Man with Roller*. The figure has weight and vigour due to effect of cubes, but pigments do not blend well. Naim Ismail has depicted the *Aqsa Mosque* in *Burning* in mixed technique by the use of blue, jade colour and green. There are details of arches, pillars decorated with coloured plastic squares—over all of which are red and orange licking flames and bellowing black smoke. Nazir Nabash in *The Morning* describes a woman in sienna and yellow lounging over a cot with triangular designs. Around her is

yellow ray of light through arches. Here and there are a few green squares and conch shells fitted as decorations. It reminds us of the harem scene in the modern setting.

Turkey

In the art trends of Turkey the present mannerisms less the stereotyped ultra-modern inflow of the West are clearly discernible. The changing times with the concomittant aspiration, philosophy and problems drive the Turkish artists to side track the decorative Byzantine or Sarasenic art forms. War has been depicted by Nedim Gunsur (b. 1924) in its grim details. Here we see series of scaffoldings with dead men hanging in dull sooty colour, around are vultures on the look out, the ominous owl perching, ferocious dogs jump to bite at the dead bodies. On the right soldiers in tunic march in files towards villages burning in red and yellow flashy pigments. In Bosphorous Devrim Erbil (b. 1937) has used impressionistic technique to describe the city in green and red lines and white patches, on the three sides of which is blue water with stipples to show shimmering waves of the creeks. Composition by Hasan Kavruk (b. 1919) has wide oil patches in brown, sienna and cream with regular dahblings in deep grey to crimson to create a virile abstract piece. Sadan Bezeyis in his Composition has created a jumble of cubes in blue, red, white and grey—all shooting upward beside which is a flash of yellow pigment with crimson cubes and white patches. The total effect is an image of revolution and disorder.

Russia

In this corner there are 17 works consisting of oils, graphics and sculptures. The overall impression is that we are in Victorian period. Here are portraits (Sculptures) executed by Andrey Petrovitch Faidyah (1920-1967) and by Nikogos Bargrationovitch Nikogosain

(b. 1918). Faidyah's bronze work Portrait of Yuri Alexeevitch Gagarin in dark colour has light and intelligent face and strong head. Nikogosian has created a heavy and strong personality of V. I. Lenin in bronze on the way to address a public meeting which leaves nothing to imagination. Illarion Vladimirovitch Golitsyn's (b. 1928) woodcut Maple in Bloom is a happily laid out spacious work showing black lines in various intensity and a flowering maple tree beside which is a tower like building with distinct grains to reveal the strength of the structure. A dog is also sitting under the tree. Here we find an airy atmosphere due to judicious cuttings. Khiva (linocut) by Gury Fillippovitch Zakharov (b. 1926) is a smooth display of folk art pattern in different planes. There is a hut in one plane, a couple with an ass in another, and up above trees in black, the dome of a church in lighter tone, a tower—everywhere there are effective incisions. Pavel Dmitrievitch Korin's (1892-1967) oil Portrait of M. Sarjion is perfect in every detail and colour to show the profile of an intelligent elderly face, but one aspect of the artistic creation is hardly present as the background is just flat grey. Moscow Road (oil) by Georgy Grigorievitch Nissky is a clever canvas to show the vast space in the glowing red of the setting Sun, and the rest four-fifths is in grades of brick red or dull greyish red. Just at the base is shown a wide brown road with two human figures and an arch, away on the right is a tall pillar for high-tension wires to fill in the blank upper part of the canvas. In this the technique of creating the sense of huge space is arresting.

Venezuela

Venezuela has sent eleven drawings in pen and ink, all of which have been done by Antonio Ednardo Dagnino (b. 1940). He is now working at Varanasi. His works are executed by means of supple and powerful

lines and broad black patches. His sketches, as it were, are on two episodes viz. **Pleasure and Pain** and **Death Love and Despair**. He has also depicted Christian themes so that **The Cross** in his usual black lines and patches shows in one panel the forgiving Christ. In another panel the crucified Christ on a black cross, below which are a few ascetic faces with closed eyes and also some devilish faces can be seen in cubist style. In all the five drawings entitled **Pleasure and Pain Hold Hands** we see nude figures in supple lines describing various aspects of creation by decorating his work with phallus as the symbol of fertilization. All the four drawings under the title **On Life, Death, Love, Despair and Illumination** in panels he shows men and women, after cubistic and constructivist approach, to depict the primitive vigour in properly shaded black. In another panel we see grotesque human faces, flat heads in a cave and in the third panel a sharp mechanical face with three eyes, one of which is blank to reveal despair expressed in terms of fantastic distortion. The artist with his powerful drawing does not find suitable language to give vent to his highly strung emotive mind.

Yugoslavia

Here we see the creation of fancy rather than of an imaginative world by artists who are around their forties. No doubt, all of them have witnessed the collapse of the old social structure and values due to the devastation of the last World War. A measure of cynicism is, therefore, natural in the younger artists of most countries.

Sutej Miroslav (b. 1936) in **City-2** (Collage) has drawn a series of arranged arrowhead shaped designs in black, blue, green and indigo fitted with cubes in maroon, lemon, yellow, red and yellow to create a bright and moving canvas. For this work he has been awarded 'Honours of Mention' by the

organisers. In **Boot, Glove and Small Monument** done in mixed media i. e. by the use of water colour and pen and ink, Iljovsky Bora (b. 1942) brings out a high toned Slavic folk art patterns on the boot, glove and a tower personified as a female figure. The designs are linear, in cubes and circular, floral—much after needle work pattern in red, yellow, green black and white. Luketic Stevan's (b. 1925)—**Sculpture XXI** (prochrome) has a white chrome rectangular sheet, the middle of which has a broad copper colour piece. It looks like a picture frame and gives a good account of spatial treatment much after painting.

Zambia

Zambian artists numbering thirteen have presented fourteen paintings, most of which are in tempera. The paintings are unassuming for these are simple portrayal of the people of that part of the world. Robert Mofyn has brought out in thin tempera the hustle and bustle of men and women on a footpath of a town going to their work in bright yellow, blue and red costumes in **Off to Work**. Sonny Bauda in **Roof** (tempera) has created in smooth soft colours a simple realistic rural scene where Zambians are building a conical hut. Here the green foliage, golden straw carried to the workers on the black wooden ladders on the partly built hut give us the view of the workers of the country with a touch of domestic affinity. **Playing Kalimba** (oil) has enough of greens and sooty branches under which a man having woolly hair, pouting lips opened, having elongated features, is playing kalimba amidst flashy white to brown. It is an expressionistic painting by T. A. Simbasa in powerful sweeps. Christopher Mondoloka in **Preparing Farmland** (tempera) shows trunks of trees being axed. The stumps are deep sienna, here and there are touches of crimson, beyond is the green forest and airy dull blue sky.

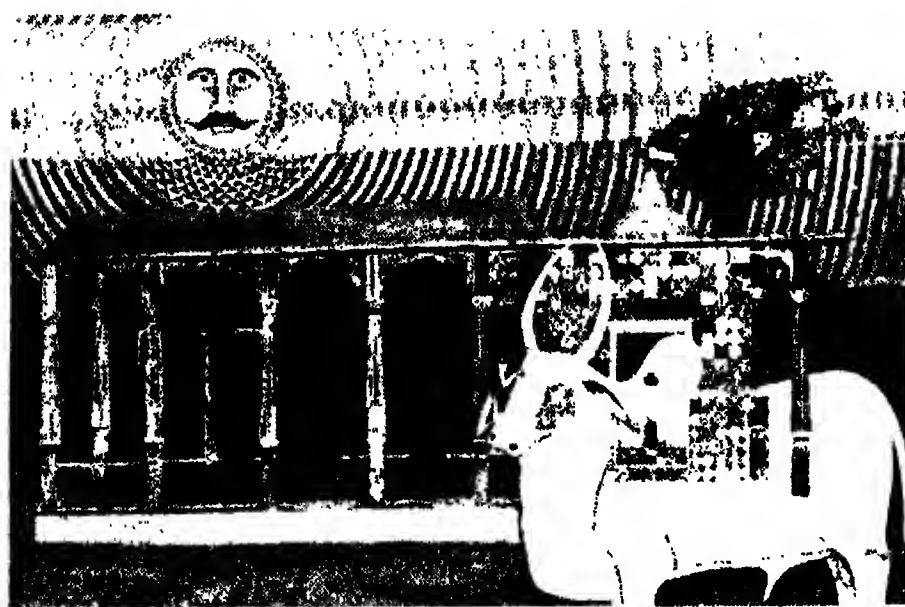
India

The collection of works in the Indian corner is on the whole quite rich and numerous. The 105 works of 54 artists in a variety of styles and media are crammed in a large hall. This cramming could have been avoided by selecting one or two works as the maximum from each of the 12 artists who are individually represented by three works. Lalit Kala Akademi persists in adopting this method of selection in their annual exhibitions, so the habit dies hard. It would have been reasonable to select even one work instead of two from many other artists.

We have already discussed about the gold medal-winning oil work of Ishwar Sagara—*Hungry Souls*—in the early part of this article. His other equally large oil painting *Temple* is decorated on the right side with designs and symbols in warm pigments to show a black Shiva linga on its mount, a white bull, a temple with designs on the walls and on the left is the Sun personified as a powerful, calm, man radiating its energy in red, blue black circular waves

In the Poster competition for selection of design for the Second Triennale India, Gopi Gajwani (b. 1928 in Sind and a product of Delhi Polytechnic) was awarded the first prize of Rs. 2,500. Medallian design was executed by Chintamani Kar.

P. V. Jankirain has adopted his usual media of fixing strips of copper sheet, silver wires and a bit of colour to bring out Christ with drooping eyes, forgiving face in *Benedictor* and also in *Crown of Thorn*. There are three of his sculptures, of which the aforesaid two are good enough. Stren is well-laid out display of mass and space in semi-representational form to reveal in deep brown wood, women standing and lying after the idea from the Greek epic by Chintamani Kar (b. 1915). Raghunath Singh's *Moonlit Sontina* (wood, lacquer-colour, metal) is abstract imaginative composition in flowing style, decorated with wire work, chiselled floral red dent fixed with a small copper plate on the right of which is a half-man in copper. Black lacquer touches give the feeling of shade. Let us take it as a scenery in sculpture. But it is



TEMPLE

Artist : Ishwar Sagara

successful, for it has space, weight, colour, lines, texture and balance.

The *Stone and the Sand* is a flat-toned soberly coloured dreamland oil work of Paramjit Singh (b. 1935) in his usual nice surrealist composition. It shows a violet hill, shining water, flat perfectly drawn walls and houses in browns and round boulders flying in the air. The entire arrangement creates an awe-inspiring silence in our mind due to its functional aspects and pigmentation. This is, indeed, a new approach to surrealism. G. R. Santosh (b. 1929) after doing abstract patterns for a long time has reverted to the depiction of esoteric symbols set in perfect academic style of work in oil which has no title. This huge painting (172 x 225 cm.) has soft graded blue ground over which are luminous brown female thighs, squares in blue and chocolate, a trident at the base and on the top is a black and red circle--all to say that Siva is the source of creation. Piraji Sagara (b. 1931) in his familiar media of a big plank having after bas-relief, the shapes of horses with open mouths, few lotus flowers fixed with nails coloured yellow to show stamens and on the right side is round red face with a black and white eyes to resemble the Sun. The title it bears is *Collage 3*. It shows all power is derived from the Sun. Mythologically horse is the mount of the Sun. Whatever the media, it is traditional to the core. *Mother and Child* is one of the best paintings in this corner for its simplified folk art touch, harmonious soft tints in describing in tempera a doll-like mother seated with luminous eyes beside a baby. Here Ganesh Pyne (b. 1937) has brought out the foliage in various shades of green, a pond with blooming lily, a water bird on the branch of the tree--all support the central object due to his imaginative arrangement. Jayant Parikh in *Clouds Watching the Reflections* has adopted

pleasing technique by having overall low green oil colour, inside which in three panels in grey, red and green, he has drawn criss-cross features of trees and flowers. Homi Patel's (oil) *Painting-2* is a spacious white canvas with a small oval shape in black outline which is surrounded by another oval figure in less intense pigment almost at the centre. This when compared to Jiro Yashikaya's (Japan) *Black Circle on White* or to Deepak Shinkhada's (Nepal) *Shree Composition* looks unimpressive, though all the three canvases have the common theme.

In this corner there are a good number of excellent graphic art pieces to show that the standard of this type of art is rising in India. Miss Mumtaz Sultan Ali (b. 1947) has shown her technical skill in giving effective scratches, but with very little variations in tones, in *Surya and Soma* (etching). She has in broad black etched lines on dull yellow brought out the earth on one side and the details of a reddish Sun on the other. But her work is much after her father's style. Bimal Banerjee (b. 1939) has exhibited three highly sensitive graphic works. In *Homage to my Mother* (linograph and mixed technique) we see has fixed printed bits of paper on white ground and then there are delicate black raised lines or zig-zag lines in green and red diverge from a central point to the distant earth colour and black patches. He has thus depicted in hints the colourful life moving upward. *Transforming Clouds through the Constructions* and a tree is again poetic in composition value as here are a few mauve to light blue patches overlapping with brown to make a dull brown mixed area and there are a few delicate burnt sienna swirling lines radiating from the centre. *Water Lilies* by Dipak Bannerji (b. 1936) has also fine and supple engraved lines. It is a tasteful layout with facile linear details with due modulations in two squares in black and

white with blobs of low green and a fine tinge of brown.

Within about two years time we have seen two contemporary international art exhibitions i. e. the Triennale India—1968 and another Triennale in Delhi this year. Whether in mannerism, media, style or in depiction of inner idea, we see from the exhibits the tremendous change that is going on at a break-neck speed. To adduce the reason to the restlessness among the artists in portraying the mental upheaval due to the shattering of the social fabric is to be on a shaky ground. For during the last two or three years we have not experienced such a catastrophe, yet what we saw in the 600 works in the Triennale India—1968 were much less dynamic in the patterns of execution and material used as compared to the 800 exhibits put in the Triennale—1971. Even if some of the exhibits are left outside the purview of our serious consideration, quite a large number of works show radical treatment of space to its industrialised environment, perhaps to show that man is swayed by the uncertainty of his locus standi, be it in social, moral, humanitarian

or spiritual field. Or is it escapism for some artists to avoid competition in the arena of established schools of art by doing - something which neither germinates out of their conviction nor convincing to the onlookers! Few, of course, ideate the spiritual content.

The trends of radicalism in the art world have so influenced our mind that those art works which were liked about half a century back, appear to be misfits in the present show. Yet, as Arthur R. Howell says, we see four main fortes viz. colour, space, lines and planes in these exhibits. May be, emphasis has been on one of the factors to achieve weight, texture, balance, elegance, movement, rhythm and other fundamentals of aesthetics.

One fact is inexplicable in that quite a number of art works in this exhibition can be called contraptions out of rusty iron pieces or plaster in folded fashion and stuck over another canvas. Will such works outlast the ravages of nature for more than a few years?

Lastly it must be said that the new President of the Akademi has arranged this Triennale creditably in spite of the fact that some angry artists dissociated themselves from this show.



ELITES AND MODERNIZATION IN INDIA

C. R. PRASAD RAO

"Man makes history", goes the familiar saying. Though, history shaped itself out of the biographies of a few great men here and there in olden times it is by and large an archaism in contemporary contexts. In the modern age to-day which drifted far past the feudalistic traditions, the salience and significance of this source of social change are in serious doubt. Destinies, as well as power and knowledge, are a dispersed phenomenon in modern societies. The single-man theory of social change explains little of the course of events even, in dictatorial regimes and much less of the events of modern, complex, democratic, industrial societies. Nations all the world over are governed less and less by charismatic leaders. This is not to say that the springs of charisma dried up or are left in disuse with no role to play in the life of a nation. It only means that destinies of nations are made increasingly by a tribe of select individuals called "elites", who are products of vastly expanding education, administration and industry. In making out the elite phenomenon, however, I am not attempting to underplay the significance of charismatic leaders. It is true that a problematic situation often requires a leader not, necessarily charismatic, to indentify and initiate a course of action—a process of change or a movement, but his efforts will bear no fruit without winning the allegiance and co-operation of the elites who validate and legitimise it to the masses.

Elites every where are the pioneers and sustainers of social change. Indeed the rise and decline of crucial movements, social, political or cultural, can be convincingly correlated with the rise and fall of elites.

Whether in the persistent preservation of tradition, or in the ushering in of modernity, the key role is that of elites. Who can deny that the architects of the magnificent sanskrit culture of India were a small band of elites consisting of a few brahmins, landed aristocracy, creative artisans and courtesans? The glorious heritage whether in the soul-bewitching arts of music or awe-inspiring statecraft, in science or literature, in medicine or mathematics, was the cumulative product of the incisive genius, astute observation, painstaking systematisation, penetrating analysis and single-minded pursuit and practice of precision, refinement, and elaboration of a committed coterie of elites afire with creative and expressive urges. They not only assiduously built and zealously sustained their great traditions but were tolerant and receptive enough to absorb, assimilate and integrate alien ideas and systems with their own creations. They had not only sustained this sensitivity and receptivity very devotedly but bequeathed the same to the posterity along with the best of their own traditions.

Again it was these elites who responded superbly to the devastating challenges of Buddhism and Mohammedanism and resisted the sweeping onslaughts of alien thought, systems, once more taking recourse to their innate resourcefulness and masterly skills of creative reformulation and reinterpretation, when assimilation was found incompatible or obnoxious.

The national freedom movement pioneered, engineered and consummated by the elites in several nations are an eloquent testimony to the crucial role of these selected persons. Such instances need not be multiplied to labour the

point. The more important question is who the modern elites are in contemporary India? What is their relative efficacy vis-a-vis modernization? We may record the emergence of three types of elites, on the domestic scene 'power elites,' 'enophiles' and 'intellectuals'.

Power Elites :

This is a very small, tight group of professional and whole-time politicians occupying the apex of the pyramidal power structure of the nation. Its ranks are filled by the central cabinet ministers, Chief ministers of the states, and a handful of other influential persons holding offices as chairmen of various boards, committees and commissions. Usually medium, and rarely high in educational accomplishments and seldom possessing a discerning perception, scholarship or expertise in a special field of knowledge, they move into the citadels of power through electoral processes. The only skill, in general, that they wield and display is the ballotpaper skill of political machinations and manoeuvres. Their social origins are as varied as their educational background. The unity and cohesiveness of this group derives from their consciousness of their identity of interest and aspiration. Economically, most of them are very sound, and even if one's position is economically weak, it is soon made good by the mysterious force of political power and party organisation and resources.

Whatever their public appearances and pronouncements, the most characteristic mark of this elite group is their split personality, split loyalty, and split ideology. They live in two worlds, one private and one public, with separate outfits for each. The high sounding slogans, soul stirring sermons, and pious platitudes in which they are all adept, camouflage the private world from the lay gaze of the public which will never see the inner workings

and secret longings of their mind. Controlling the modern media of communication, and operating from the towering heights of power, they cast hypnotic spells and create halos around themselves. While their public ideology brims with hallowed sentiments of "Socialism", "Social Justice", and "Equality", their private ideology conceals a sneaking yearning for power, self and personal aggrandisement. Pious is the patriotism they preach and fake is the one they practise. Some of their programmes, such as language policy, are as costly for the nation in human terms as their living is in economic terms. Electoral interests rather than national interests dictate their policies, programmes and priorities. The most glaring instance of this is the policy regarding location of steel plants. Even if a programme undertaken has the semblance of national interest, it often serves simultaneously as what the political scientist calls "Symbolic Act"—trumping up their much advertised commitment to the nation, socialism and so on. What goods can, then, be delivered by such a ruling elite with such obsessions!

Different Tribe

The tribe of politicians India has today is qualitatively different from what it had in the past. The politicians of the past were recruited from the ranks of the intelligentsia (e. g. Tilak, Gandhi, Aurobindo, etc). The majority of the present day politicians have no such intellectual roots, and are by and large, drawn from those who have the money and leisure required to indulge in the power game. Nothing in the personal stature and example, nothing in the social origin, or political record of electoral tactics of the present power elite commends them to the respect and faith of the people. The mushrooming of parties and leaders, their fusion and fission, the ever increasing spate of political factions, desertions, floor crossings and

political crime, the vindictive political propaganda and the violence and corruption that characterize the electoral practices are all the teeming instances of an unseemly political life of our power elite. All this has risen to such a peak that today the power elite of the nation have forfeited confidence. A feeling of distrust and estrangement creeps into the relationship between the political elite and the people. No individual, generally speaking, takes the political elite or their promises for granted. Cold indifference, if not contemptuous rejection and active rebellion, is the chief ingredient of the attitude of the average Indian towards the Indian Politician to day, including the power elite. The people have grown sick, not of politics as such, but of the politics of our power elite.

The most serious obsession standing in their way of fostering successful programmes of national development is instability and uncertainty of their power position. In the case of the by-gone bodies of politicians, this uncertainty was not a problem, since they were all men of high social standing and backing. They were the genuine and popular leaders and the problem of retaining power did not bother them. Hence they could bestow their efforts and energies on what were considered real programmes of national reconstruction. At least, their motives were not suspect, even if their programmes were unsound. But the present power elite is not blessed with the same conditions, partly because of their own personal background and commitments, and partly because of the shifting bases of power. Economic power is invading the political structures and processes in unremitting tempo, and with the number of contestants to power swelling, power politics have become highly mercurial. The consequent instability of power position of these elites diverts their

attention and energies to matters of power. Hence, once achieving power through normal democratic channels, this elite would either behave in autocratic ways or perforce participate in the crass game of power politics. A pernicious result of this is the alienation of the power elite from both the peoples and the nation building programmes. Thus, this power elite is increasingly tending to become a "vested interest", trying to create and foster a political attitude of their own centered in management of power which sets them off from the rest of the people, arousing in them prejudicial tendencies. These factors partly account for the neutralization of the effectiveness of the power elite.

Xenophiles :

Next to power elites on the scale of influence and decisive importance, are the bureaucratic and industrial elites. Concretely, its membership is composed of ministerial secretaries, directors of bureaucratic organisations, industrial magnates and managers of giant industrial undertakings, business executives, military heads, high-placed officers in diplomatic missions and advisors to government in various fields. They represent the top bosses of administration and industries. This group is more heterogenous than power elites in terms of education and social origin, and less cohesive. In scholarship, special skills and administrative experience, they are superior to the power elite, and in fact consider themselves to be so. This elite possesses a distinctive culture, style and mentality of its own. These are the people who live in spacious air conditioned villas, travel by air or air-condition coaches, flit about in smart cosy limousines, often with a retinue of personal attendants and subordinates, attend and arrange lavish luncheons and frequent exclusive clubs. Suave manners, social grace, sophisticated style, cosmopolitan

outlook and anglicized accent are the distinctive accessories of their cultural wardrobe. They spend their evenings playing billiards or poker and drinking whisky or champagne and attending expensive parties, clubs and restaurants. They live, move and function in a kind of social milieu inaccessible to the ordinary middle class family in India. With their "intellectual center of gravity" located in the advanced West, they regard themselves as the most modernized section and treat the rest, particularly those below, as traditional, obscurantist and lacking in social grace and sophistication. They have their own private convictions and views about the power elites which they take care not to air in public. In general, they consider the power elites as ignorant and inferior except in political craft. Considering their location in power structure, and their close interaction with the power elite in matters of decision making and decision implementation, one expects this group to have strategic importance in the modernization process. But experience convinces that they have not measured upto this expectation. Neither did they attempt nor succeed in functioning as agents of modernization in India. Nor did their external contact with their counterparts abroad serve as an inward gateway of modernity. By and large this group has failed to make any lasting impact upon the masses and national development.

On the contrary, their strange and distorted mental attitudes towards those below them, their externalised orientation of outlook and reference, and their exclusive style of life render this group rather impervious and insensate to the conditions and realities relating to the masses. They are rational in outlook, no doubt, but their rationality suffers from a lack of factual expression. They make decisions and implement programmes first, and later begin to think about their implications and feasibility. Every

honest administrator knows how fatal certain programmes proved when implemented without concern for basic realities and experimentation. Their's is a rational but closed mind. It is a rational mind affected by the power mania of the politicians with and for whom it interacts closely, and by the authoritarianism of its own bureaucratic offices. The much regretted brain-drain is a graphic illustration of how this mind works. It is a mind which accepted the value of science and power of knowledge, yet immobilised scientific talent and exiled it from the native land. Overconscious of status, fidgety about publicity, avaricious of power, and ever itching to exercise authority, this mind neither helped generate scientific knowledge, an essential condition of modernity, nor democratised its ways to promote administrative efficiency, another essential of modernization. Wielding the wand of bureaucracy, assuming a garb of pseudo modernity, pursuing exclusive ways of life, and keeping their eyes always fixed away from the masses, this elite not merely alienated itself from the masses but even incurred an incurable suspicion. Their mental attitude towards the masses deepens the social chasm between them and the masses. How then, can this elite successfully devise and gear up programmes to fulfil people's needs, aspirations, capacities and limitations?

Since, in order to get into and sustain its elite status the members bank upon the patronage of the power elite, this elite group necessarily must surrender part of its individuality, freedom and objectivity to their political god-fathers. As a consequence, sycophants, puppets and trumpeters abound in this group of elites. All these factors make their efforts and programmes shallow or unrealistic and incompatible. The co-operative enterprise borrowed from Denmark and the Japannese method of rice cultivation afford

good examples of lack of contact with realities, and social ineffectiveness of this elite. Devoid of moorings in the native soil due to their externalism, and of vital contact and communication with the masses due to exclusivism and prejudicial notions, and sub-servient, for the most part, to the interests of the power elite, this group suffers emotional rejection at the hands of the masses.

This elite is rightly characterised as "xenophiles" in some quarters as their modernization is of a specious, spurious and superficial sort. It appears they have missed the real essence of modernization. Modernization for them is a mere matter of machines and externals that begins and ends with certain patterns of work, food, dress, drink association and recreation. Little do they seem to understand that modernization is not emulation but rather a process of inner growth, which can be attained not by mere imitation but by creation, not by adoption but by creative adaptation, not by outright rejection of tradition but by gradual process of synthesis. True modernism in a world of stupendous change consists in perpetual readiness and capacity for change itself rather than for a given type of change. True modernity is a process, of constant self-adjustment, self-advancement and self-realisation, consistent with the widening of mental horizons and expansive movement and operations. The modern man visualised by Eric. H. Erickson is one "whose vision keeps up with his Powers of locomotion and his action with his boundless thinking".

Intellectuals :

The last and most effective group of elites as far as modernization is concerned are the intelligentsia, consisting of scientists and teachers in higher academic institutions; scholars, writers, editors and certain professionals like doctors, engineers and lawyers, to name a few. It is these people who can resolve the conflict between modernity and tradition and effect a smooth transition and creative synthesis. It is these people who can identify and capture the true spirit of modernity and reinterpret tradition in terms of what is valid and acceptable in modernity and vice-versa. It is these people who could not only catalyse change or transition but also harmonise it with the cultural ethos of the nation. It is these people who have not lost touch and communication with the people nor developed any distorted vision of the realities and exigencies. It is these intellectuals whom the general Public esteems and trusts for their mental equipment is a compound of knowledge and humanism, of objectivity and individuality.

These are the people who serve as the reference and model for the majority of the masses. These are the people who function as tempered innovators, conscience keepers, legitimisers, critics, debators and mobilisers of public opinion. The nation's destiny is safe as long as the voice of these people receives hearing and deference. But, it is the country's irony of fate that their voice is drowned in the blare of unworthy propaganda let lose by the nation's mass media of communications.

THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY — A Probe into the Intentions of the Makers of the Constitution

BRUNDABAN PATEL

(Continued from previous issue)

II

V

Constituent Assembly

In the Constituent Assembly, all the clauses relating to rights to freedom of religion were moved for adoption on May 1, 1947 and one after the other the clauses were taken up for adoption. When clause 13 was moved by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri K. M. Munshi moved an amendment which in effect sought to ensure the right of the Legislature to legislate on social questions so that the freedom of religious practice did not come in the way of laws throwing open Hindu religious institutions, especially all temples, of a public character, to all classes and sections of Hindus. The amendment was accepted by Sardar Patel who congratulated the House⁶⁵ on agreeing to pass this very controversial matter which had taken several days in the Committees and gone through several Committees. The clause therefore so amended, with the words and for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to any class or section of Hindus' added at the end of Explanation No. 3 was adopted. This was a major achievement for all concerned and Mr. F. R. Anthony speaking for Christians, at a later stage, congratulated the majority Community⁶⁶ for showing consideration in retaining the words 'right to practise and propagate their religion' in the clause despite their contentious character. Rev. Jerome D'Souza also said⁶⁷ quite appreciatively that as far as the minority

rights were concerned, the way in which clause 13 had been handled by the House was so reassuring and so encouraging to the minorities that they had no reason at all to quarrel or to ask for stronger assurances. But Shri Jagat Narain Lal was also of the view⁶⁸ that, clause 13 as it had been passed, went to the 'farthest limit' in ensuring freedom of religion compared with analogous provisions in the constitutions of Swiss Confederation, the Irish Free State and the U.S.S.R.

In regard to clause 14 dealing with freedom to manage religious affairs, Shri K. M. Munshi moved an amendment to broaden its meaning and to extend protection of the clause to a section of a 'religious denomination' also by adding the words 'or a section thereof' between the word 'denomination' and the word 'shall'.⁶⁹ It was further considered necessary on the advice of Shri C. Rajagopalachari and others that such a 'special right' of the 'religious denominations' shall be subject to all the laws that would be enacted and, therefore, the expression 'general law' in the clause should be only 'law' and not any particular portion of the law.⁷⁰ So amended therefore the clause read :

'Every religious denomination or a section thereof shall have the right to manage its own affairs in matters of religion and, subject to law, to own, acquire and administer property movable and immovable, and to establish and maintain

institutions for religious or charitable purposes.'

Clause 14 thus amended was adopted.. Clause 15 was, however, adopted without any change.⁷¹

Clause 16 provided that no person attending any school maintained by the State or receiving State aid out of public funds could be compelled to take part in religious instruction or attend religious worship. This clause was referred back to the Advisory Committee on the suggestion of Sardar Patel himself who saw some difficulties with regard to it.⁷² However, clause 17 dealing with religious conversion ran into difficulty and there was a fierce controversy over an amendment moved by Shri K.M. Munshi.⁷³ The additions that were suggested to be incorporated in the clause sought to restrict conversion from one religion to another if such conversion was brought about by 'fraud' besides 'coercion and undue influence'. Secondly, with regard to the conversion of a minor under the age of 18, it was sought to provide that such conversion would not be recognised by law. This prompted Mr. Frank Anthony to move an amendment with specific reference to Shri Munshi's amendment, 'or of a minor under the age of 18'. To this part of the clause Mr Anthony wanted to add the words: 'except when the parents or surviving parents have been converted and the child does not choose to adhere to its original faith'.⁷⁴ Mr. Frank Anthony pleaded that the amendment suggested by him allowed the 'most fundamental of Christian rights', the right to propagate religion, "in consonance with the principles of family law and justice".⁷⁵ Anthony was supported by Rev. J.J.M. Nichols-Roy who contended that spiritual awakening and inward conversion can very well take place in the experience of a person below eighteen years of age and such a person would be prohibited

from giving outward expression to his deep religious faith and convictions if Shri K.M. Munshi's amendment were to be accepted.⁷⁶ Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, however, vehemently opposed Mr. Frank Anthony's amendment and supported the amendment moved by Shri K. M. Munshi. Shri Tandon, speaking not only for himself but also for a large number of Congressmen, asserted that in order to carry the Christian friends with them, they agreed on the insistence of Christians to incorporate the right to propagate religion.⁷⁷ But to allow a child under eighteen to be converted was, as Shri Jagat Narain Lal said, nothing less than "taking undue advantage of the generosity of the majority."⁷⁸ Shri Algu Rai Shastri also opposed with equal vehemence the amendment of Mr. Frank Anthony and lent his support to Shri Munshi's Amendment.⁷⁹ Rev. Jerome D'Souza regretted that this issue had generated so much of 'heat' and pleaded for calm and careful consideration in view of the legal and juridical difficulties involved in accepting Shri Munshi's proposed amendment.⁸⁰ While he supported the amendment suggested by Mr. Anthony, he also agreed with Shri D. N. Datta that the clause 17 should be sent for reconsideration to the Fundamental Rights Sub-Committee.⁸¹ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also joined issue in this raging controversy and strongly opposed the amendment moved by Shri Munshi. Dr. Ambedkar submitted that referring back the clause to a committee for further consideration would not produce any better result as the matter had received the best of attention by the various committees that dealt with it. He therefore concluded that "having regard to all the circumstances of the case, the best way would be to drop the clause altogether."⁸² He however, had no objection to a provision being made that children who had legal and lawful guardians should not be converted without the know-

ledge and notice of such guardians or parents. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, however, felt differently and suggested the clause to be referred back to the Advisory Committee to allow the concerned parties to make 'one more effort' to arrive at some agreement on the matter. The Constituent Assembly thereupon voted to refer the clause back to the Advisory Committee.⁸³

VI

Advisory Committee's Supplementary Report

The Advisory Committee submitted a supplementary report on August 25, 1947 incorporating its recommendations, inter alia, on clauses 16 and 17. The supplementary report was presented to the Constituent Assembly on August 30 and the recommendations in regard to clauses 16 and 17 were discussed. So far as clause 17 was concerned, on reconsideration, the Advisory Committee felt, obviously pressed by the Christian members of the Assembly, that it enunciated a rather obvious doctrine which was unnecessary to be included in the Constitution and recommended that the clause might be dropped altogether.⁸⁴ Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel also, while moving the clause in the Assembly, said that it was unnecessary to include it as a fundamental right as forcible conversion was illegal at any time.⁸⁵ But Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar wanted that a 'positive fundamental right must be established' disallowing conversion except when a person wishing to be converted appeared before a Judge and swore before him that he wished to be converted.⁸⁶ Shri R. V. Dhulekar also contended that the clause 17 as recommended by the Advisory Committee should be retained as a fundamental right.⁸⁷ Sardar Patel pointed out that this clause was not only unnecessary, it also could not be of

any help as a justiciable right in case of mass conversion and suggested that, if the members wanted, this principle could be enunciated as a seventh clause after clause 6, in the Second Schedule.⁸⁸ Shri Dhulekar agreed to the suggestion. But Mr. Hussain Imam opposed the retention of the clause in any form as a justiciable fundamental right.⁸⁹ The President thereupon put the motion that the clause 17 should not be put in the Fundamental Rights and the motion was adopted by the Constituent Assembly and laid to rest a fierce controversy.

The Advisory Committee had, after reconsideration, however, felt that it was unnecessary to introduce any amendment to clause 16 and finally recommended the acceptance of the clause as it was in the most suitable form in which it might be incorporated into the Fundamental Rights.⁹⁰ However, when the clause came up before the Constituent Assembly on August 30, 1947, several members considered that the clause did not go far enough and supported an amendment, moved by Mrs. Renuka Ray, which proposed the following in substitution :

No denominational religious instruction shall be provided in schools maintained by the State. No person attending any school or educational institution recognized or aided by the State shall be compelled to attend any such religious instruction.⁹¹

Mrs. Ray explained that the object of her amendment was to lay down in clear terms the principle that a secular democratic State could not impart instruction of a denominational character in institutions run by the State or 'Set up denominational religious institutions as State school.'⁹² This amendment was strongly supported by Shri K. Santhanam⁹³ and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.⁹⁴ Dr. Radhakrishnan maintained that it was necessary that a distinction should be drawn,

as was done in Mrs. Ray's amendment, between schools maintained by the State and those which were aided from State funds to be consistent with the 'first principle that the State as such shall not be associated with any kind of religion and shall be a secular institution.' "In other words", he maintained, "we are a multi-religious State and therefore we have to be impartial and give uniform treatment to the different religions, but if institutions maintained by the State, that is, administered, controlled and financed by the State, are violating the first principle of our Constitution. On the other hand, if we say that aided institutions may impart religious instruction, we protect the people against the violation of their religious conscience by saying that they shall not be compelled against their will to join classes on religion." But Pandit H. N. Kunzru went further and maintained that if the State was allowed to give religious instruction in any school it meant nothing less than accepting the principle of a State religion and thereby something like an Established Church.⁹⁵

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri K. M. Munshi, on the other hand, found some practical difficulty in agreeing to this principle as a justiciable right in the prevailing condition of India. The new federation and the provinces would be secular and democratic; but the Indian States were not all secular and democratic and the enunciation of the principle would affect them. Unless they were willing, Sardar Patel felt, it would not be proper to lay it down as a fundamental right enforceable through courts in their territories.⁹⁶ Shri K. M. Munshi added another legal argument that the object of the clause as submitted to the Assembly was to ensure that no school recognised or aided by the State would compel any student to receive religious instruction against his will. The

proposition now moved was a different one, that in schools controlled, owned and maintained by the State, religious education was to be prohibited. He therefore suggested that this second question could be considered later, if necessary; meanwhile, the Assembly might approve the proposal actually before it, that is, not to compel a student to attend classes of religious instruction.⁹⁷

After some further debate Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta suggested that in view of the strong feeling of members on the clause it should be referred back to the Advisory Committee for further consideration.⁹⁸ Pandit H. N. Kunzru also supported Dr. Mehta's suggestion⁹⁹ and hoped that Sardar Patel will have no objection in referring it back to the Advisory Committee. Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar also felt that it was necessary 'that the clause should receive further consideration' by the 'Advisory Committee or even by the committee which has been set up to revise the Draft'.¹⁰⁰ Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said that without referring the clause back to the Advisory Committee for the third time, 'it would be better to refer it to a small committee of two or three people'.¹⁰¹ Mr. Hussain Imam felt that a committee appointed by the President would do and the committee should send their recommendations to the Drafting Committee.¹⁰² The President, therefore, before the closing of the session appointed a Sub-Committee of six members, namely, Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Mr. Hussain Imam, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Mrs. Renuka Ray and Shri K. M. Munshi. The Sub-Committee was not required to report to the House, but to the Drafting Committee which was authorised to consider the Report.¹⁰³ This Sub-Committee recommended to the Drafting Committee that a specific provision should be included to the effect that religious instruction

should not be permitted in schools run by the State.

With a few minor changes and drafting adjustments these provisions were reproduced in the Constitutional Adviser's Draft Constitution as clauses 20 to 23.¹⁰¹ Of these clauses 20 to 22 were, with a few further drafting modifications, reproduced by the Drafting Committee in its Draft Constitution as articles 19 to 21 :

19. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

Explanation : The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or preclude the State from making any law--

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice ;

(b) for social welfare and reform or for throwing open Hindu religious institutions of a public character to any class or section of Hindus.

20. Every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have right --

(a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes ;

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion ;

(c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property ; and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law.

21. No person may be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifi-

cally appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.¹⁰²

In regard to clause 23 in the Constitutional Adviser's Draft (formerly clause 16), the Drafting Committee accepted the Recommendation of the Sub-Committee (appointed by the Assembly on August 30, 1947) that religious education should not be permitted in State schools. Accordingly, article 22 of the Draft Constitution read :

22. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided by the State in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds : Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(2) No person attending any educational institution recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person, or if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent any community or denomination from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in an educational institution outside its working hours.¹⁰⁶

When the Draft Constitution was circulated for eliciting opinion, many comments and suggestions were made in regard to the provision relating to the right to freedom of

religion. Of those sent by members, one submitted by Shri B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Srimati G. Durgabai, Shri Thakurdas Bhargava, Dr. B.V. Keskar, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and Shri K. Santhanam suggested the inclusion of a specific provision prohibiting the recognition of any religion as a State religion.¹⁰⁷ Two other suggestions, one offered by Shri R.R. Diwakar and Shri S.V. Krisanamoorthy Rao, and the other offered by Mr. Tajamul Hussain, sought to modify the right conferred by Article 19 to 'profess and practise' but not to propagate religion.¹⁰⁸ There was also a suggestion offered by Shri T.A. Ramalingam Chettiar for recasting clause (2) of Draft Article 22 under which attendance in classes for religious instruction or worship could be made obligatory on a minor pupil if his guardian consented. His suggested recasting sought to remove the obligation on the part of a minor pupil to attend classes for religious instruction even if his guardian consented.¹⁰⁹ An amendment was suggested by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya seeking to substitute the words 'all classes' for the words 'any class or section' in clause (2) (b) of Article 19. This suggested amendment was not objected to by the Drafting Committee.¹¹⁰ Another amendment was suggested to Draft Article 20 by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Srimati G. Durgabai, Shri Thakurdas Bhargava, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and Shri K. Santhanam. The amendment sought to limit the right to manage religious affairs, provided in Article 20, by making it subject to public order, morality and health. The Drafting Committee accepted the suggestion and decided to sponsor the redraft.¹¹¹ Mr. Tajamul Hussain also proposed an amendment to delete the words 'by the State' in clause (1) of Article

22 which the Drafting Committee accepted and it recommended the omission of the words.¹¹²

From amongst non-members, the editor of the 'Indian Law Review' and some members of the Calcutta Bar suggested an amendment to sub-clause (b) of clause (2) of Article 19 to widen the scope of the sub-clause so as to permit the throwing open of all religious institutions and not merely those of the Hindus.¹¹³ The Asthika Sabha (Nungambakkam) of Madras and several other institutions sent representations that Article 19(2) of the Draft would seriously interfere with the religious rights of the citizens.¹¹⁴ Commenting on these representations, Sir B. N. Rau said that they represented the orthodox point of view which had already been fully taken note of before Article 19(2) was formulated. The provisions of the Article were very essential in the interest of social reform and welfare. Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan had also proposed the incorporation of a new article prohibiting the use of religious institutions for political purposes as well as the setting up of political organizations on a religious basis.¹¹⁵

VII

Draft Articles in Constituent Assembly

The Constituent Assembly discussed the Draft Articles 19 to 22 on December 3, 6 and 7, 1948. In regard to Draft Article 19, a number of amendments were moved. Dr. Ambedkar proposed that the word 'preclude' in clause (2) be replaced by the word 'prevent'.¹¹⁶ Mrs. G. Durgabai, with a view to widening the benefit of clause (2)(b), brought an amendment for replacing the words 'any class or section' by the words 'all classes or sections'.¹¹⁷ Professor K. T. Shah, however, moved an amendment embodying his view that the State, as the supreme authority should "have the power positively and absolutely" to 'prohibit'—not merely to

regulate or restrict—financial, economic and other secular activities associated with religious practice. Professor Shah said: "Material possession, worldly wealth and worldly grandeur are things which have been the doom of many an established Church. Many a well-known Religion, which has ceased to follow the original spirit or precepts of its Founders, has, nevertheless, carried on, in the popular eye, business, trade, and political activity of a most reprehensible character. The State in India, if it claims to be secular, if it claims to have an open mind, should have, in my opinion, a right not merely to regulate and restrict such practices but also absolutely to prohibit them."¹¹⁸

On the other hand, Mr. Mohamed Ismail suggested the addition of a new clause securing to a citizen the right to follow his personal law against any legislative interference that might be attempted under the cover of clause (2) in the name of regulating secular activities associated with religion.¹¹⁹ Yet in another amendment moved by Shri H. V. Kamath it was proposed to add a new clause, the first part of which sought to prohibit the establishment, endowment or patronage of any religion by the State, while the second part left the door open to the State to impart spiritual training or instruction to citizens. The first part of the amendment, according to Shri Kamath, related to 'disestablishment' or separation of the Church from the State and was meant to save the country from rift and internecine feud between believers of different religions. The second part of the amendment, however, related to 'the deeper import of religion, namely, the eternal values of the spirit' which could be imparted by the State consistently with the principle of secularism.¹²⁰

Much of the controversy on the Article, however, centred round the right to 'propagate' religion. Mr. Tajamul Hussain contended

that religion was a private affair between man and his creator and it had nothing to do with others. Mr. Hussain therefore maintained that all that an individual needed was only the right "to profess and practise religion privately" and not to propagate religion as such as it invariably proves to be a "nuisance".¹²¹ Shri Loknath Misra also pleaded very forcefully for deleting the word 'propagate' from clause (1) as he believed that the aim of propagation of religion was political, and that propagation of religion had been responsible for the unfortunate division of the country into India and Pakistan and that its acceptance as a fundamental and justiciable right would not be right. He added that no other constitution recognised this as a fundamental right and there was also no justification for putting it in the constitution of India and thereby encouraging it.¹²²

The amendment was opposed by many members. Most of those who opposed the amendment argued that the right to propagate religion, as formulated in the Article, was not absolute; it was limited by certain conditions that the State would be in a position to impose in the interests of public order, morality and health. It had also been laid down that the exercise of the right must not be in violation of any other provisions of part III of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights. In particular, the exercise of the right also did not give an unlimited right to conversion, as any attempts made to secure mass conversions through undue influence or coercion could be regulated by the State. Consistent with his earlier stand, Shri K. M. Munshi¹²³ pleaded that under the secular democratic set-up envisaged for India under the Constitution, there was no particular advantage to a member of one community over another; nor was there any political advantage by increasing one's fold. In such circumstances the word

'propagate' could not possibly have any dangerous implications which some of the Members think that it might have. He further said that he was "a party from the very beginning to the compromise with the minorities, which ultimately led to many of these clauses being inserted in the Constitution" and affirmed that "it was on this word that the Indian Christian community laid the greatest emphasis, not because they wanted to convert people aggressively but because the word 'propagate' was a fundamental part of their tenet." "Even if the word were not there", Shri Munshi asserted, "under the freedom of speech which the Constitution guarantees it will be open to any religious community to persuade other people to join their faith. So long as religion is religion, conversion by free exercise of the conscience has to be recognised." He further said that the word 'propagate' in clause (1) of Article 19 was nothing very much out of the way as some people thought, nor was it fraught with dangerous consequences. He also pleads for honouring the compromise with the minorities whatever be their results and praised the Minorities Sub-Committee for creating "an atmosphere of harmony and confidence in the majority community" by performing "a great achievement by having a unanimous vote on almost every provision of its report." Shri Munshi opined that in view of this "the word 'propagate' should be maintained in this Article in order that the compromise so laudably achieved by the Minority Committee should not be disturbed." Shri T. T. Krishnamachari¹²¹ also stressed the point that this right was not given to any particular community and could be exercised by all communities and all persons so long as they were exercised in terms of the conditions laid down in the constitution. He also said that it really mattered little to what religion, sub-sect or community in a particular religion

a man belonged so long as he was "equal in the eyes of law and in society and in regard to the exercise of all rights that are given" to others. He therefore felt that it was fair to maintain the status quo with regard to Article 19 giving the same right to every religionist to profess, practise, and propagate his religion, and even to convert people to his faith. Pundit Lakshmikanta Maitra,¹²² Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi¹²³ and Shri K. Santhanam¹²⁴ also pleaded for retaining the word 'propagate' in clause 19.

Put to vote the amendments moved by Dr. Ambedkar and Mrs. G. Durgabai were accepted and the Draft Article was adopted, so amended.¹²⁵

Draft Articles 20 and 21 proved a little less controversial and the Constituent Assembly adopted them without any discussion. Dr. Ambedkar moved an amendment seeking to insert the words 'subject to public order, morality and health' to the Draft Article 20 with a view to clarifying that the State could not "give absolute rights in these matter relating to religion." The State, by this amendment, sought to reserve to itself the right to regulate all these religious institutions and their affairs whenever public order, morality or health required it.¹²⁶ Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad, however, with a view to improving the draft, suggested that the Article 20 be numbered as clause (1) of that Article and at the end a new clause be added providing that nothing in clause (1) of the Article 20 should affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law for ensuring public order, public morality and public health.¹²⁷ In another amendment to clause (c) of the Article, he also suggested, that for the words 'and immovable property' the words 'immovable and incorporeal property' should be substituted to encompass such incorporeal rights like

the copyright.¹³¹ Shri Loknath Misra moved an amendment to clause (a) and suggested that after the word 'maintain' the words 'manage and administer' should be added as he felt that one who had a right to establish and maintain an institution for religious and charitable purposes ought also to have the right to manage and administer the same, unless of course such institutions offended against public order, morality or any established law.¹³² But Mr. Syed Abdur Rouf in yet another amendment suggested that in clause (a) of the Article for the words 'religious and charitable purposes', the words 'religious, charitable and educational purposes' should be substituted as he was of the view that religious education was as important as religion itself.¹³³

None of the amendments moved to the Article 20 however, evoked any long or sustained discussion. In fact, except Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor, who felt that the idea of conceding to religious denominations or sections thereof the fundamental right to establish charitable institutions exclusively for the benefit of their own members was repugnant to the ideas of fraternity, brotherhood, and common nationality, no member had any serious objection to the Article. The Constituent Assembly accepted only Dr. Ambedkar's amendment, and the Draft Article 20, so amended, was adopted.¹³⁴

In regard to Draft Article 21, Mr. Syed Abdur Rouf moved an amendment to make it quite clear that even when the proceeds of a tax were partly appropriated for religious purposes there should be no compulsion for its payment. He contended that unless his amendment were accepted, the very intention of the Article 21, namely, compulsory payment of a tax for religious purposes, would be frustrated.¹³⁵ Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, however, thought that the wording of the Draft Article quite adequately covered

partial appropriations also. He further considered that the Article, in its present form, was absolutely necessary as a secular State was expected to view all denominations in the same light without giving encouragement to any one particular denomination at the expense of others. This, he stressed, was a "part and parcel of the Charter of liberty and religious freedom" to see that no particular denomination was given any advantage over another denomination.¹³⁷ The Article was not discussed any further and the Constituent Assembly adopted the Article without any change.¹³⁸

Draft Article 22 could not have an easy and smooth passage in the Constituent Assembly. Despite the time, thought and care bestowed on its drafting in the committees, the Article gave rise to sharp differences of opinion and was subjected to a prolonged and thorough discussion. There were as many as twelve amendments of which nine were moved. Dr. Ambedkar sought the deletion of the words 'by the State' from clause (1) to remove the possibility of doubt that the Article as it stood, permitted institutions other than State to give religious instruction. The amendment sought to clarify the underlying principle of the Article, namely, that no institution which was maintained wholly out of State funds should be used for the purpose of religious instruction irrespective of the question whether the religious instruction is given by the State or by any other body.¹³⁹ Shri Jaspat Ray Kapoor moved an amendment to delete the clause (3) for four reasons. In the first place, the clause, which permitted religious instruction in educational institutions outside working hours conflicted with clause (1) which laid down that no religious instruction could be imparted in educational institutions wholly maintained by the State. Secondly, the clause was likely to create

conflicts between different religious denominations all of whom might claim the right to impart religious instruction to their pupils in an institution at the same time. Thirdly, the management of a denominational institution might not like to permit the imparting of religious instruction of other religions in its premises. Lastly, the clause was also unnecessary in view of clause (2).¹⁴⁰

The other amendments represented, broadly speaking, three different points of view. One point of view was that there ought to be no bar to religious instruction being given in educational institutions—not even in those wholly maintained by the State—so long as no one was compelled to accept such instruction. Mr. Mohammad Ismail Sahib, who represented this point of view, contended that it was not really religion as such, but the misunderstanding of religion, which was the real source of trouble. He felt that the stability of the society as well as the State could be ensured through a moral background which religion alone could provide. It was therefore in the true interest of the State to give children a grounding in religion by providing religious instruction in the schools where the children were in their formative stage of mental and moral development. The imparting of religious instruction by the State, he was of the view, would not compromise the neutrality or the secularity of the State. He therefore moved an amendment which, while prohibiting compulsion for securing attendance for religious instruction in educational institutions, left it to the discretion of the State to introduce such instruction in its schools.¹⁴¹

The Second point of view was that there ought to be no religious instruction at all, not even in institutions which were educational. Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man and Mr. Tajamul Hussain represented this point

of view. Sardar Man contended that the Article should “conform to its own logical conclusion” and also help maintain strict neutrality and secularity of the State so far as religious matters were concerned. He therefore felt that all religious or communal propaganda should be completely prohibited in all state-owned institutions and suggested the amendment to omit the word ‘educational’ in clause (1).¹⁴² Mr. Tajamul Hussain, however, keeping the goal of secular State in view, objected to “a public institution, whether maintained by Government or partly maintained by Government, imparting religious instruction” and moved an amendment to delete the words ‘by the State’ and the words ‘wholly maintained out of State funds’ in clause (1).¹⁴³

The third point of view was that religious instruction should not be permitted at all, neither in educational institutions wholly maintained out of State funds nor in those which were aided or partly maintained by the State. Professor K. T. Shah who represented this point of view moved an amendment to clause (1). He said that the Draft Article as it stood would mean that even if ninety-nine per cent of the total expenditure of a school was met out of State funds and only one per cent out of some private endowment, there could be no bar to religious instruction being imparted in that institution. He felt that it would be inconsistent with the basic principle of the constitution, namely, the complete secularity of the State, to permit ‘Religious Instruction’ on the excuse that part of the expenditure was met by other than State funds.¹⁴⁴ In yet another amendment to the clause (3), Professor Shah sought to extend his point of view that whoever wished to provide such religious instruction, whatever community desired to provide such instruction, might do so, from out of its own funds.

But he felt the funds must be sufficient to meet the full cost ; and in the full sense of the term, it must be after the school hours, in such a manner that there was no prejudice whatsoever of the curriculum, prescribed standards of attainment, methods of instruction, equipment, etc.¹⁴⁵

Shri H. V. Kamath moved an amendments to clause (2) of Article 22 and suggested that the words 'recognised by the State or' be deleted. He pointed out that clause (2) of Article 22 as it stood conflicted with the Draft Article 23(3)(a).¹⁴⁶ While the clause (2) laid down that no person attending an institution recognized by the State or receiving aid out of State funds would be compelled to take part in religious instruction, Draft Article 23(3)(a) provided that all minorities, whether based on religion or community or language, would have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Shri Kamath visualized a situation where a minority community, established an educational institution, and the institution provided for compulsory attendance in religious classes. Shri Kamath contended that if such an educational institution could not be recognised just because it provided for compulsory religious instruction then certainly it would not prosper and it would fail to attract pupils. He therefore felt that such a refusal of recognition or withdrawal of recognition could not be reconciled with the right of the minorities to establish and maintain educational institutions of their choice.¹⁴⁷

Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai entirely welcomed the provisions of the Article.¹⁴⁸ Mrs. Renuka Ray,¹⁴⁹ Mr. Kazi Syed Karimuddin¹⁵⁰ and Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹⁵¹ supported the Article 22 excepting the clause (3). The amendment moved by Dr. Ambedkar received the support of Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar who also

dealt with the objection of Professor K. T. Shah and emphasized that the State was under no obligation to give grants irrespective of the way an educational institution was being managed.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who replied to the members following an animated debate on the Article, agreed to accept only the amendment moved by Shri Kapoor to delete clause (3). He explained why the demand that religious instruction should be permitted in State educational institutions could not be accepted. First, the acceptance of this demand would mean that a local authority would be free to use its revenues from a general tax to provide instruction in its schools in the religion of the majority community of the area and thus abuse and contravene Article 21. Secondly, in view of the multiplicity of religions and sects in the country, if educational institutions were to be required to treat all children belonging to different denominations on the same footing and to provide religious instruction in all denominations, it would be asking the State to do the impossible. Finally, it would be disturbing the peaceful atmosphere of an educational institution considerably if controversies with regard to the teachings of a particular religion were raised within its precincts.¹⁵²

So far as clause (2) was concerned, Dr Ambedkar pointed out that it achieved two purposes. First, it permitted a community to give religious instruction in an educational institution established by it to enrich its religious and cultural life, even though such an institution received some aid from the State. Secondly, no students who did not belong to that community could be compelled to accept such instruction. To meet the point raised by Shri Kamath, Dr. Ambedkar said that, in schools run by a community exclusively for the pupils of that community, attendance

for religious instruction could be compulsory. However, once an educational institution got a grant from the State, it was bound to keep the school open to all communities.⁶⁵

The amendments moved by Dr. Ambedkar and Shri Kapoor were accepted by the Constituent Assembly and all the others were rejected. Article 22 was adopted with these amendments.⁶⁶

The Drafting Committee, at the revision stage, thought it proper to add Explanation II in Draft Article 19 to make it quite clear that the reference to Hindus (in the context of social reform and welfare, and the throwing open of religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus) would include also persons professing the Sikh, Jain or Buddhist religion; and the Draft Articles 19 to 22 were renumbered as Articles 25 to 28.

Conclusion

The Constituent Assembly of India had to formulate the rights relating to freedom of religion in a traditionally multi-religious and pluralistic cultural milieu. There were distinctly two very important issues connected with the rights relating to freedom of religion. First, the rights of the various religions or religious groups *inter se* were to be harmonised and guaranteed under the Constitution. Secondly, the rights of the individual were to be balanced with that of his religious group or the confraternity. As is evident from the above discussion, the Constituent Assembly worked very assiduously to tackle the first issue and somewhat succeeded in resolving it by pragmatically accommodating all religions or religious denominations the same status and equal rights in the State in matters of religious freedom. But so far as the second issue was concerned, the Constituent Assembly went no further than treating the rights relating to freedom of religion as only one

category of rights amongst a host of other rights of the individual. However, the primacy of the individual and his rights to freedom of religion as such, as against the rights to freedom of religion of a religious group or denomination, were neither successfully focussed in the Bill of Rights nor adequately guaranteed in the scheme of rights relating to freedom of religion and thus the issue was left wide open for the judiciary to resolve while interpreting the Constitution.

References

65. C. A. Deb., Vol. III, p. 486.
66. Ibid., p. 489.
67. Ibid., p. 496.
68. Ibid., p. 503.
69. Ibid., p. 486.
70. Ibid., p. 487.
71. Ibid., p. 488.
72. Do.
73. Do.

Shri K. M. Munshi moved an amendment that for the clause 17 the following clause be substituted :

'Any conversion from one religion to another of any person brought about by fraud, coercion or undue influence or of a minor under the age of 18 shall not be recognised by law.'

74. Ibid., p. 489.
75. Ibid., p. 490.
76. Ibid., pp. 491-2.
77. Ibid., p. 493.
78. Ibid., p. 500.
79. Ibid., pp. 497-500.
80. Ibid., pp. 496-7.
81. Ibid., p. 495.
82. Ibid., pp. 501-2.
83. Ibid., pp. 502-3.
84. C. A. Deb., Vol. V, p. 373.
85. Ibid., p. 363.
86. Ibid., p. 364.
87. Do.
88. Ibid., p. 365.

89. Do.
90. Ibid., p. 349.
91. Ibid., p. 350.
92. Ibid., p. 351.
93. Ibid., pp. 351-2.
94. Ibid., pp. 357-8.
95. Ibid., p. 360.
96. Ibid., p. 358.
97. Ibid., pp. 360-1.
98. Ibid., p. 359.
99. Ibid., p. 360.
100. Ibid., pp. 361-2.
101. Ibid., p. 362.
102. Do.
103. Ibid., p. 371.
104. B. Shiva Rao's Select Documents Vol. III, I (i), pp. 10-11.
105. Ibid., pp. 524-5.

The Drafting Committee in its meeting on November 1, 1947 had decided not to change Clauses 19, 21 and 22 of the draft articles of the Constitutional Adviser's Draft. It also decided to revise the clause 20 in its present form (Ibid., pp. 330-2). However, in its meeting on November 8, 1947, the Drafting Committee, on the suggestion of Shri N. Gopalswami Ayyangar, decided to further revise the Clause 21 in its present form (Ibid., pp. 350-1).
106. Ibid., pp. 524-5.
107. B. Shiva Rao's Select Documents Vol. IV, (I), 4, p. 42.

The amendment suggested was that the Article 21 be substituted by the following provision :

'No religion shall be recognized as a State religion nor shall any tax be levied for the promotion or the maintenance of any religion.'
108. Ibid., p. 41.
109. Ibid., p. 43.
110. Ibid., p. 41.
111. Ibid., p. 42.
112. Ibid., p. 44.
113. Ibid., p. 42.
114. Do.
115. Ibid., p. 44.
116. C. A. Deb., Vol. VII, p. 826.
117. Ibid., p. 828.
118. Ibid., p. 827.
119. Ibid., p. 829.
120. Ibid., pp. 824-6.
121. Ibid., pp. 817-8.
122. Ibid., pp. 823-4.
123. Ibid., pp. 837-8.
124. Ibid., pp. 836-7.
125. Ibid., pp. 831-3.
126. Ibid., pp. 833-4.
127. Ibid., pp. 834-5.
128. Ibid., pp. 839-840.
129. Ibid., p. 859.
130. Do.
131. Ibid., p. 860.
132. Do.
133. Do.
134. Ibid., pp. 860-2.
135. Ibid., pp. 863-4.
136. Ibid., p. 864.
137. Ibid., pp. 865-6.
138. Ibid., p. 866.
139. Ibid., p. 871.
140. Ibid., pp. 874-5.
141. Ibid., pp. 875-6.
142. Ibid., pp. 870-1.
143. Ibid., pp. 871-2.
144. Ibid., pp. 868-870.
145. Ibid., pp. 876-8.
146. Corresponding provision in the Constitution : Article 30(1).
147. C. A. Deb., Vol. VII, pp. 873-4.
148. Ibid., p. 879.
149. Ibid., pp. 878-9.
150. Ibid., pp. 880-881.
151. Ibid., pp. 881-2.
152. Ibid., pp. 883-4.
153. Ibid., pp. 884-6.
154. Ibid., pp. 886-8.

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES OF ANCIENT BENGAL

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

The Buddhist monasteries became important religious and cultural centres in ancient Bengal which included an area now covered by West Bengal and East Bengal or Bangla Desh.¹ Some of these, however, were later transformed into educational institutions and monastic universities. Hsien-tsang, the Chinese Pilgrim of the 7th century A. C., noticed many sangharamas or Buddhist monasteries in Pundravardhana, Samatata, Tamralipti and Karnasuvarna of early Bengal. In the following pages is presented a descriptive account of some of these important Buddhist monasteries.

We find that in Bengal there was either a vihara or a place having a monastery, named *Kapatya*. Prajnavarman and his preceptor Bodhivarman hailed from *Kapatya* of Bengal. The viharas of Sannagar or Badanagari and of Balanda were quite well-known. A Buddhist teacher called Siddhesvara Vanaratna (A. C. 1384-1468) dwelt at the *Sannagar Vihara* and rendered there many texts into Tibetan.² On the other hand, a copied manuscript of the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita* was composed at the *Balanda Monastery*. One would be highly amazed to see numerous brick monuments around the Siddhesvara temple of Bahulara in the Bankura district of West Bengal. Observing these little brick-built structures of the 10th to 11th century A. C. the archaeologists presumed that this place of *Bahulara* once was a famous Buddhist centre of worship with a vihara and a temple before the Saivas came and occupied it. The same conclusion may be arrived at in respect of the village named *Baragram* in the Birbhum district (West Bengal) where sculptures of Vijrayana Buddhism lay scattered here and

there. There existed also a monastery at *Devikot or Devakota* near the village of Bangarh that lies about eighteen miles south of Dinajpur town in North Bengal. Advayavajra, a renowned Tantric teacher, Udhilipa and Bhikkhunl Mekhala used to live in that monastery. The *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* speaks of a monastery named *Traikutaka Vihara* of Bengal adjoining Magadha³. Here Haribhadra composed his well-known commentary on the *Abhisamayalankara* under the patronage of Dharmapala. This monastery was situated evidently somewhere in West Bengal "as there is mention of a Traikutaka Devalya being unearthed in the Radha country"⁴.

But the most important Buddhist monastery of ancient Bengal was the *Mahavihara of Somapura or Somapuri* which occupied a position of preeminence ever since the days of Dharmapala. It was located in a place which was situated at a distance of three miles to the west of the Jamalgunje railway station in the district of Rajshahi. This famous monastery of Somapura, now known as Paharpur, was really a great centre of learning. The magnificence of the ruins of Paharpur led K. N. Dikshit to write : "The second and the third kings of the dynasty, Dharmapala and Devapala, built up at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries A. D. a large empire..... It was during this period that many new Buddhist temples and viharas must have been established in Bengal under royal patronage. The biggest, and most important of these must have been the establishment at Paharpur which received royal patronage from the kings of the early Pala empire"⁵. Dipankara Srijnana Atisa, the well known Buddhist monk

from Bengal, lived for years in the Somapura monastery under his spiritual preceptor Ratnakara Santi who was the sthavira of the vihara. The references to the handling of several manuscripts by numerous scholars and teachers in this monastic university gave us some hints on the existence of some sort of a book-collection which may roughly be called a library. The Somapura Mahavihara "occupying a quadrangle measuring more than 900 feet externally on each side, has high enclosure walls lined on the inside with nearly 177 cells, excluding the cells of the central block in each direction. The wallings, though not preserved to a very great height, envisage, from their thickness and massiveness, a storeyed structure, exactly commensurate with the terraced form of the main temple in the centre of the enclosure". From the ruins at Paharpur it is evident that the Somapura Mahavihara was a grand Buddhist establishment. But it is sad indeed to note that this Monastery which was "a singular feast to the eyes of the world", is now all in ruins. This Vihara must have existed and functioned over nearly four centuries. It was probably in the hands of Jatavarma who was the first king of the Varman family in East Bengal (Vangala) and inimical to Buddhism, that the flourishing monastery of Somapura suffered a death-blow in the 11th century. The plan of the central temple of Somapura was the result of premeditated development of a single central unit, in which the future expansion was in a sense predetermined in a vertical direction, that is, in the setting up of dew floors, etc., but not laterally. But the type of structural temple which we notice at Paharpur is invaluable in the history of art and architecture of far eastern countries especially Burma with her Pagan Temples and Java with her Chandi group of temples.⁶

Among other monasteries which were

located in ancient Bengal mention may also be made of the *Vasibha-Sangharama* (Po-shi-po, 'the convent which has the brightness of fire') that was situated, according to Hiuen-tsang, at a distance of about three miles to the west of the capital city of Pundravardhana. Its towers and pavilions were very lofty. The monastery "had spacious halls and tall storeyed chambers". Its courts were also spacious enough. The vihara had been identified with the ruins of Bhasua Vihar near Mahasthan, ancient Pundravardhana, where a gigantic mound seemed to be all which remained of that once grand monastery.⁷ Hiuen-tsang also found another famous Buddhist vihara named *Raktaviti* (Lo-to-mo-chi, red-mud) or *Raktamrttika* at Karnasuvarna. It had spacious and roomy halls and courts, lofty and storeyed towers and pavilions. This monastery was probably situated at modern Rajbadidanga, near the Eastern Railway's Chiruti Station, 119 miles from Howrah, in the Murshidabad District. One of the earliest viharas in Bengal may further be located in *Viharail* in Rajshahi, where trial excavations of a mound called Rajbadi (Royal Residence), unearthed the ruins of a structure constructed "on the familiar ancient plan of a row of cells round a central courtyard."⁸

But the last glory of Buddhism in ancient Bengal was the magnificent vihara of *Jagaddala*, the creation of Ramapala (A. C. 1084—1130), the last great Pala monarch, who installed therein the images of Avalokitesvara and Mahat Tara. The historical epic Ramacarita spoke of the Jagaddala Mahavihara which was situated in the ancient city of Ramavati or Varendri. The location of the monastery of Jagaddala was not beyond dispute. While Mm. H. P. Shastri placed it in East Bengal and thought that it was located not in Ramavati, Sri N. N. Dasgupta stated that it was situated at the confluence of the Ganges

and the Karotoya. In the Bengali Candi of Kavikankana Mukundarama (A. C. 1577-1578) it was suggested that Jagaddala was situated towards the south of Triveni and Saptagrama. The monastery of Jagaddala was a great centre of Buddhist learning during the late mediaeval period. It too, maintained a very good library which was profitably utilised by many teachers, scholars and foreign students alike. But it is painful to note that this famous "Royal (Raja) Jagaddala Monastery" could hardly survive for a century and during the Turuska conquest in A. C. 1203 it was completely destroyed and passed into oblivion.

Among other Buddhist monasteries of Bengal mention may be made of the *Vihara of Vikramapuri* which appears from the coincidence of names to have been located in Vikramapura in the Dacca district of East Bengal. This monastery was probably founded by Dharmapala, the celebrated emperor of Bengal. The *salavana Vihara* was situated somewhere on the Lalmai-Maynamati mountain range in the Comilla district of East Bengal. Under the patronage of the Buddhist kings this monastery was in great pomp and splendour at least for four centuries and became a seat of learning. There also existed a great Buddhist sangharama at a village called *Gunaighar*, near Comilla in the district of Tippera in East Bengal as an inscription dated the year 188 (A. C. 507-508) of Vainyagupta on a copper plate and discovered here, testified to the fact. The inscription recorded that the royal gift was made in favour of the Avaivarttika Sangha of Mahayana Buddhist monks, which was housed in a monastery called the *Asrama Vihara* that was consecrated to Arya Avalokitesvara and had been established by one Rudradatta. The Buddhist monastery was also established in ancient *Pattikeraka* or *Pattikera*. Indeed extensive ruins of a great

Buddhist monastery had been unearthed on the Mainamati Hill in Tippera. This monastery which was mentioned in an inscription, discovered on this hill and dedicated to Durgottara, of a king named Harikaladeva Ranavankamalla of Pattikeraka (A. C. 1220) was situated at this city. The *Kanakastupa Vihara* was also located here. The *Pandita Vihara* of ancient Chittagong was distinguished as a centre of Mahayana Buddhism, especially Tantric learning and culture. At this Vihara the Brahmanical disputants used to challenge the Buddhists to meet them in religious controversies. There were at Tamralipti which was the same as Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal, several Buddhist monasteries. Fa-hien found about twenty-two monasteries there. Tamralipti continued to be a great Buddhist centre as late as the time of I-tsing (A. C. 673-687) who spoke eloquently of the fame of a celebrated convent called *Po-lo-ho (Bha-ra-ho) Monastery* of this place. The only building, of any archaeological interest, that now exists in the site is the temple of Barga-Bhima, which was evidently an ancient viihara, "transformed not earlier than the 14th century, into a dome-topped Hindu temple of the Orissa type by an outward coating of bricks and plaster after the expulsion of Buddhism."⁹

This study of ancient Buddhist monasteries in Bengal would be far from complete without a reference to the Buddhist establishment of Bhotbagan of Ghosuri in North Howrah of West Bengal. This monastic abode is known as the Bhotmandir which was built in A. C. 1775 at the request of the Tashi Lama of Tibet under the patronage of the then Governor Warren Hastings. In A. C. 1772 the Bhutanese invaded Cooch-Bihar and decamped with its ruler. The matter was arbitrated by Hastings who had a political motive behind his action. Intimacy thus grew up between

Hastings and the Tashi Lama. In 1774, the Tashi Lama asked Hastings for a small plot of land by the river Ganges in order that the Bhutanese and Tibetans might erect their own monastery here on the holy banks as a place of worship. The result was the establishment of the Bhot Math with its temple and garden on an area of about 100 bighas of land. Tashi Lama himself sent many Tibetan manuscripts and images of Tara, Arya, Mahakala, etc. from his homeland to the Bhot Math. Later on Puran Giri Gossain of the Saiva Sect, strangely enough, was entrusted with the task of managing this Math. The Tibetan traders used to be cordially received in this monastery when they would come down to Calcutta. But subsequently this Buddhist centre of worship was changed into a worship-place of the Saiva Sect.

Apart from these Buddhist monasteries there must have been many other viharas, great or small, in Bengal. The Buddhists had undoubtedly sway over a vast tract of this eastern part of India. Buddha was venerated and worshipped by local inhabitants in the anthropomorphic form. The Mauryan Brahmi inscription of Mahasthan proves that Buddhism was well known at least in North Bengal, at a very early period. But it was under the suzerainty of the Pala Kings that Buddhist art and architecture of Bengal entered into a classical phase. Thus we find

how the almost dilapidated Buddhist monasteries, though some of those were converted to the worship-centres of other religions, tell delicate and romantic stories of their erection. Subsequently the Viharas of ancient Bengal became easy prey to the nature of the soil and climate, both of which encourage the rapid growth of thick jungle-vegetation, so destructive to the deserted buildings.

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MOTHER TONGUE, EDUCATION AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

A well-known Bengali poet has sung :

Moder garab inoder asha

A mari Bangla Bhasa.

Tomar koley tomar boley

Katai shanti bhalabasa.

In literal translation it means :

Our pride our hope

is you

O dear, Bengali language !

In your care, in your diction

lies all the peace and happiness.

With the change of one word in the text this poem can be made to reflect the urges of all linguistic groups. Substitute Hindi for Bengali, you get the sentiment of the Hindi-speaking people ; substitute Urdu or Maithili for Bengali and you get the authentic feeling of the people speaking Urdu and Maithili. Similarly with the substitution of Bhojpuri, Magahi, Santali and other words depicting languages the poem will reflect the true urges of the persons speaking those languages.

No system of education that seeks to alienate a person from his mother tongue can succeed. For, as both Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi have observed, mother tongue holds the clue to a child's mind and only it can effectively help the person assimilate the education he receives in his personality and culture. There is virtual unanimity amongst the greatest thinkers on education about the primacy of mother tongue as the effective medium of instruction. The irrepressible nature of the love for one's language is, of course, now very well illustrated by the sacrifice made by hundreds of thousands of persons in Bangla

Desh. But we find ample examples in our modern history. Almost from the beginning the English-educated Indians had turned to their respective mother tongues. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had an important role to play in the formulation of the education policy of the British East India Company's Government in India in the thirties of the last century, "dreamt of planting Western civilization not only in India but in the whole of Asia, and regarded 'our language' (English—SCS) as a proper means for doing so."¹ That dream has gone away. There is no reason to believe that any other language could prevail over the mother tongues when even such a rich language as English has failed. Professor Rupert Emerson of Harvard University notes in his book *From Empire to Nation*, "where substantial linguistic diversity exists the effort to enforce the use of what is adopted as the national language can be carried through only at an immense human cost, if at all, and the disruptive effect of a frontal attack upon an entrenched language may prove ruinous."² Since Prof. Emerson himself is a supporter of the subordination of several languages to one language in a multilingual country, his warning has to be taken all the more seriously. And he further says, "Educational authorities contend that a child starting his education in the vernacular will move more easily into a second language than if he is forced into it at the outset."³ In other words, so far as primary education is concerned, the adoption of mother tongue as the medium of instruction is to be preferred even if one desired the pupils to learn a different language :

Constitutional Guarantee of a Multilingual State

India is a multilingual country. According to Grierson India had 179 languages and 544 dialects. "Of these languages (the separate enumeration of the dialects is irrelevant, since they also come under languages), 116 are small tribal speeches of the Tibeto-Chinese speech family; they are found only on the northern and north-eastern fringes of India and are current among less than one percent of the entire population of the country. Nearly two dozen more are, likewise, insignificant speeches of other language groups; or they are languages not truly belonging to India."⁴

This leaves about 39 languages or so. The Constitution of India lists 15 languages in the eighth schedule. These languages are: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Among the other important languages are Rajasthani, Maithili, Nepali, Santali, Mundari, Ho, Manipuri, Khasi, Tulu and Gondi.⁵ Despite some unrealistic utterances made by persons including Vinoba Bhave and Subhas Chandra Bose⁶ for the development of a common script (which really does not solve any problem as can be seen from the sharp lines of division between Hindi-speaking persons and Maithili-speaking persons in Bihar, notwithstanding the Maithili have since abandoned their own script and have taken to the Nagri script), no one has seriously suggested the supplanting of all the Indian languages by any one language. On the other hand practically everybody has looked upon the India of the future as a multilingual country. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in 1938, "This language (Hindi SCB) is bound to become the all India medium of communication, not displacing the great provincial languages, but as a compulsory second language. With mass education on behalf of the

State, this will not be difficult."⁷ It was therefore provided in the Constitution that the multilingual character of the country has to be secured in future with the help of the State. Article 29(1) of the Constitution of India is quite direct and specific. This reads as follows: "Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same."

Violations of Linguistic Rights of Minorities

It is a matter of deep regret that State Governments, whose duty it is to safeguard and implement the guarantees of the Constitution, have often failed in the duty. The *Eleventh Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India* states, "It cannot be said that all the schemes of safeguards for linguistic minorities agreed to at the all-India level have now been fully accepted by all the States/Union Territories for implementation". It is instructive to note the safeguards, which were accepted as an obligation by all the State Governments in 1949 but which have remained in larger part unimplemented. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities reports, "Soon after Independence, the Government at the Centre and in the States diverted their attention to provide safeguards for the linguistic minority groups. The first all-India decisions at the Governmental level regarding provision of facilities for instruction through the mother-tongue of the linguistic minorities at the primary and secondary stages of education were taken at the Conference of the Provincial Education Ministers in 1949. It was agreed in this Conference that at the primary stage of education, if the mother-tongue is different from the regional language and there are not less than 10 pupils in a class or 40 pupils in the whole school desirous of having instruction through their mother-tongue, arrangements

shall be made for providing instruction accordingly by appointing at least one teacher. It was also decided that at the secondary stage of education facilities would be provided for instruction in the mother-tongue, if one-third pupils of a school were desirous of having instruction in the mother-tongue. These decisions were binding on all Government, municipal and district board schools."⁹

Need for a Sane Approach

While discussing the problem of the linguistic minorities we have to guard ourselves against a wrong perspective. If all the provisions of the Constitution of India were observed in practice not only would there have been no problem of linguistic minorities but many other problems would also have been solved. The failure in the front of safeguarding the rights of the linguistic minorities has to be viewed in this context of the general failure to implement the Constitution. Therefore the solution of the problem of the linguistic minorities has to be sought along with the solution of the problems of unemployment illiteracy and social, economic and political inequality.

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(Inaugural address to a seminar on mother tongue as medium of instruction in primary classes organised by Bengalee Association, Bihar at the Indian Medical Association Hall, Patna on 22 May, 1971.),



SMRITI AND BISMRTI

SIBNATH BANERJEE

I did not stay the full term of 3 months of summer in the village Malakopka, University Campus. After two months I came back to Moscow. Jaffar had gone only for a week to see the country side. He had to give his lessons in Urdu to workers of the Foreign office. I came back early as I was planning to leave Russia in early 1924 and wanted to make preparations.

Water Treatment

My wrists and also ankles started swelling in 1924 and I wanted to have a thorough medical check up. When the Doctor of the University examined me, he said I was suffering from a mild attack of T. B. T. B. was rather common in Russia then due to insufficient food etc. I was admitted to the University Hospital, which was in the out-house of Strasnaya Church, which was quarters before. I was to be given two injections of Calcium daily for 3 weeks. It was started but my condition deteriorated and I could not stand or walk and was confined to bed. I could at least eat with my own hands. After about two weeks of treatment, my hands were so swollen that I failed to eat with my own hands. I complained to my personal nurse Miss Suzanna that the medicines and calcium injections were doing me no good. I felt like crying. To die like this in a Hospital, unwept for and unhonoured was abominable. To die a revolutionary's death would be honourable and a thing altogether different and covetable. I told the nurse, I would like to meet the senior Doctor in charge of the Hospital. It was arranged next morning ; but I passed one of the most miserable nights in my life.

Next morning I was examined by the senior Doctor and he heard my story and examined me for a long time and prescribed that I should keep my hands and feet in hot water. It acted like a miracle. After 7 or 8 hours, the pain in my hands and feet was reduced by half and next morning I could use my hands for taking my food myself. The hot water treatment continued for 3 days about 12 hrs. a day. On the fourth day I could walk by myself and the pain and swelling of feet subsided 80 to 85%. The Doctor was happy and explained that I had not taken proper precaution against cold for two Moscow winters in 1923-1924, or using warm foot wear and gloves and nature took her revenge. In a week's time I was quite all right without any further calcium injections and was discharged from the Hospital as fully cured. But for my insistence on seeing the senior Doctor and his prescribing the proper treatment, I shudder to think, what would have been my fate in the Hospital of the Eastern University in distant Moscow !

Convert to Communism

By the time University students returned to Moscow, I had become a convert to Communism. I had accepted the economic doctrines within the first three months of joining the Eastern University. But Economic Interpretation of History I could not accept though day by day I felt my resistance was weakening. At last, I remember to have read a book-Ethics and Economic Interpretation of History by Kautsky and I was completely won over. I went and told the Moulana about my complete conversion.

Moulana's Advice

The Maulana tried to argue with me, but with no effect, as I was adamant. At last the Maulana pleaded, that even if I was convinced, I should not join the communist party in Moscow. For he argued that joining the communist party had many material advantages and people may think that I joined the communist party for the loaves and fishes, which were really tempting. He advised me to wait and join the communist party after return to India, where it meant sacrifice, suffering and struggle. It was a very sane advice and I am very grateful to the Maulana for this advice. Later on I developed other differences with the communists and there had been no question of joining the communist party, upto to this day.

Afghan Passport

I decided in 1924 to go back to India via London, where Ramsay Macdonald was the 1st Labour Prime Minister of Britain. But my greatest difficulty was that I had no Passport. When I had left India for becoming a Professor in Kabul, taking Indian Passport was not obligatory and I preferred to go without one. After non-co-operation I did not relish the idea of getting a Passport from the British Govt. Moreover there was a risk of being refused a Passport and then my going out of India to Kabul would be jeopardised. When I left Kabul for Moscow the question of taking Indian Passport did not arise at all. I was a rebel against the Govt. in Delhi. I could have possibly taken an Afghan Passport, but the thought never came to my mind and the Maulana nor anybody else advised me in this matter. I had taken one letter from the Afghan Govt. for safe passage to Soviet Russia, another from the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul for safe passage in Soviet Russia. The Communists advised me to stay for

another term or year in the Eastern University. They said I was 90% Communist and if I stayed in the Eastern University and studied more, I would be a full fledged Communist and a forged Passport and enough money for passage and work in India would follow as a matter of course. Com. M. N. Roy also asked me to join the Communist Party, but as I did not agree. He did not help me with my passage back and cynically remarked that the Communist International was not a Charitable Institution. I retorted that I did not care for his money. As I have managed to come to Moscow, I shall also manage to go back to India without his help. And for work in India I shall raise money from Indians.

But the passport difficulty was a stumbling block. At last the Moulana came to my rescue and induced the Afghan Ambassador in Moscow to grant me Afghan Nationality and Afghan Passport. It was a great relief. Then the problem of Visa came. No country which had Embassies in Moscow, and there were only a few in those days, was prepared to give me Visa. Even the Social Democratic Govt. of Germany refused to give me Visa. At last the Social Democratic Govt. of Austria gave me Visa. I was trying to get out of Soviet Russia, when the Maulana left for Mecca Sharif.

Maulana's Communism

The Maulana did not go to Turkey but preferred to go to Mecca Sharif, where Muslims from India as well as from all over the world come for Haj once a year; and sitting at Mecca as a centre, he could come in contact with the Muslims of the whole world. He was not happy in Moscow as Com. M. N. Roy did not treat him as he deserved. Before he left for Mecca Sharif with his nephew, he had not much money at his disposal. He asked all of the group to give him whatever personal cash each one had. He collected all

and divided the amount equally among the group. I deposited £3- I had and as a result of communistic distribution got £5-. Dr. Noor Md. had about £50- and he also got £5- and so his loss was the greatest, but he could afford it. When the Maulana left for Mecca Shrif, I felt very deeply the loss of his companionship after about 2 years, when he was really my best well-wisher and guide and friend.

The Maulana had warned me in joke while in Kabul, that he was accused of exploiting others. I had replied, that the more intelligent always exploited the less intelligent and there was nothing to complain at least as far as I was concerned. In the one year and a half of living in intimate contact with him through much stress and strain, both political and financial, I never felt I was being exploited. On the other hand, I felt I was always helped and guided to do the most for India according to the best of my capacity.

Proposal to go to China

While I was weighing the pros and cons of which way to take to reach India, one Maulana Isa, living in Moscow who was a Mahajarren and had some money with him, proposed to me to go to China with him for one year and he would bear all my expenses and also my expenses for the trip back to Calcutta. He wanted to study the conditions of millions of Chinese Muslims. He knew very well that I was a Hindu and also a confirmed Atheist and some what sympathetically inclined towards communism. But why he chose me and insisted on my accompanying him to China, I don't know. Perhaps it was due to my energy, resourcefulness and self confidence and also my personal devotion to Maulana Obeidulla, inspite of many political and ideological differences. He was very persistent and was ready to reduce the period from one year to 6 months. I did not agree

as I was keen to come back to India, as early as possible, to give effect to my newly learnt ideas of class struggle. I never felt sorry for refusing this tempting offer of travelling free to China at somebody else's expense and know more about, Pan Islamism. Now, while writing these memoirs at the age of 75, I sometimes think, I might have taken this opportunity of seeing China, learning Chinese and studying Pan Islamic and Buddhist movements for six months.

To India Via Brahmaputra

While studying the safest and quickest way to come back to India, crossing the narrow strip of Afghanistan, which could be crossed in a day or night and coming to India by way of Pamir, did not appeal to me. As not one who tried to do so by this route, could reach India, without being arrested. Without Maulana Obeidulla, the help of the Wahabics was problematic. But I did toy with the idea of following the course of the Ganges to its source in Manas Sarovar in Tibet and follow the course of the Brahmaputra and reach Dibrugarh, where my father-in-law lived. I would don Gairik dress of a Paribrajak, like Swami Vivekananda, assume the name of Swami Sivanand and travel through Tibet. With Gairik dress food is assured anywhere in India or Tibet. It had a special appeal to me as my maternal grand father was a half-sannyasi. 6 months in the year he used to travel to different religious places. He must have gone to Manas Sarovar, but I doubt whether he followed the course of the Brahmaputra from Manas Sarovar. Travel was thus in my blood and why should I not improve upon my maternal grand father? It would be all right where there were habitations, but in other places, I felt sure I could join some groups of pedestrian Sannyasis or halt in some Buddhist stupas. However, all these fantastic and romantic plans were

discarded when I got the Afghan Passport and Visa from Austria, I followed the beaten track and went to Austria Via Riga.

My Differences with Roy

After I had been in the Eastern University in Moscow for six months, the Moulana and myself were agreed that communists or neo-communists must join the Indian National Congress and fight for National Independence, while organising the workers and peasants for the final Social Revolution. Borodin was following this policy in China under Instructions from the Communist International. Accordingly, the Communists in China had joined the Kuomintang and became the spear head of the fight against Japanese Imperialism. I argued, why should we not follow the same policy in India? Roy argued that China was backward, whereas India was Industrially developed and like Russia could skip over the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution and complete the Socialist Revolution at one stretch. The Congress was a reactionary body and the Communists cannot have any truck with the Congress and must oppose it tooth and nail. Once when Borodin was in Moscow, we had a discussion along with Roy also. But Borodin did not strongly support his own line in China, as far as India was concerned and on the other hand supported Roy, though in a weak and half-hearted manner. Roy later on superseded Borodin and followed his own line of breaking with the Nationalist Kuomintang in 1927 and brought disaster in China, for which he was himself termed a traitor. This accusation was not correct but he was made a scape goat for the disaster in China. Long afterwards about

20 years later, Roy came to India and was jailed for 12 years. From jail he advocated that communists and socialists should join the Congress to complete the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. If for the past 20 years he had followed this policy with all the resources of the Communist International, most probably National Revolution would have been completed in 1930 or 1932. Following Roy, all the Communists opposed the Congress and the National Liberation movement. Individuals do sometimes alter and obstruct the course of movement of historical processes. In China also the movement after the disaster caused by following a wrong policy. Mao-Tse-Tung and others had to flee and to plod several thousand miles and then regroup their forces and make the Revolution successful in 1949, after living 22 years in the wilderness. Then also the Russian proletariat army victorious over the Japanese Imperialist Army after its surrender helped the Chinese with Arms and Amunitions Communist Party to Capture power in China.

However, the supreme boss of the Communist Party of India in Moscow would not help me even with money enough to come back to India. At his instance, I was given a Railway Ticket up to Riga, just outside Soviet Russia at that time and £2- for my expenses on the way. I had £5- given by the Moulana in his Communistic Division of our total wealth as a group and £5- were given to me for translating A. B. C. of communism into Bengali. So with just £12- in my pocket I started out of Soviet Russia, to fight for Indian Independence against the British over whose Empire at that time actually and figuratively the sun never set.

CHANGE OF KINGS

BIMAL MITRA

(Continued from previous issue)

* * * *

That night passed too. Nights of sorrow pass off and so did this one. Or how could the night when Abanti died reach its end ? The days and nights after Fatik vanished reached their termination as they were due to do. Nothing or nobody waits for anyone. The Pandit Mashai had come to Balarampur with Shibani one day a long time ago. There after they had gone through days of joy and sorrow and had experienced great difficulties and troubles ; but the days had passed inspite of all insurmountable obstacles. How did that happen ? It should not have ; but some how did !

These last few days cut off all connections between the two houses.

When Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai left for school, Shibani would sit quietly ; looking at the sky at times, only to lower her eyes again. The sky towards the West gave a glimpse of the roof of the house in which Rani and her people lived. She diverted her glance from that direction with an effort. Shambhu's mother came, did her house work and left.

Shambhu's mother talks too much. She says—You know Grand ma, Rani is getting married into a family which used to be immensely rich and they are very rich even now. They used to keep elephants—

Shibani paid no heed to all that talk, she went on doing her own work. But Shambhu's mother would not stop her flow of words. She brings all kind of news, morning and

evening. Her news service started functioning from the day of finalisation of the marriage arrangements. The bridegrooms party gave such a wonderful diamond necklace with such large stones. How they fed the guests, how large the sweets were ; and she displayed the sizes by gestures with her hand and fingers. She had no other topics for discussion other than Rani's marriage. She tries daily by coming out with stunt news to surprise her listners.

But Basanti cannot be blamed for this estrangement in any manner.

She came to this house in the afternoon of the day the marriage was finalised.

She said as soon as she arrived—It all got fixed up quite suddenly Aunt, I cannot quite make out what is going to happen, you will have to come and arrange things, I feel quite lost if I am alone—You will come surely, won't you ?

Then she asked—Where is Uncle ? Is he at the school ?

Shibani said—No, he has gone to Bajitpur—

Basanti had not much time then to talk at length. She said on her way out—Rani has repeatedly asked you to go over, she will be very angry if you did not turn up there—

Angry ! Shibani felt rather amused when she heard about this anger. Nothing much happens through getting angry ; no loss is incurred nor can any one respond adequately to anger. Things are left as they had been before inspite of all angry reactions. Nothing

can be held up by anger, nor should it develop that way. Who could hold back Abanti ? Or Fatik for that matter ?

Eventually when things became intolerable Shibani would exclaim—You just shut up Shambhu's mother, I do not like to listen to the same refrain—

Shambhu's mother does not stay in the whole day, so how could she recount the same tales at all hours ? She goes away after her own work. Shibani feels quite lost then. She would have preferred if Shambhu's mother stayed on and talked some more.

The knockers on the door sounded suddenly that afternoon.

Shibani shot up where she was reclining. She asked from inside the closed doors—Who is that ? Rani ?

Rani must have come secretly. It was prohibited for brides to go out after their wedding had been settled finally. Why did she come like this ?

Perhaps she is very angry. She will come and say accusingly—Why did you not go over grand ma ?

No, but it was not Rani, it was Sushil. It was his voice which said—This is Sushil, Grand Ma—

Shibani quickly removed the bolt.

—You ? Why are you here ?

Sushil said—Why did you not come to our house grand ma ? Didi's marriage is fixed. It will take place on Thursday—

Shibani simply asked—Is Rani well ?

Sushil said—Didi is very angry with you grand ma, you know ? Didi would have come but mother would not let her, she says—Now no one should go about—

Shibani said—No, one should not go about now—well you have come to tell me about that, have you ?

Sushil said—No, there is a letter from Fatik—

Fatik ! Shibani's heart suddenly began to pound tumultuously. Fatik has written ? He is alive ?

Sushil brought out the letter and showed it to her.

If Shibani could read there would have been nothing to worry about.

She said—What has he written ?

Sushil fixed his eyes on the letter and said—He has written he is now at Jorhat, he will go to Shibsagar from Jorhat with his folk theatre party. He is now earning three hundred rupees per month, he is doing extremely well. He has asked you not to worry about him—

—When would he come back here ?

Sushil said—He has written he would not return ever again, Dadu has constantly beaten me, I shall never go to Dadu's house again—

—He will not come back ?

Sushil was leaving without answering that question—He said—I must go back, Ma will scold me very badly—

Shibani said—Why should she scold you ? Because you have come to our house ?

Sushil said—No, not for that ; but because I have failed in Sanskrit. Dadu has given me two marks less than what I need for passing in the examination.....All the boys in the school have failed—there is a lot of trouble over that—

So saying Sushil left. Shibani stood silently for a while holding on to the door. Then she noticed the house in which Rani lived and closed the doors before going back into the house.

There was a constant uproar in the school. The guardians crowd up the place from the morning. They are after achieving their objectives through influence. They go to the Head Master and all say—What is this

Mr. Head Master ? Why has my son failed ? My son has always been good at examinations.

Bhabaranjan would say—You see if you wish to have a look at the answer papers have a look, we donot deprive any boy of the marks he earns by answering the questions correctly.

A most unnatural scene was enacted within the school precincts Sasadhar Babu was shouting inside the teacher's common room—We demand full redress for this lawlessness ! When the authorities have no trust in us we shall use all our strength to resist this. We must be united if we want to achieve our purpose. Come, let us all combine to demand a proper remedy—

Sasadhar Babu flung his arms about like a demented person.

Balai Babu said—The Pandit Mashai wants to suppress and discredit us, we shall see how he can do that—We also know how to retaliate—

Almost all teachers were excited. On other days they all make a move to go to their classes as soon as the bell is rung. But on that day no one made a move to go to the class rooms. They all spoke about their own grievances. Their voices raised to the highest pitch.

Kalidhan Babu said—Do you know even the Secretary's son has failed to qualify for lack of two marks ! The Pandit Mashai has done this.

The noise penetrated to Bhabaranjan's room. He asked the bearer—What is all that noise ?

The Bearer said—Sir, it is from the teacher's room—

—Why ? Why should the teachers make such noise—

The bell rang but no teachers could be seen in the class rooms. Even the students began to shout. Some whistled and others

went out. They danced on their benches. The guardians who had arrived there were astounded.

They were standing in front of Haralal's office room for a long time.

They said—Why Haralal Babu, take the fees—

Haralal said—Please bring your sons' mark sheet, the orders are to accept fees after examining the mark sheet.

—Where would we get the mark sheet ?

—Please go and speak to the Head Master Mashai. I do not know anything.

Janardan went and called the Pandit Mashai. He said Pandit Mashai, the Head Master Mashai is calling you.

Gour Bhattacharjee became conscious of things at last. The noise entered his ears. He asked—What is all that noise Janardan ?

Janardan answered—The teachers are making noise.

—Why ?

—No one is going to the classes. They say they will go on strike.

—Why ? What has happened ?

Janardan said—Many students have failed in the examination. The coaching school has earned a bad name—

—Is that so ?

Gour Bhattacharjee could not stay away any more. On his way to Bhabaranjan's room as he passed the common room he went right into it.

—Stop !

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai shouted out.

With that it sounded as if there was a thunder clap—We shall not stop ! You explain first. Have you any trust in us, first answer that !

No one could be heard clearly. They all wanted to state their complaints loudly and all together. They all came and stood before Gour Bhattacharjee in a bellicose manner.

Shibendu was reading a book sitting at one corner. He had no class at that time. He came up and said—What are you doing Sasadhar Babu ?

Sasadhar Babu turned round in a fighting mood. He said—You shut up mister, who has asked you to come in as a mediator.

Shibendu said—Whatever you have to say you can say like a gentleman, why are you shouting so much ?

—I shall shout if I want to. If you do not like shouting go and sit down and read a book—

Kalidhan Babu also came up to Shibendu angrily. He said—Why must you pretend to be a benefactor of humanity ? You were sitting silently so long ; why do you not continue to sit silently ?

Shibendu still tried to say—You see, you do not realise what you are saying and to whom ? The Pandit Mashai is like a father to everybody—

—Oh, forget it ! It is no good being so full of devotion and the spirit of worship—

Another one added—Too much devotion is a symptom of criminal intentions—

By that time Bhabaranjan had come in.

—What are you doing ? Be silent, be silent everybody—

—Why should we be silent ? Only cowards remain silent in the face of injustice. We want redress against wrongs done to us—

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I have done wrong ? You are telling me that ? I have never done anything wrong in my life, nor have I tolerated wrong doing or compromised with evil. My own grand son did wrong and I did not condone his actions. Whom are you lecturing about right and wrong ? Who established this school ?

—This school is ours ! Who are you ?

Bhabaranjan told the Pandit Mashai—Come along Master Mashai, donot stay here,

they will insult you. Come along, come to my room—

—Why should I go away ? Lower my head before immorality and evil ?

Shibendu now came and stood in front of the Pandit Mashai with folded hands. He said—Please leave this place Pandit Mashai, these people will not show respect to you and insult to you will be an insult to the world of education—Please do not stay here any longer, please go away—

Nimai Shaw suddenly arrived there.

The shouting escalated when they saw Nimai Shaw—

—Why all this shouting ? Is this a school or a market place ? You stop shouting, be silent !

But where was peace ? Sasadhar Babu raised his voice a little more. Why should we be silent ? Is this school your parental estate ?

Bhabaranjan and Shibendu jointly manipulated the Pandit Mashai out of that room. Bhabaranjan said—In their excitement now they have no mental balance or stability. They are in a vile temper. Anger makes a man inhuman. You come along into my room—

—But I have a class my dear Bhaba.

Bhabaranjan said—There are no boys in the classes now. You can see they are all outside their class rooms having fun and yelling the place down—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai suddenly appeared to be utterly lost. It was his beloved school, built by his own efforts, and he was witnessing the destruction of everything he valued right before his own eyes. He could never think of such happenings, he could never imagine such possibilities !

Bhabaranjan had pulled him inside his own room and locked the door from inside. To make sure that no one entered that room.

Gour Bhattacharjee was sitting in a chair and gasping for breath. He glanced vacantly this way and that, but appeared to see nothing. No sound entered his ears either. All things had lost motion and the signs of life, dumb and dead in fact, as far as he was concerned.

Bhabaranjan blurted out—Master Mashai you kept the secretary's son from qualifying for only two marks—

Gour Bhattacharjee only gaped at Bhabaranjan—Mr. shaw had asked for awarding of grace marks to all students. If you agree everybody will be pacified. The President came and told me this morning.

I said— I shall ask the Pandit Mashai. That is why I called you up.

Even then there was no answer from Gour Bhattacharjee.

—And we have to look to the income of the school too. We hear there is going to be another school in this village. If all students take transfer and leave us— We have to consider that too.

Bhabaranjan stopped for a while and then began to speak again—The coaching school cannot be prevented from being set up I have thought that out. We can not get anything done by alienating the teachers. Things were different in your days, now the times are changing. Even prices of things are no longer the same—

Gour Bhattacharjee began to see many coloured balloons floating before his eyes. He felt everything was part of a great Kaleidoscopic display of colours. On all sides—

—You see this Sushil Chakravarty comes first in his class regularly. Why could he not do so well this time? No one knew the questions, that is why. Moreover you examined the Sanskrit paper a bit too strictly. Only two marks. It cannot do much harm if two marks were added. The school examination is not everything. There will be other

trials and tests throughout their lives. You will not be there then. Nor will others be like you.

Gour Bhattacharjee felt he was swaying as he sat in his chair. As if he was going to fall.

He cried out—Can you give me a glass of water, Bhaba—

How things developed and in what manner? It looked as if the whole history of Balarampur changed from its very roots in a single day. Gour Bhattacharjee could not even remember all those who came to see him. The first day passed in a delirious state of half consciousness. A doctor came from Birgunge to examine him.

He said—Must take rest. Tell him to take things easy as much as he can—

Shibani was sitting, her face veiled, near the patient. She heard what was said in silence. What else was there to do excepting to listen in silence to what others said. He had never considered what others said with a view to decide what he should do, and he was hardly likely now to pay heed to what his wife said to him. If such things could happen then the story of Shibani's life would have been quite different.

Those who came to know of this called at the house to make enquiries. Naren Chakravarty had come to invite them to Rani's wedding. He requested—You must come Aunty—

Shibani said—I certainly want to go, but you tell me my boy, how can I leave him like this and go over to your place?

—But you know how disappointed Rani will be if you failed to attend her wedding?

Then he said as he got up to go—If you require any money, please let me know, do not feel shy to do so. I shall come over as often as I can make time. Please follow the doctor's instructions exactly—

Naren Chakravarty was really hard-pressed for time at the moment. A rich connection was being established by this marriage. Exchanges of gifts had to be on a proper scale. Everything would have to be purchased at Calcutta. Naren Chakravarty's only daughter. The invitations were quite extensive. He was not only the Chairman of the District Board but also a court advocate. Then he was the secretary of that very big school. He would have to arrange for about a thousand guests. The whole locality was illuminated by high power lights on the wedding day. Even Gour Bhattacharjee's house was bathed in light. And the festive music had begun from the morning.

Gour Bhattacharjee woke up once during the night.

Shibani was awake. She asked—Do you want to say something, want a drink of water, are you thirsty?

Gour Bhattacharjee said in a suppressed voice—What is that music for?

Shibani answered—Oh that is nothing, you go to sleep.

Gour Bhattacharjee repeated his question—Is it Rani's wedding?

Her words stuck in her throat. She painfully pronounced—Yes—

Gour Bhattacharjee said nothing more. He shut his eyes, and turned over to the other side to sleep. The music was reaching out to the horizon in slow rhythm. The scales of Darbari Kanada were assuming a strange sharpness and stabbing the heart so to speak, like arrow heads of steel. It was announcing like Yudhisthira in the Vanaparba of the Mahabharata;

Nahong Karmaphalanweshi Rajaputri

Charamyuta.

Dadami Deyamityeba Yoje

Shashtavyavistynta...

—Oh Princess, I do not get involved in deeds with a view to earn any reward, I give as I find it my duty to give, I light the religious fire as it happens to be my duty, he who performs rituals with a gainful purpose is a trader of religion; sacred observances are the goods for the transaction of business to them. They are base and are not praiseworthy—

Gour Bhattacharjee went on reciting the verse inarticulately in his sleep. And Shibani sat there by his side with her eyes open sleeplessly, right through the night.

* * * *

Next day, Panchu's mother suddenly arrived.

She said—Aunt, mother is requesting you to come over once. The daughter is going away, if you would come even for a minute to bless her—

Shibani said—How can I leave the Master in this condition and go?

—If you could ask Shambhu's mother to watch for a while and manage to come over. Rani Didimani is crying since the morning, you did not go yesterday, please do come now, you will be back immediately—

That's what happened eventually. Shambhu's mother sat there while Shibani went out. It has been a long time since Shibani had been out. The house was quite near, but one had not gone over even once during recent times.

Oh, my dear, Aunt has come!

Basanti got hold of Aunt and took her along to Rani. There were many women present there. Quite a bit of a crowd, jostling. But Shibani took no notice of anything.

Rani looked up and glanced at grand mother. The two big eyes expressed in their glance surprise, offended feelings, excitement joy and sorrow, all mixed up to create a

cloud of obscurity. Her newly married husband, who was sitting next to her, also looked up and saw.

Shibani had two rupees tied up in the fringe of her Sari. She took those out after untying the knot, touched their heads with the silver coins and blessed them. She then went back exactly the way she had come.

She heard some one ask her—How is the Pandit Mashai, Aunty—And she said—Well—Without noticing who made the enquiry, what he looked liked or any other details.

She crossed the road briskly, and entering her own house breathed a sigh of relief.

There after when Rani went away to her new home, when the bridegroom's party dispersed—Nothing interested Shibani. Even Shambhu's mother got no opportunity to chatter away as she used to. She came, did her work in a cursory manner and left for her own home.

Gour Bhattacharjee now regained his health to some extent. He leaves his bed and comes out to sit on that raised platform morning and evening.

He says—Let me go to the school for a little while Bara Bou—

Shibani said—Goodness ! You can not go in this physical condition !

Gour Bhattacharjee repeats—No, let me go and see—

He says so but hardly feels strong enough to go. He asks—Why do I feel so weak ; tell me why ?

—Well you can not work so hard any more ; no wonder you feel fatigued !

Gour Bhattacharjee smiles inwardly. You only see my body Bara Bou. Why don't you look at my mind too ? If you could see, you would find nothing of value there. Whatever he had wanted, had all been reversed. Those who had failed were now declared successful by award of grace marks. He has come to

know everything. They have again taken fish out of the pond and the money has gone into the President's pocket. The instruments for the science laboratory have not yet been purchased. Sasadhar Babu is running his coaching classes in full force. Why did he then work so hard for the school, and worried his head off for it ?

Bhabaranjan received that letter suddenly one day. At first he failed to understand. Why should the Pandit Mashai should write to him. But when he opened the letter and read it a strong feeling of sadness pervaded his mind. The committee was holding a meeting in the evening. He read out the letter to all members of the committee.

The committee members remained quite speechless for a length of time when they heard about the Pandit Mashai's resignation.

Nimai Shaw was the first to speak. He said—When he is not in good health, we can not say anything in this connection. In my opinion he should be relieved of his responsibilities.

Naren Chakravarty was silent. Looking at the committee members Nimai Shaw said—Well, Shushanta Babu, why do you not say something ?

Shushanta Babu has always been a silent member. He said however—As you all agree that he should be relieved of his charge, I also say the same ; it would be right to allow him to resign—

Naren Chakravarty wanted to protest. But he could not muster the courage to do so when he looked at all the other members.

Pandit Mashai came and sat in his own room in the school after a long time. He was looking at things connected with his work for the last time. This school had been his field of work for a very long time. He managed everything from this room. From tomorrow someone else will come and occupy this room.

Some one else who will run the school along different lines ; following different ideals. Let that be so. If that enables the school to run well, let it be so. He has completed his time and he must go. One has to go some time or other. He could not manage to run the school for ever.

Janardan came a number of times to speak to him. He asked him to go. He left crying—

He came out of the room and locked the door. Suddenly Shibendu came and stood there.

Shibendu could hardly speak.

Gour Bhattacharjee said—I am going Shibendu.

Shibendu bent low and touched his feet in respectful salutation.

Gour Bhattacharjee put his hand on Shibendu's head and blessed him. He said—Good bye Shibendu.

Shibendu asked—Why did you put in your resignation, Pandit Mashai ?

Gour Bhattacharjee said—No Shibendu, I reasoned to myself and found that I should not keep my hold on the school any longer. My ideals are clashing with the ideals that all of you follow. May be I am in the wrong and you are right. I do not wish to force you into a wrong track. May be your science is correct and our spiritual approach quite useless in this age—So I am quite useless too—And I go—You please hand over this key to Janardan tomorrow.

Shibendu followed Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai out and began to walk with him.

When they came to the house of the Pandit Mashai, Gour Bhattacharjee suddenly said—Why are you coming with me Shibendu, you go back now—

Shibendu again did pranam to the Pandit Mashai and left. He was over come with emotion and could hardly hold up his head.

Gour Bhattacharjee was entering his house

when he heard Rani's voice coming from inside.

He did not go in. He went and stood behind the tamarind tree.

Shibani was astonished to see Rani.

She said—Oh my dear child ! When did you arrive back from your father-in-law's house ?

Rani said—I have walked through the dusty road to come to Balarampur and I shall go back just now. I have heard that grandpa has left the school ?

Shibani said—Yes, my little mother, his health would no longer stand the stress and strain of work ; so your grandpa left his job.

Rani was thoughtful for a while. Then she asked—But then grandma, how will grandpa manage to meet his expenses ?

Shibani said—Oh do not worry about all that. God helps people to live and He will help us too—

Rani said—Grand ma, will you do something that I shall ask you to do ?

—What is it ?

—I have brought some money for grandpa, you keep the money—

—Money ? Whose money is it ?

Rani said—It is nobody else's money, not anything I have got from my husband it is money I have saved over years from what I received now and then from my own people. I do not need this money any longer. You keep it, it will come useful. Do not tell grandpa, I know him. He would never permit you to keep this money—You keep it—

Shibani smiled. She said—No, my child, that can not be. How can I do anything without telling your grand father about it ?

—But what good will it do by telling grand father ? Five hundred rupees could be very useful during times of trouble.

—No my darling Rani, no. I can not take anything without telling your grand

father. And he will not take anything from you. He has never accepted anything from anybody at any time. People may say what they like, but I know, the people of Balarampur never really recognised the greatness of the man. Such men are very rare—

—Then tell me what I have to do so that you may take this money?

—My dear, do not worry about us. You be happy with your husband and family, that will give us great pleasure. It is getting very late my dear, you will have to go back to your father-in-law's house, our grand-son in-law would be getting anxious for you, go, my dear, go—

Gour Bhattacharjee Mashai saw Rani go out of the doorway. She walked speedily and entered their own house.

Gour Bhattacharjee went up slowly and rattled the door shackles.

The next day the school assembled as it usually did. The sun rose in the morning as it always did. The Pandit Mashai was not there. Nimai Shaw came once to see how the school was functioning. Naren Chakravarty came too on his way back from the courts. The students had no complaints any more. They were having to face no failures nor were they being punished for late attendance. Janardan closed the gates at the proper hour, but those who came late had to be admitted.

It was as if a new age had dawned over the Balarampur High School. The reign of another king after the passing of the one who ruled before him.

An official letter was unexpectedly delivered to Bhabaranjan. He was profoundly surprised to read the contents. The letter was from Delhi. Sreeyukta Gourapada Bhattacharjee Kavyatirtha, teacher of Sanskrit at the Balarampur High School has been invited to go to Delhi on the coming anniver-

sary day to receive an honourable award as an ideal teacher from the President of India. On that day the President will give a certificate of honour and five hundred rupees to him as a mark of appreciation of his merit. He has therefore been asked to go over to Delhi on the 5th of the next month. His travelling expenses will be paid by the government.....

Bhabaranjan showed the letter to Nimai Shaw. Nimai Shaw said—How can this be? Pandit Mashai has resigned from his post. He can not get it any more—

Bhabaranjan said—But Shaw Mashai, this is an award in appreciation of his life long service as a teacher—

—May he so, but he is no longer attached to this school and has no connection with it—

When Naren Chakravarty came in the evening from the courts he was shown the letter. Naren said—No, no, this letter should be given to him. He was the founder of the school in fact. More over his provident fund money is still unpaid—

Ignoring Nimai Shaw's objections Naren Chakravarty said—I am taking this letter to his house; I shall give it personally to him—

So saying he went out then and there. As if he did not like to waste any time. His connection with Pandit Mashai was long standing. All people of Balarampur had ideas relating to the Pandit Mashai woven into their thoughts and feelings. This honour shown to the Pandit Mashai was an honour shown to the people of Balarampur. If he were deprived from receiving this honour, Balarampur would be depriving itself.

But when he came to the house, he was speechless. The main door had a lock on it. Why was there a lock?

He went to the adjoining house and started calling out—Abinash Babu, Abinash Babu—

Abinash Babu was incapable of movement. He stayed in bed. His eldest son came out,

Naren asked him—Why is Pandit Mashai's door locked from outside? Where has he gone?

Abinash Babu's son said—Oh, he has gone away—

—Where has he gone?

—Left by the morning five o'clock train for his home. He has given up our house—

The train had passed Shimurali Station by then. Gour Bhattacharjee had got into the train at five in the morning. Then he changed train at Sealdah. Now stations were being left behind one after another. But he was not paying attention to anything. He was gazing at the sky through a window of the compartment. Next to him sat Shibani. He was going back home again. That village of Mobarakpur. Birthplace of Kirti Kavyalankar. He had come away to Balarampur with great expectations—he thought he would teach the boys the holy Shastras, make men of them. But no, he was perhaps wrong to think like that. He remembered what Yudhisthira had said in the Vanaparva of the Mahabharata—Nahong Karmaphalanweshi Rajaputri Charamyuta—Oh Princess, I do not look for gainful

results when I do my duty. I give to others when I feel it to be my duty to do so, perform rituals when I find it my duty to do so, he who looks for gains through religious performance is a trader of religion, he converts religion to business stock in trade.

He remembered what he had said to Shibendu that day—my ideals are clashing against your ideals Shibendu. May be your ideals are correct and mine not so. Your science may be pointing to the right path and my spiritual outlook is useless for this age. And there is no binding that the school must operate according to my wishes, progress is what is needed. That is why I am removing all obstacles from your path of progress and going away—I have no sorrows to-day. I am devoid of all desires and wishes now. I have no complaints against anybody. Prahlad had said to Nrisinghadeva the same thing. He said—Yadi Daswasi Me.....that is he who desires worldly gain from You, is a trader. I am Your devotee unconditionally. Oh Thou giver of the greatest of boons, if Thou givest me a boon, let it be that I may never harbour any desires in my heart—

The train to Mobarakpur was speeding along in great force.

(THE END)



Current Affairs

When Enemies become Friends

Human relations have their ups and downs as a matter of course in so far as men form friendships or fall out according to changing political, economic, social or cultural circumstances. New bonds are created with a view to gain political or military strength or to assure the growth of markets. Not infrequently one finds music, sports, drama and tourism creeping in to act as stimulating factors.

China was forbidden territory to the people of the United States of America so far, mainly because the Chinese were communists and were also a military threat to Asia and the world. But China is a very large country with a population of 700 million and she has much to buy or to sell and the United States could not afford to ignore the Chinese and their great economic potential. It would have been preferable if the USA could dominate China and exploit it in the time honoured imperialist fashion. Efforts were made to militarily hedge in the Chinese by pressurising adjoining countries which had their own disputes, aspirations and commitments. Korea was the first place where a trial of strength was staged. The Chinese at first occupied the areas which had many non-communist sympathisers of the United Nations, but later the Chinese were pushed back beyond the 38th parallel and the country was divided into two states, one communist and the other democratic. The Pro-USA South Korea has a smaller territory but is numerically more than twice as heavily populated as North Korea. Later the USA fought to establish a democratic state in Vietnam and she managed

to create a separate democratic wing of Vietnam at great cost in men and money.

Having failed to force China to kowtow to Washington the rulers of the United States have now decided to try other means of penetrating the great wall of China. The Chinese also appear to be responding to the blandishments that the United States of America are offering. There is some speculation as to the reasons which are at the root of China's change of attitude. Some say Mao t'se Tung's successor Lin Piao has been conspiring to overthrow the Chinese dictator. Others say the Chinese feel that their defences against Russia are not good enough and they badly need a super nuclear ally to protect her against an atomic attack which Russia may launch against China if their territorial and ideological disputes did not get settled to the satisfaction of both parties. One cannot however lend credence to this tale of Lin Piao's breach of faith with his leader Mao t'se Tung. He would become the next dictator of China in any case and it would be foolish for him to take chances by starting a palace revolution.

The Chinese are not as ideologically inflexible and utterly hard core Marxists as they like the world to believe. For had they been so they would never have sided with a capitalist, imperialist, military dictatorship like Pakistan. Their support to Pakistan proves that they are unprincipled and go by hopes of short period advantages. They may forsake Pakistan if they find that the rulers of that country were on their way out. The USA therefore would be moving in a treacherous terrain if they had to depend too much on Chinese promises.

The Chinese have arrived in America to participate in the discussions of the United Nations Organisation and have set up offices and residential quarters in a Manhattan hotel. They of course will have very limited opportunities of moving about in the territory of the United States of America ; as normally, the US Government do not permit members of the delegations attending the U N O to go any where they like in the USA. The limit set is 25 miles from Manhattan. One may, no doubt obtain permission to go beyond that limit ; but the Chinese will be, perhaps, suspected of espionage activities and not shown much preference in the matter of freedom to go where they like in the U. S. A.

The Chinese themselves are passing through a period of unsettlement about which very little is known to the outside world. Lin Piao, one time hero, heir apparent to Mao t'se Tung, now seems to have lost favour with the lords of China. The 21 member Politburo have lost many members and no one knows what has happened to about a dozen of those members. Chou En-lai the Premier of China seems to be nearly as powerful now as Chairman Mao t'se Tung. He is working overtime to create contacts and to make his voice heard. One cannot however guarantee his loyalty to Mao t'se Tung, nor the stability of his political views over any length of time. Chou En-lai, at one time, preached the gospel of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai ; but found it necessary to discard that brotherly attitude towards Indians when his country thought it profitable to conquer the theocratic state of Tibet. The present position of China in the international political field is purely opportunistic. The Chinese have realised that changes are imminent in the world order of inter-state relations and they have to be up and about so that they are not cornered by their probable enemies. They have to seek

new alliances, and new friendships will have to be formed without reference to ideologies, past enmities, preferences or past undertakings.

Contradictions Donot Worry Americans

When Americans indulge in propaganda they seldom have any regard for truth or facts. Things which are nationally advertised commodities for sale habitually acquire qualities and merit which they really donot possess ; but the advertisers maintain a certain consistency in the over statements and false claims. They donot, for instance, say that a thing is black and then extol it to the skies for its whiteness. A powerful seven seater limousine is not described first as a great big car and thereafter as a beautiful midget. Blatant contradictions discredit the advertisers and thereby hamper the sale of the goods that are presented to the public through publicity.

When, however, the Americans do propaganda for or against political bodies such as the different states of the world ; they quite often forget the importance of being consistent. In their eagerness to establish a point they say something and soon thereafter make other statements which disprove their main thesis. Latterly the Americans have been trying to prove that the Pakistani's are the innocent victims of attacks by Indians in the guise of the soldiers of the Mukti Bahini. They have not done anything that the Indians may justly call a cause of war and the Indians therefore have no reasonable excuses for rendering assistance to the Mukti Bahini as they are doing by supplying them with arms and ammunition and giving them military training and advise relating to strategy. The same announcements and publications emanating from American sources, strangely enough, have clear references to the merciless slaughter of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children by the West Pakistanis, in East Bengal and also to the millions who have been